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ST. LOUIS
The Fourth City
1764-1911

By WALTER B. STEVENS

“He said he had found a situation where he was going to form a settlement which might become one of the finest cities of America.”—Laclede’s prophecy, from the narrative of the settlement of St. Louis by Auguste Chouteau.

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MADAME CHOUTEAU LA MERE DE ST. LOUIS
(Marie Therese Bourgeois)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER XVII.

THE MEDICAL PROFESSION 417
 Doctor Conde's Ethics and Debtors—High Standards Maintained 146 Years—Surgeon Valleau's Estate—A Hospital and a Government Physician in 1801—The First Scientist of St. Louis—Free Vaccination for the Poor—The Saugrain Family—Father Didier's Homely Remedies—The First Mayor's Appeal for Sanitary Precautions—Bathing Advocated as Protection Against Sickness—Miraculous Surgery by Dr. Farrar—Patent Medicines Came with the American Flag—The First Drug Store and the First Medical Student—Beaumont's Book of Worldwide Fame—Some St. Louis Doctors Who Prospered Notably—Medical Lectures at Kemper College—Heroism in the Cholera Epidemics—A Graphic Description of Dr. McDowell—The Colleges and Their Rivalry Before the Civil War—Strange Fancies About Disposition of the Dead—Dr. Charles Alexander Pope, the Perfect Gentleman—Philanthropies of the Profession—Distinguished Writers and Specialists—John Thompson Hodgen, the Beloved—Dr. Moses M. Pallen on Duty to the Woman in Travail—Eleven Medical Colleges at One Time—Graduates Who Won National Reputations—Progressiveness of Medical Education—Washington University Reorganization—The Hospitals—Homeopathy in St. Louis—The Dental Profession—"Extracting, Cleaning, Plugging and Strengthening" in 1809—The Barnard Hospital.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE PRODUCTIVE COMMERCE 439
 A Century of Manufacturing—The Earliest Mills—Oxen and Water the Power Before Steam—Chouteau's Pond and Roy's Tower—"The First Batch" of Crackers—Grimsley's Saddle Factory—Tobacco Industry in 1817—The Catlins, the Liggetts and the Drummonds—How Sam Gaty Turned a Shaft—Early Workers in Metals—A St. Louis Made Steamboat in 1842—What "Westward Ho!" Meant to the Four Schaeffers—The Garrisons, Builders of Engines—Days of Mechanic Princes—A St. Louis Stove the Surprise of the Fair—An Industry Founded by the Bridges—Stove Manufacture Revolutionized by Giles F. Filley—Great Expectations of Vineyards—The Brewing of Beer—Forty Breweries Before the War—Cotton Manufacturing Experiments—Stephen A. Douglas on St. Louis Opportunities—"The Largest Beef and Pork Packers in the Union"—Francis Whittaker, the Ames Brothers and John J. Roe—Cheapness of Food Encouraged Early Industries—Audubon on This Land of Plenty—An Expert's Forecast in 1881—Steamboat Profits Turned Into Industries—Competition in Wooden-ware Distanced—Flour and Furniture—First Among Cities in Many Specialties—Amazing Growth of Shoe Manufacturing—The Wise Policy of Many Young Partners.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE DISTRIBUTIVE COMMERCE 463
 A St. Louis Merchant of 1790—When Catfish Was Circulating Medium—Soulard's Trade Review of 1805—Dressed Deerskins the Leading Article of Commerce—"Incalculable Riches Along the Missouri"—Prices of Staples in 1815—The First Bookstore—"Heavy Groceries"—Henry Von Phul, the Oldest Merchant—Collier's Luck—The "Dry Grocery" of Greeley & Gale—The Jaccards—How Jacob S. Merrell Won Success—Robert M. Funkhouser's Start in a Notable Career—The Orthweins' Grain Experiments—St. Louis Commerce in 1851—Era of Elevators—Senter and the Cotton Trade—Pioneer Incorporation—Edward C. Simmons and His Pocket Knife—The First Illustrated Trade Catalogue—Isaac Wyman Morton's Activities—When Samuel Cupples Came to St. Louis—Evolution of Cupples Station—Shopping Districts of Four Generations—The Branch House Policy—Chamber of Commerce and Merchant's Exchange—High Standards of Business Honor—A Wonderful Record of Cheerful Giving—Master Mechanics of St. Louis in 1839—Arbitration Substituted for Litigation in 1856—The Board of Trade Which Preceded the Business Men's League—The City's Importance Not Measured by Local Statistics—What St. Louis Men and Money Have Done in the Southwest.

CHAPTER XX.

THE RELIGIOUS LIFE	489
Pastors and Citizens—Long and Notable Careers of Truman M. Post and James H. Brookes—How Montgomery Schuyler Faced the War Issue—Archbishop Kenrick's Busy Days—Thomas Morrison's Sixty Years of Religious Heroism—The First Mass Under the Trees—The First Church—Civic Proclamations on the Door—Church and State Under the Spanish Governors—The First Protestant Preacher—How Trudeau Winked at Baptist Meetings—The Pioneer of Presbyterianism—Rev. Salmon Giddings' Ride of 1,200 Miles—Contributors to the First Presbyterian Meeting House—Coming of Bishop Dubourg—Cathedral Treasures of 1821—Rosati, First Bishop of St. Louis—When Rev. Mr. Potts was "the Rage"—Mormons in St. Louis—Hero of the Cholera of 1835—Baptism of Sixteen Hollanders—The Religious Life as Charles Dickens Saw It—Close Association of Kenrick and Ryan—The Walthers and the Lutherans—Religious Journalism—Bishop Tuttle's Missionary Experience—New Churches of 1900-10—The New Cathedral—An Imposing Ceremonial—The Issue of Sabbath Observance—Father Matthew's Visit to St. Louis—"The Great Controversy"—Rise of the Y. M. C. A.—Evolution of the Provident Association—The Character of St. Louis Philanthropy.	

CHAPTER XXI.

THE GROWING OF ST. LOUIS	523
Laclede's Landing Place—Market Street the Dividing Line—Law of the City's Development—Francis P. Blair's Prophecy in 1872—Earliest Land Titles—Improvement Within a Year and a Day the Condition—Deed of Mill Creek Valley—Auction Sales at the Church Door on Sunday—The Livre Terrien—St. Ange's Land System Accepted by Spanish Governors—Inchoate Titles in 1804—Rights of Settlers Confirmed by Congress—Houses of Posts—Southern Exposure vs. East Piazza—The Universal Gallery of Colonial Times—American Mistakes in Architecture—"Laclede's House"—Stone Mansions—Wooden Pegs for Nails—Suburban Estates Below Chouteau Avenue—The Founder's Plan of Streets—A Place Public on the River Front—The Towpath Custom—After the Fire of 1849—Sales Based on Laclede's Assignments—The First Addition—"The Hill"—Enterprise of James H. Lucas—Jeremiah Conner's Plan for Washington Avenue—St. Louis as Flagg Saw it in 1836—George R. Taylor's Skyscraper—Yeatman's Row—The American Street—Newman's Folly—Quality Row—Henry Clay's St. Louis Speculation—Stoddard Addition—Conception of Grand Avenue—The Lindells—Henry Shaw's Garden—Growth of the Park System—The Financial Street—Separation of City and County—Local Nomenclature.	

CHAPTER XXII.

IN THE LIFE OF THE NATION	561
St. Louis and the American Revolution—George Rogers Clark's Tribute—Francis Vigo's Part in the Taking of Vincennes—Patriotic Father Gibault—The Republican Spirit of St. Louis—Bishop Robertson's Historical Researches—The British Attack of 1780—The Haldimand-Sinclair Correspondence—Pascal Cerre's Recollections—Revelations from Canadian Archives—Beausoleil's Midwinter Expedition to Michigan—Jefferson's Secret Investigation at St. Louis Before the Cession—Lucas Chosen for a Delicate Mission—Aaron Burr's Advances Repulsed by St. Louisans—Deciding Vote in Election of President Adams—To the Everglades—St. Louis' Help for William Henry Harrison—In the Mexican War—Wonderful Deeds of the Laclede Rangers—Zachary Taylor's Newspaper Nomination—The Dred Scott Case—St. Louisans in the Civil War—An Army of Home Guards Besides 15,310 Volunteers in the Field—Price's Vanguard Within Present City Limits—Careers of Lyon and Frost—A Dream of Border Neutrality—Camp Jackson—"The Last Man and the Last Dollar" for the Union—St. Louis Radicals at the White House—Recollections of Enos Clarke—The Twentieth Century Club—Genesis of the Liberal Republican Movement—Gratz Brown's Leadership—The Mistake of 1872.	

CHAPTER XXIII.

ST. LOUISANS IN THE PUBLIC EYE	593
Laclede's Settlement as Pitman Saw it About 1766—Exploited by Charles Gratiot—The First St. Louis Millionaire—John Mullanphy, Shrewd, Eccentric and Philanthropic—Battle of New Orleans and a Cotton Corner—A Political Center in 1820—John Shackford's River Improvement Plan—Characteristics and Sayings of Benton—A Tribute to Edward Hempstead—How Death Came to the Old Roman—Bacon, the Financial Leader in 1854—General E. D. Baker's Humble Boyhood—Benton's Dying Protest Against Anti-Slavery Agitation—Lincoln's St. Louis Newspaper Alliance—Edward Bates in National Politics—Grant, Sherman, Schofield and Sigel—Captain Grant's Application to be County Engineer—Francis P. Blair, Jr.—The Famous Broadhead Letter—Blair to Frost on Camp Jackson—St. Louisans in the Cabinets of Harrison, Cleveland, McKinley, Roosevelt and Taft—Career of Ethan Allen Hitchcock—Growth of Richard Bartholdt to International Stature—The National Prosperity Association of 1908—Benjamin F. Yoakum's Timely Suggestion—E. C. Simmons' Call Upon President Roosevelt—A Movement Which Swept the Country—St. Louis "the Nerve Center of the United States."	

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE EDUCATIONAL LIFE613
 Maria Josepha Rigauche, Schoolmistress and Heroine—Trudeau, Schoolmaster and Patriot—The Song of 1780—George Tompkins' Debating Society—Riddick's Ride to Washington to Save the School Lands—Mother Duchesne and the Sacred Heart Academy—Bishop Dubourg's College of 1820—Coming of Father Quickenborne and the Band of Jesuits—Inception of St. Louis University—Educational Work of Father DeSmet Among the Indians—Captain Elihu Hotchkiss Shepard's "Boys"—The First Public School in 1838—Wyman's Cadets—The Original High School—Beginning of the Kindergarten—Stalwart German Support of Free Education—Evolution of Manual Training—Woodward and His Ideas Borrowed by Other Nations—Samuel Cupples on Negro Education—When Wayman Crow Wrote the Washington University Charter—The Non-Sectarian Spirit Boldly Emphasized—Edward Everett at the Inauguration—Dr. Post's Forecast of the University's Success—Education as Self Made Men Idealized It—Secret of Robert S. Brookings' Success—Life Work of William Greenleaf Eliot—Gifts of the "Mechanic Princes"—Fifty Years of Development.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE CULTURE OF ST. LOUIS.....637
 Auguste Chouteau's Scientific Theories—The Story of the Prehistoric Footprints—Dr. Saugrain's Laboratory—Sulphur Springs, Near the River des Peres—John Bradbury's Animal Stories—Varied Vocations of Dr. Shewe—Lilliput on the Meramec—An Exploration for a Lost Race—Discovery of Gold in the Illinois Bluffs—Les Mamelles, Near St. Charles—Movement to Preserve "the Big Mound"—Early Mound Theories Disputed by Modern Science—The Barkis Club—Henry Shaw's Reminiscences—The Eden of St. Louis—Wyman's Museum—Dr. Engelmann's Meteorological Record—Adventurous Career of Adolph Wislizenus—The St. Louis Philosophic Movement—William T. Harris, Henry C. Brockmeyer and Denton J. Snider—Foreign Guests and St. Louis Hospitality—Jubilee of Archbishop Kenrick—Origin of Mercantile Library—The Public Library—Houdon's Washington in Lafayette Park—The St. Louis Fair—Lottery Privileges and a Moral Uplift—When Jenny Lind Came—Seventy Years of Musical Interest—Old Salt Theater—Playhouses Before the Civil War—Sol Smith's Epitaph—Ben DeBar—The Reign of the Veiled Prophet—A Third of a Century of Popular Pageants.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE MEN OF ST. LOUIS.....665
 Early Blending of Population—Weimar's Painting of "The Landing"—St. Louis the Converging Point of Migration—First Families of St. Louis—Ortes, the Companion of Laclède—Four Sarpy Brothers—The Papins—Spanish Officers Who Became St. Louisians—The Yostis and the Vigos—Founder of the House of Soulard—William Bisette's Generous Will—Why Guion Wouldn't Wear a Uniform—Personal Honor of a Century Ago—Americans Who Came Before the Flag—The Easton Family—Major William Christy and His Seven Daughters—The Father of North St. Louis—Coming of the McKnights and Bradys—Refugees of the French Revolution—Connecticut's Notable Contribution—Erin Benevolent Society of 1818—The Farrars—The Gratiots—Missouri Lodge in 1815—The Billons—The Morrisons—St. Louis Sociologically in 1835—German Immigration—The Blow Family—Emigres from the West Indies—Friendships Kossuth Renewed in St. Louis—When One-third of the Population Was of German Birth—Census Returns Analyzed—"Most American of Cities"—The Marylanders—Army and Navy Influences—The Group of Octogenarians in 1895—Moral Fibre of St. Louisians Tested in Several Generations.

CHAPTER XXVII.

ST. LOUIS WOMANHOOD707
 Madame Marie Therese Chouteau—La Mere de St. Louis—The Laclède Family—Heroic Qualities Developed in the Convent-bred Girl—The Whole Settlement Mothered—Madame Chouteau's Business Capacity—A Thousand Descendants—The Three Daughters and Their Thirty-two Children—Seven Daughters of the First Madame Sanguinet—Courtesy and Respect for Women Early Enforced—Marriage Contracts Under the Spanish Governors—Social Life in 1810—The Four Daughters of Ichabod Camp of Connecticut—Meeting of Manuel Liza and Mary Hempstead Keeney—"The Lone Woman" Who Became Madame Berthold—Kind Treatment of Servants—Organized Charity in 1824—"Entertainment by Joseph Charles"—The Five Coalter Sisters—Rufus Easton's Seven Daughters—The Silk Culture Craze of 1839—Mrs. Anne Lucas Hunt's Philanthropies—A Woman's Influence in the Creation of a Great Estate—The Interesting Mullanphy Family—Loveliest of Her Sex in 1812—Virginia Brides of St. Louis Pioneers—Heroic Characters of the Civil War Period—The Sneed Sisters as Educators—St. Louis Newspaper Women—The Wednesday Club and Public Recreation—A Traveler's Tribute to St. Louis Business Women—A Scholar's Estimate of St. Louis Domestic Life.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE USEFUL CITIZEN	737
Laclede's Sound Judgment—The Crisis of Organization—A Plan of Settlement Which Endured—St. Ange and the Government He Headed—The First Labor Issue in the Community—Thornton Grimsley, the Wise Man of the Hour—How St. Louis Dealt with a Cholera Epidemic—Masterful Treatment of Know Nothing Riots—John O'Fallon, Apostle of Civic Spirit—O. D. Filley and the Committee of Public Safety—The Feverish Winter and Spring of 1861—Formation of the Union Regiments—A Secret Mission to Jefferson Davis—Cannon with Which to Bombard the Arsenal—Arrival of "Tamaroa Marble"—Lyon's Council of War—A Divided Committee—The March on Camp Jackson—City's Baptism of Blood—Rioting Suppressed by Mayor Daniel G. Taylor—The Panic of Sunday—Harney Relieved and Lyon Promoted—Moral Courage of William G. Eliot—The Protest Against Assessment of Southern Sympathizers—Sudden and Peremptory Instructions from Washington—Western Sanitary Commission—James E. Yeatman's Great Work of Relief—Author of the Plan of the Freedmen's Bureau—Mr. Yeatman Asked to Solve "the Cotton and Negro Questions"—The Safety Committee of 1877—Dictation to State and City by Workingmen's Associations—The Great Railroad Strike—Settled Without Loss of Life in St. Louis—The Police Reserves—Business Men's League and Civic Federation—The Eight Years of the World's Fair Mayor.	

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE WORLD'S FAIR	765
Centennial of the Louisiana Purchase—Pierre Chouteau's Suggestion—Initial Action by the Missouri Historical Society—The Committee of Fifty—"Design and Form of Celebration" Long Considered—"Some Form of Exposition" Recommended—Convention of State and Territorial Delegates—Preliminary Organization of Two Hundred—Capital Stock, City Bonds and Government Appropriation—Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company Formed—Heavy Financial Obligations Assumed—The Clean Work Done at Washington—Stockholders Classified—William H. Thompson, "the Hitching Post"—Unprecedented Record of Collections—High Ideals of the Exposition Management—President McKinley's Proclamation—Radical Departure in Exposition Organization—President and Four Directors of Divisions—Man of the World's Fair Hour—The Devoted Executive Committee—Foreign Participation That Broke Precedents—Representation from Forty-three States and Five Territories—Processes Rather Than Products, the Plan and Scope—New Wants Born to Millions—The Educational Motive—Admissions, 19,694,855—A Resident Population of 20,000—Analysis of the Attendance—Exposition Life—The 428 Conventions—Revenues and Expenditures—World's Fair and the Press—The University Relationship—Material Gains of St. Louis—Jefferson Monument.	

CHAPTER XXX.

CENTENNIAL WEEK	801
The Century of Incorporation—Seven Days of Celebration—Organization and Preparation—Policy of the Executive Committee—The Coliseum Dressed—A Court of Honor—Decorations and Illumination—Music Day and Night—Historical Tablets—Planning the Pageants—The Torpedo Flotilla—Church Day—Archbishop Glennon on the City's Individuality—The 444 Religious Organizations—Dr. Niccolls' Historical Sermon—Sunday Schools at the Coliseum—The Parishes on Art Hill—Welcome to 400 Mayors—The Civic League Luncheon—Flight of the Sphericals—Welcome Mass Meeting—Centennial Water Pageant—Reception on 'Change and Luncheon by Merchants—Veiled Prophet, Pageant and Ball—Municipal Parade—Corner Stone Ceremonies—Police Review—The Dirigibles in Forest Park—Three Miles of Industries on Floats—First Flight of Curtiss—Ball of All Nations—Historic Floats—March of the Educational Brigades—Twilight Flight by Curtiss—German-American Entertainment—Automobile Parade—Dedication of Fairground—Curtiss at Forest Park—Get-together Banquet—Review of Centennial Week—Visitors Numbered 150,000—A Statue of Laclede, the Founder.	

CHAPTER XVII.

THE MEDICAL PROFESSION

Doctor Conde's Ethics and Debtors—High Standards Maintained 146 Years—Surgeon Valleau's Estate—A Hospital and a Government Physician in 1801—The First Scientist of St. Louis—Free Vaccination for the Poor—The Saugrain Family—Father Didier's Homely Remedies—The First Mayor's Appeal for Sanitary Precautions—Bathing Advocated as Protection Against Sickness—Miraculous Surgery by Dr. Farrar—Patent Medicines Came with the American Flag—The First Drug Store and the First Medical Student—Beaumont's Book of Worldwide Fame—Some St. Louis Doctors Who Prospered Notably—Medical Lectures at Kemper College—Heroism in the Cholera Epidemics—A Graphic Description of Dr. McDowell—The Colleges and Their Rivalry Before the Civil War—Strange Fancies About Disposition of the Dead—Dr. Charles Alexander Pope, the Perfect Gentleman—Philanthropies of the Profession—Distinguished Writers and Specialists—John Thompson Hodgen, the Beloved—Dr. Moses M. Pallen on Duty to the Woman in Travail—Eleven Medical Colleges at One Time—Graduates Who Won National Reputations—Progressiveness of Medical Education—Washington University Reorganization—The Hospitals—Homeopathy in St. Louis—The Dental Profession—"Extracting, Cleaning, Plugging and Strengthening" in 1809—The Barnard Hospital.

Doctor Saugrain gives notice of the first vaccine matter brought to St. Louis. Indigent persons vaccinated gratuitously.—*Missouri Gazette, March 26, 1809.*

Science and humanity have gone hand-in-hand with the medical profession of St. Louis. When the first doctor died, it was found that 232 people owed him for services. The doctor was Andre Auguste Conde. He came to St. Louis from Fort Chartres the year after Laclède founded the settlement. He established a high standard of ethics and the doctors of St. Louis have lived up to it 146 years. Frederic L. Billon, the authority on St. Louis antiquities, concluded, after some investigation, that Conde's list of debtors was almost a directory of the families of St. Louis and Cahokia for the ten years the good doctor lived here.

The second doctor that came to St. Louis was Jean Baptiste Valleau. He was French but was in the Spanish service, being surgeon of the force which Ulloa sent to build forts at the mouth of the Missouri in 1768. Dr. Valleau, evidently, intended to stay; he applied to St. Ange to assign him a lot and entered into a contract for the building of a house. The site given him was on Second and Pine streets where the Gay building was erected long afterwards. Dr. Valleau furnished the iron and nails. Tousignau, the carpenter, agreed to supply the posts and do all of the work on a house eighteen feet long by fourteen feet wide for \$60. In the performance of his professional duties Valleau made frequent trips to Bellefontaine on the Missouri where the Spaniards were building the forts. Exposure to the hot sun brought on sickness. Within a year after his coming, Dr. Valleau made his will and died. One of the principal assets of his estate was a box of playing cards, a gross of packs. Martin Duralde, the executor, had considerable trouble in disposing of the cards. The number of packs depressed the market. He waited two or

three years and held an auction. In the history of St. Louis Dr. Valteau's will is the first recorded. The village was four and a half years old when he died.

After Valteau came Doctors Antoine Reynal, Bernard Gibkins, Claudio Mercier and Joachim Gingembre. These were residents for varying periods under the Spanish governors. When Doctor Mercier died, he freed his slave and gave \$100 to the poor.

In 1801, responding to several successive appeals, the Spanish authority at New Orleans, concluded that St. Louis had attained the importance justifying a hospital and a government physician. Morales wrote to Delassus:

In accordance with what the Marquis of Casa Calvo agreed with my predecessor regarding a hospital and physician for the town of San Luis de Illinois, it is determined that a physician shall be appointed and that he shall have a salary of \$30 a month. The appointment shall be given to Don Antonio Saugrain. A comfortable room shall be arranged in the quarters designed for a hospital. This accountant's office is to supply everything necessary for twelve beds and from this capital (New Orleans) all of the medicines that will be required will be sent. Don Antonio Saugrain will not get his salary until you have appointed him. He must keep account of all of the medicines used annually and the statement must be sent to this office written in Spanish. The medicines will be used only by the troop and marine of the king who may enter the hospital. If other people should be admitted to the hospital they must pay for the medicines at the existing prices in the market.

To St. Louis, in 1800, came a physician and scientist who was to leave his impression on the community. Dr. Antoine Francois Saugrain may be called the father of the medical profession of St. Louis and the profession may feel honored thereby. He came to the United States on the advice of Benjamin Franklin when the latter was minister to France. The young Frenchman, born in Versailles, highly educated and with developed taste for scientific investigation impressed Mr. Franklin as the kind of a man to make a valuable American. His first experience in this country was rather disheartening. After living nine years with the unfortunate French colony of Gallipolis on the Ohio river, Dr. Saugrain floated down the Ohio and made his way to St. Louis four years before the American occupation. With the Saugrains came the Michauds of Gallipolis. Dr. Saugrain had married Genevieve Rosalie Michaud, eldest of the daughters of John Michaud. Two little girls, Rosalie and Eliza Saugrain, made the journey. They became the wives of Henry Von Phul and James Kennerly, the merchants. Other daughters of Dr. Saugrain married Major Thomas O'Neil, of the United States army, and John W. Reel, the St. Louis merchant. Descendants of the Saugrains and Michauds are numerous in this generation of St. Louisans.

Possibly the reason that the medical profession had attracted so little attention up to the coming of the Saugrains was because of the good health which the community enjoyed. The eldest daughter of the doctor remembered that when the family first came to St. Louis there were few cases of sickness. When Dr. Saugrain came, he discovered that the habitants were accustomed to go to Father Didier, the priest, when they felt bad. Father Didier would fix up teas from herbs and give simple remedies, without professing to be educated in medicine. Dr. Saugrain was a botanist. He depended largely upon vegetable compounds and upon brews from herbs which he grew in a wonderful garden that surrounded his house, or gathered in the wild state.

The first case of smallpox appeared in St. Louis the year after Dr. Saugrain came. With it came a problem that appealed to the scientific mind. The virtue of vaccination was accepted by Dr. Saugrain. As soon as he could supply himself with the material, Dr. Saugrain began a campaign of education. He published cards in the Gazette explaining the preventive. He informed "such physicians and other intelligent persons as reside beyond the limits of his accustomed practice that he will with much pleasure upon application furnish them with vaccine infection." But especially noteworthy, and characteristic of the medical profession in St. Louis in all its history, was the philanthropic position taken by Dr. Saugrain toward those so unfortunate as to be unable to protect themselves. "Persons in indigent circumstances," he wrote to the Gazette, "paupers and Indians will be vaccinated and attended gratis."

From the days when St. Louis chose a doctor for the first mayor of the new city, the medical profession has done for St. Louis far more than to prescribe for physical ills. That first mayor, Dr. William Carr Lane, in his inaugural message, 1823, said: "Health is a primary object, and there is much more danger of disease originating at home than of its seeds coming from abroad. I recommend the appointment of a board of health to be selected from the body of citizens, with ample powers to search out and remove nuisances, and to do whatever else may conduce to general health. This place has of late acquired a character for unhealthfulness which it did not formerly bear and does not deserve. I am credibly informed that it is not many-years since a fever of high grade was rarely, if ever seen. To what is the distressing change attributable? May we not say principally to the insufficiency of our police regulations? What is the present condition of yards, drains, etc.? May we not dread the festering heat of next summer? If this early warning had been heeded, St. Louis might have escaped or minimized the series of terrible cholera epidemics which began in the next decade.

Progress in sanitary conveniences was shown by the newspaper announcement in 1829 that "the new bathing establishment of Mr. J. Sparks & Co. has about thirty-five visitors, and of that number not one has experienced an hour's sickness since the bathing commenced; we should, for the benefit of the city, be glad there were more encouragement, and, as the season is partly over, tickets have been reduced to one dollar the season."

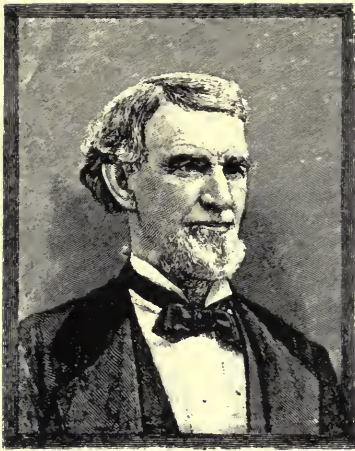
The distinction of being the first American physician and surgeon to establish himself permanently west of the Mississippi belongs to Bernard Gaines Farrar. Born in Virginia and reared in Kentucky, young Dr. Farrar, on the advice of his brother-in-law, Judge Coburn, came to St. Louis to live two years after the American occupation. He was just of age. Dr. Charles Alexander Pope described Farrar as a man of most tender sensibilities, so tender-hearted that he seemed to suffer with his patients. And yet, before he had been in St. Louis three years, Dr. Farrar performed a surgical operation which for a generation was a subject of marvel in the settlements and along the trails of the Mississippi valley. The patient was young Shannon, who had made the journey to the mouth of the Columbia with Lewis and Clark. Going with a second government expedition to find the sources of the Missotri, Shannon was shot by

Blackfoot Indians. He was brought down the river to St. Louis, arriving in very bad condition. Dr. Farrar amputated the leg at the thigh. Shannon recovered, went to school, became a highly educated man and served on the bench in Kentucky. He never failed to give Dr. Farrar the credit of saving his life. The St. Louis surgeon went on performing what in those days were surgical miracles. Older members of the St. Louis profession always believed that Farrar antedated Sansom in the performance of a very delicate operation on the bladder, although Sansom, by reason of making publication first, is given the credit in medical history. Dr. Farrar died of the cholera in the epidemic of 1849. He was the man universally regarded as the dean of the medical profession of St. Louis in that day. It was said of Dr. Farrar that he was the physician and surgeon most devoted to the duties of his profession; that he took very little recreation; that he did not indulge in the sports of fishing and hunting which were common. Dr. Charles A. Pope pronounced before the medical association a eulogy in which he declared that the acts of benevolence and the charity performed by Dr. Farrar at the time when there was no hospital or asylum in the city were "unparalleled."

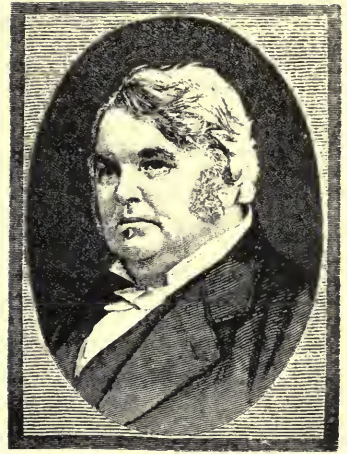
"Patent medicines" followed the American flag into St. Louis. They were here when Colonel Charless began to publish the Gazette. Within a month after the inaugural number, the Gazette was advertising cough drops, balsam of honey, British oil, bilious pills, essence of peppermint. Four years later, Dr. Robert Simpson, a young Marylander who had come to St. Louis as assistant surgeon in the army, opened the first drug store in St. Louis, associating with himself Dr. Quarles. Dr. Simpson became postmaster and in the fifty years of his life in St. Louis had a varied experience. He went into local politics and held the offices of collector and of sheriff. In his more active years it was said of him that he knew personally everybody living in St. Louis and most of the people in the county. He engaged in mercantile life, was cashier of the first savings bank, the Boatmen's, was chosen comptroller of the city several times and went to the Legislature.

The first medical student west of the Mississippi was Meredith Martin. He was a young Kentuckian who came to St. Louis and read medical books in the office of Dr. Farrar in 1828. There was no medical school here. After he had read the books, Martin went to Philadelphia and took a degree. He came back to St. Louis to practice and had a strenuous beginning. Almost immediately he was given a commission to go to the Indian Territory and vaccinate the Indians. This was a work of months. Dr. Martin returned to St. Louis to find the city passing through its first terrible visitation of cholera. He lived to be one of the oldest physicians in St. Louis and was three times elected president of the St. Louis Medical society.

A highly educated son of Maryland who joined the medical profession in St. Louis, a representative of one of the families of Revolutionary patriots, was Dr. Stephen W. Adreon. He came in 1832. After some years of practice he, like many other members of his profession, took an interest in civic matters and served as a member of the city council under three mayors, Kennett, King and Filley. As president of the board of health, Dr. Adreon had much to do with the development of that department of the municipal government. He



DR. CHARLES W. STEVENS



DR. JOHN B. JOHNSON



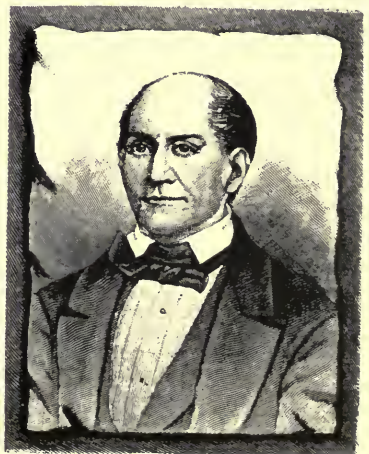
A DOCTOR'S OFFICE IN 1909



McDOWELL'S COLLEGE
At the outbreak of the Civil war



DR. PHILIP WEIGEL



DR. B. G. FARRAR

THE MEDICAL PROFESSION

was also, toward the close of his active career, health officer and one of the managers of the House of Refuge.

Connection with the army brought to St. Louis notable members of the medical profession. The most distinguished of these, probably, was a surgeon of Connecticut birth. Dr. William Beaumont had been a surgeon in the regular army about twenty years when, after being stationed for some time at Jefferson Barracks and the arsenal, he resigned and made his home in St. Louis. That was about 1832. While he was living here Dr. Beaumont brought out a book which gave him worldwide fame. He called it "Physiology of Digestion and Experiments on the Gastric Juice." That wasn't a title to arouse much curiosity among laymen, but when the story got into circulation, interest was not confined to the profession. During the time that Dr. Beaumont was at an army post on the Canadian frontier he was called upon to attend Alexis St. Martin, a boatman. Martin had been shot in such a manner as to leave a hole in his stomach. The wound healed, but the hole did not close. Dr. Beaumont carried on a long series of experiments. He observed the operation of digestion under many conditions. St. Martin ate solids and drank liquids under the doctor's directions. The doctor looked into the stomach, watched and timed the progress. He was able to give from actual observation the effects produced by various kinds of foods and drinks upon the stomach.

Some of these young physicians who settled in St. Louis combined sound business qualifications with professional standing. Dr. Alexander Marshall, who was born eight miles from Edinburgh, Scotland, made a careful tour of observation of American cities before he decided upon St. Louis in 1840 as his permanent location. He had \$600 when he came here and gave himself six months to live on that while making acquaintances. But before the half year of probation was up, Dr. Marshall had not only become self-supporting on his practice, but had added \$600 to his nestegg. He continued to practice in St. Louis and accumulated an estate of \$300,000.

Henry Van Studdiford was intended for the ministry by his New Jersey relatives, but his natural bent and education took him into the profession of medicine. He came to St. Louis in 1839, invested the surplus earnings from his practice in real estate. He did this so judiciously that he became one of the wealthiest members of his profession in this city. He married a daughter of Colonel Martin Thomas, the army officer who established and commanded the St. Louis arsenal.

The first medical lecture delivered west of the Mississippi was by Dr. John S. Moore, from North Carolina. On the basis of a fine classical education he started for Philadelphia, at that early day the center of medical education in the United States, to complete his studies and "get a diploma." Meeting Dr. McDowell, he was induced to stop in Cincinnati, and became a member of the first class of the Cincinnati Medical college, graduating in 1832. As the youngest member of the faculty of the medical department of Kemper college, with which medical education began in St. Louis, Dr. Moore delivered that first lecture.

Charles W. Stevens was a member of the Kemper college medical faculty. He was one of the first graduates of that institution. Coming west from his

New York home to be a civil engineer and surveyor, when he was about of age, Stevens found that profession unpromising and took up the study of medicine. Diseases of the nervous system became his specialty and he was superintendent and physician of the St. Louis Insane Asylum. Kemper college was located where the asylum was afterwards built. Dr. Stevens went to his charge of the city's wards on the same hilltop in southwest St. Louis where he had studied medicine and had lectured a quarter of a century before. The first class of young doctors graduated at Kemper included Dr. E. S. Frazier, a young Kentuckian, who married a sister of Dr. John S. Moore and joined the profession in St. Louis.

Dr. Edwin Bathurst Smith, a Virginian, member of an old family of that state, before he came to St. Louis had been one of the founders of the Louisiana Medical college. He had been the first physician to give yellow fever patients cold drinks to allay the fever. He went through the first cholera epidemic of this country, that of 1832, and won high reputation as an authority. After settling in St. Louis he devoted the most of his attention to the sciences and was one of a coterie which half a century ago gave St. Louis worldwide fame in scientific matters.

The cholera epidemics developed heroic qualities in the medical profession of St. Louis. Dr. Hardage Lane, a cousin of the first mayor of St. Louis, Dr. William Carr Lane, devoted himself day and night to cholera patients in 1849, until he was overcome with physical exhaustion, dying after a brief illness.

In the fall of 1838 Dr. Joseph N. McDowell began to lecture to the students of Kemper college. His subject was the history of man. He illustrated his talks with skulls of the different races. The lectures were fascinating. Students wanted more. Dr. McDowell built a medical college, not the great pile of masonry which looked like a massive fort; that came later. The first McDowell college was a small brick building. There the young men of St. Louis flocked to him for medical education. Architecturally, McDowell's college was as original as the founder. A large stove in the amphitheater of his first college building gave Dr. McDowell the suggestion of an octagon building. This plan was carried out as far as means would permit. The octagon building was to be eight stories in height. It was started with foundations eight feet thick but never reached the height designed. In the center was a column of masonry which was to form the peak of the roof. In this massive column Dr. McDowell intended to have niches in which to place the copper cases containing the bodies of members of his family.

From the Christian Brothers' academy, northward toward the city was open space. It extended toward Mill Creek and the famous mill. The creek ran under a culvert where Seventh street crossed. This open space Dr. McDowell appropriated for his patriotic celebrations. He encouraged his devoted medical students to make much of Washington's Birthday and of the Fourth of July. Several cannon were included in the equipment of McDowell's Medical college. They had been obtained originally for moral effect at a time when popular prejudice was easily inflamed against dissecting rooms. And when a national holiday came around, the head of the institution took evident satisfaction in showing the community that he and his constituency knew how to shoot them.

The cannon were not mounted upon wheeled carriages but that did not deter Dr. McDowell. Wearing a three-cornered hat of the continentals, with feathers bristling from it, having a large cavalry sabre strapped to his waist, McDowell would lead his students carrying the cannon to the vacant space. The guns were placed on sawbucks for support. Dr. McDowell superintended the loading and firing. In loud and emphatic language he gave his orders, encouraging much cheering and telling his followers to "make Rome howl." That was one of the doctor's favorite forms of appeal.

Those days of patriotic outburst by Dr. McDowell and the medical students were observed in very different spirit by the Christian Brothers and their pupils. Brother Jasper was in charge of the playground. The coming of the medical body was the signal for Brother Jasper to assemble the students of the academy and to marshal them to a place of safety. The Brothers, viewing the reckless manner in which Dr. McDowell conducted the salutes in honor of the day, had no doubt there would sometime be an explosion, with loss of life or limb. There was strong suspicion that the evident apprehension of the Brothers stimulated Dr. McDowell to louder and more violent language and to greater demonstrations on his holidays. The more marked the disturbance of the Brothers became, the greater seemed the satisfaction of the doctor. And yet it was not malevolence, for Dr. McDowell would speak well of his neighbors. One day returning from the celebration on the vacant space, the doctor thrust his head in at an open window of the academy and loudly declared with unquotable emphasis that if he had a boy young enough to go to school he would send him to the Brothers.

Dr. Warren B. Outten, the surgeon, was a boy student at the Christian Brothers' academy, as it was called in the decade of 1850-60. His recollection of the militant head of McDowell's Medical college remained vivid through all of the years that followed:

He was a tall, slim man, with clean cut features and cleanly shaven face. His hair was gray and combed straight back from his forehead after the manner of Calhoun. Dr. McDowell was to each and every student of the academy a marked and wonderful character. His intensity and tendency toward profanity, his high pitched voice, his swaggering and independent bearing made him always interesting, awesome and peculiar. I can well remember how the brothers viewed him. To them he was a vice regnant deputy of His Satanic Majesty. Brother Valgen, who was master of dormitory for fifty years, a man of mild, timid character, if he could see Dr. McDowell a square off, would cross himself and hunt for cover.

Great reputation locally as an orator, had Dr. McDowell. His language was always picturesque and often lurid. His commencement addresses drew to his college large audiences. The late Dr. Montrose A. Pallen could describe graphically one of these commencement days at McDowell's college, for he was present although a student of another institution. The manner and words of McDowell made a lasting impression on Pallen's memory. On that commencement day, Dr. McDowell came down the center aisle of the amphitheater, carrying his violin and bow. When he reached the amphitheater table he turned and facing the expectant throng began to play. After several tunes, he laid down the violin and spoke in his high pitched voice:

Now, gentlemen, we have been together five long months. Doubtless, some of these months have been very happy months, and doubtless some have been very perplexing ones.

Such is the eternal fate of workers and students. But now, gentlemen, the saddest of all sad words must be uttered, namely, farewell! Here retrospection takes her sway, either gladdened or saddened, as idiosyncrasies hold the mind. We have wandered in the labyrinthian way of anatomy. We have floated in the ethereal atmosphere of physiology. We have waded knee deep, nay, neck deep, into a sea of theory and practice; ground, filtered, pounded and inspected elements of materia medica, and slowly pounded in the endless crucible of chemistry. As we say farewell! it is needless for me to say that I hope God may, in His infinite mercy, bless you as you deserve. But remember that labor omnia vincit. No man under God's blue sky need hope that success can, or will come without labor, for God has ordained that all of us must earn our living by the sweat of our brow. Nature only recognizes the laborer, and eternally damns the rich man, by satiety and disease.

Doubtless one of your number, in this class, will come back to the great city of St. Louis with the snow of many winters upon his hair and walking upon three legs instead of two, as Sphinx has it. As he wanders here and there upon its streets amidst the crowded and eager throng, noting the wondrous improvement here and the change there, suddenly, gentlemen, it will occur to him to ask of one of the eager passers-by, "Where is Dr. McDowell?" "Dr. McDowell? Dr. McDowell?" he will say, "what Dr. McDowell?" "Why," he will tell him, "Dr. McDowell, the surgeon?" "Oh, yes, Dr. McDowell, the surgeon. Why! He lies buried close to Bellefontaine."

Slowly, gentlemen, he will wend his way thither, and there amidst the rank weeds, he will find a plain marble slab inscribed, "J. McDowell, Surgeon." While he stands there contemplating the rare virtues and eccentricities of this old man, suddenly, gentlemen, the spirit of Dr. McDowell will arise on ethereal wings and bless him, aye! thrice bless him. Then, suddenly, gentlemen, this spirit will take a swoop and as he passes McDowell's college he will drop a parting tear. But, gentlemen, when he gets to Pope's college, he will spit upon it. Yes, I say, he will spit upon it.

Into his peroration Dr. McDowell would throw almost frenzied emphasis. When he concluded there would be a hurricane of cheers and yells. Dr. Pallen was a student at Pope's college, but, as did many of the students of the rival institution, he went to hear Dr. McDowell's address to his graduates.

Very strange were the ideas Dr. McDowell had about the disposition of the dead. When Dr. McDowell thought he was going to die, he called to his bedside Dr. Charles W. Stevens and Dr. Drake McDowell, his son. He exacted from them a solemn promise that they would place his body in a copper receptacle and fill the space with alcohol. The receptacle, they were to suspend in Mammoth Cave, Kentucky. Permission to do this, the doctor claimed he had already obtained. This eccentric demand was not a great surprise to Dr. Stevens. Coming to McDowell's college to study medicine, Stevens had learned quickly something of his preceptor's strange fancies. A child of Dr. McDowell died a few days after Stevens entered the college. The coffin was lined with metal. The body was placed in the coffin. All space remaining was filled with alcohol and the coffin was sealed tightly. A year or so later, the body of the child was removed from the coffin, and placed in a large copper case. This was Dr. McDowell's method of treating the bodies of his children. No religious service of any kind was performed. The copper cases were carried at night attended by a procession formed by the medical students and friends of the family. Each person carried a torch. The place of disposition was a vault in the rear of the residence. The thought of a natural cave as a final resting place was a favorite one. Dr. McDowell bought a cave near Hannibal. He had a wall built across the opening and placed in it an iron door. The vase or case containing one of the children in alcohol was taken from St. Louis to this cave and suspended



DR. THOMAS O'REILLY



DR. JOHN P. BRYSON



MISSOURI MEDICAL COLLEGE AND CHRISTIAN BROTHERS' COLLEGE ON EIGHTH STREET BEFORE THE WAR

THE MEDICAL PROFESSION

from the roof. Vandals broke open the iron door and the vault became accessible to the curious public. Dr. McDowell gave up the notion and made no further use of the cave. He purchased a knoll or mound across the river, not far from Cahokia, in view with a glass from the cupola of the college. There he constructed a vault in which he placed the body of his wife. Years afterward Dr. McDowell and his wife were buried in Bellefontaine.

McDowell wore his hair in an iron gray mane thrown back and falling almost to the shoulder. He had great natural power as an orator, but he cultivated rather familiarity than dignity. Standing at the front of the courthouse to address a public gathering he was greeted by some one in the crowd as "old sawbones." "Yes," he answered back, in his high pitched voice, "I am 'old sawbones' and look out that I don't saw your bones."

Dr. McDowell was a fascinating lecturer. He had stories to illustrate every assertion. His students were in the habit of saying that Dr. McDowell could tell a story to go with every bone, muscle, nerve and vessel of the human body. Dr. McDowell was not a successful business man. The college passed through financial straits. The doctor held St. Louis University responsible for his money troubles because the faculty permitted another medical college to be organized under the auspices of the University. He lectured against the Jesuits. And then he professed to feel that he and his college were in danger of attack. Wearing a brass breastplate made according to his own design and carrying arms, Dr. McDowell turned his medical college into a fortress. He bought 1,400 condemned muskets from the United States government, paying \$2.50 apiece for them. These he stored in the basement of the college. From old brass, which he bought, and from the college bell Dr. McDowell had cast for him six cannon. He talked of recruiting from his students a force to march across the plains and capture some Mexican territory. When the Civil war came Dr. McDowell went south and gave his cannon to the Confederacy. He died in 1868.

Altogether unlike McDowell was that other dominant figure of early medical education in St. Louis, Charles Alexander Pope. In leisure hours, Dr. Warren B. Outten attained marked facility with the brush. He painted a portrait of Dr. Pope, under whom he had been a student when Pope's college was known throughout the country. Dr. Outten has given a pen picture of Dr. Pope. He describes him as "a very handsome man, about five feet, nine inches tall, having a well shaped head with dark blue eyes, well turned eyebrows, an expression of thoughtful gentleness about the eyes. It was a face such as to win anyone on first sight. Dr. Pope had a general appearance of elegance and culture. His voice was quick, incisive and agreeable in tone. His movements were quick and graceful. Dr. Pope was unconsciously polite and courteous. He was in my estimation, in every respect, a most perfect gentleman. He never descended to anything little, petty or mean. No one ever heard a vulgar or profane word come from his lips, nor did he ever utter abuse or gossip about a professional confrere. Always eager to commend and always full of good advice and encouragement, he made the world around him better for his having been in it."

From such a picture of Dr. Pope it is not difficult to understand the strong and lasting impression he made upon his profession in St. Louis. Dr. Pope was from Alabama. He had studied under Drake at Cincinnati, had

graduated from the University of Pennsylvania, had spent several years in medical schools in France, in England and in Ireland, coming to St. Louis in 1842. Within a year he entered the faculty of the St. Louis Medical college as professor of anatomy. In 1846, Dr. Pope married Caroline O'Fallon, the daughter of John O'Fallon. Proud of his brilliant son-in-law, John O'Fallon built on Seventh and Spruce streets the medical college which in its architecture and appointments was without equal in the United States, outside of New York and Philadelphia. Around him Dr. Pope drew a faculty of great strength. In 1854 he was elected president of the American Medical association.

Coming back to St. Louis from Europe in 1870, Dr. Pope received a reception such as has been given to few citizens after an absence. To the faculty, newly organized, of the St. Louis College of Physicians and Surgeons, at a banquet, Dr. Pope made an address in March, 1870. Four months later, this man of splendid faculties, with a record of inestimable usefulness to his profession in St. Louis, was dead by his own hand. It was one of St. Louis' mysteries.

Pope's College survives, with its strenuous traditions and its honorable record in the history of medical education of St. Louis. It has been, in its lifetime, the medical department of two universities. It has stood alone as the St. Louis Medical college. Uniting with the Missouri Medical college, it was merged in the Washington University medical department.

The decade 1840-50 gave to the medical profession of St. Louis notable characters. These men were not only strong personalities but they brought to their practice and to the educational work in which they engaged the advantages of study and observation far beyond the ordinary. And this inheritance of knowledge and thought they passed down to the thousands of young men who came to the medical schools of St. Louis. To these physicians and surgeons, coming from other countries and from various states, St. Louis owes much for her foremost position among cities in the philanthropy which has to do with physical ails.

S. Gratz Moses, born in Philadelphia, had enjoyed classical education and medical training before he went to Europe as physician to Joseph Bonaparte, the eldest brother of Napoleon. His connection with the Bonaparte family brought him into friendly relations with the great men of his profession in Paris. Returning to this country, Dr. Moses came to St. Louis in 1841. The next year he, with half a dozen young men in his profession, started something that was new in this city and one of the first of its class in the United States. That institution was a dispensary for treatment of those unable to employ physicians. Mrs. Vital M. Garesche suggested this dispensary and worked zealously for its establishment. The support came from churches and private subscriptions. The Mullanphy family gave generously toward this as they did toward other movements to relieve the unfortunate. At that time the Unitarian church was on Fourth and Pine streets. With his spirit of cooperation in all public spirited enterprise, Rev. Dr. William G. Eliot gave rooms to the dispensary office in the basement of his church. Associated with Dr. Moses in this work were Dr. William M. McPheeters, Dr. J. B. Johnson, Dr. Charles A. Pope, Dr. J. L. Clark, Dr. George Johnson and others. These men carried on the

dispensary for seven years until the city assumed this as a municipal function and opened a public dispensary.

Those were primitive times. It is said that the only one of these practitioners in the early forties who rode in a buggy to visit his patients was Dr. Clark. The others rode horseback. Dr. John B. Johnson was of Massachusetts birth and of Harvard education. He came from the position of house surgeon of the Massachusetts General hospital to enter practice at St. Louis. A man of splendid appearance and fine manners, Dr. Johnson obtained almost immediately a professional standing among the leading families. One of his earliest friends was Theron Barnum, who kept the City hotel in the days when the leading hotelkeeper of St. Louis ranked close to the mayor in public estimation. It was said of Dr. Johnson that for many years he did not send a bill for services, relying upon his patients to come around and settle when they felt so disposed.

Dr. Moses M. Pallen, the head of the Pallen family in St. Louis, was a Virginian by birth, educated at the University of Virginia. He practiced in Vicksburg several years before coming to St. Louis in 1842. He was a student of the sciences as well as a physician and was one of the coterie which gave high character to the St. Louis Academy of Science in its early days.

From Prague, in Bohemia, came to St. Louis, in 1845, a highly educated specialist in the person of Dr. Simon Pollak. He had already given study to the branch of medicine which was to place him among the leaders in ophthalmology. Joining the coterie of physicians and surgeons who had established the dispensary, Dr. Pollak pioneered the way for what has become one of the city's most beneficial institutions. In 1852, Dr. Pollak started the movement which by private subscriptions founded the Missouri Institution for the Education of the Blind. This was supported five years by the contributions of citizens and was then made a State institution.

In 1845, according to the Medical and Surgical Journal published here, St. Louis had 146 "persons who are endeavoring to obtain a livelihood by the practice of the healing art in this city, which includes the homeopaths, botanics, Thompsonians, etc." The population was 40,000. There was a doctor of some kind for 274 people. The Journal stated that about one-third of these doctors enjoyed lucrative practice and that many of the others were leaving and settling in surrounding towns.

Distinguished among the writers on medical subjects in this country was Dr. R. S. Holmes, a native of Pittsburg, who left the position of army surgeon to make his home in St. Louis about 1849. Dr. Holmes not only contributed a great deal that attracted attention in medical literature but he became widely known as a magazine and newspaper contributor. He popularized subjects more or less connected with his profession. He wrote on "Beauty," "Use of the Hair Among the Ancients," and like topics. He contributed "Sketches of American Character." His great work in his profession was his study and treatment of malignant, climatic fevers. He led in the use of large doses of quinine to overcome malaria. Visiting Europe he brought home to St. Louis the finest microscope that had been seen here and entered upon minute researches with the powerful lens.

The medical profession of St. Louis early became composite as to nationality and as to education. One of the German patriots of 1848 who became prominent in the medical profession of St. Louis was Dr. G. Fischer. Edward Montgomery from near Belfast, Ireland, settled in St. Louis in 1849 to practice medicine. He became widely known as a writer on medical subjects. About the same time, three other young men established themselves as physicians in St. Louis, coming from widely separated parts of the world. Louis Ch. Boisliniere was from the Island of Guadeloupe, descended from one of the oldest families of that West Indian paradise. He had been educated in France, had traveled extensively in South America and had been for some time a guest of Henry Clay and other eminent Kentuckians before he chose St. Louis as his permanent home. Under the auspices of the Sisters of Charity Dr. Boisliniere took prominent part in giving St. Louis the honor of establishing the first lying-in hospital and foundling asylum in the United States. He was the first physician to hold the office of coroner in St. Louis. That was in 1858. Dr. Boisliniere's recreation was singing. He delighted in classical music and those who heard him in the rendition of church masses never forgot the fervor with which he sang. Dr. F. Ernst. Baumgarten began to practice in St. Louis contemporaneously with Dr. Boisliniere. He was from the kingdom of Hanover and had edited a surgical journal in German before he came to St. Louis. He became one of the founders of the German Medical society of St. Louis, a very strong professional organization. The third of these young doctors was Thomas O'Reilly, who came from County Cavan, Ireland, with the best medical education that Dublin could give him. All of his life in St. Louis he was devoted to the political advancement of his native island.

The Hotel for Invalids was the name chosen for a private hospital started in the Paul house at Second and Walnut streets in the summer of 1848. The institution was short lived.

Strikingly unlike his preceptor, McDowell, was John Thompson Hodgen, who was born in a rugged part of Kentucky near the birthplace of Abraham Lincoln. After he graduated under McDowell, Dr. Hodgen became first demonstrator and then professor in the institution. When the war came and McDowell's college was turned into a military prison, Hodgen was chosen surgeon-general for the Western Sanitary commission. Later he was surgeon-general for the state of Missouri. He tried to keep alive the old medical school but finally joined the faculty of the St. Louis Medical college. The American Medical association drew upon the St. Louis profession repeatedly to fill the office of president. One of those drafted was Dr. Hodgen.

The beloved surgeon of St. Louis in 1870-80 was John T. Hodgen. He used but few words. He accepted no familiarity. Addressed as "Doc," he would respond, "If you want me to answer you politely, don't call me 'Doc.' There is no such word. Call me 'Doctor' and there will be no trouble, but I will not answer to the call of 'Doc.'" And no man once receiving this rebuke required another warning. Dr. Hodgen could put an astonishing effect into his few words. His assertions uttered before his students were remembered and quoted for years afterwards. One who studied under him, said: "He could say 'I don't know,' in such a manner as to convey the idea that there was a profundity of knowledge back of it."



DR. EDWIN B. SMITH



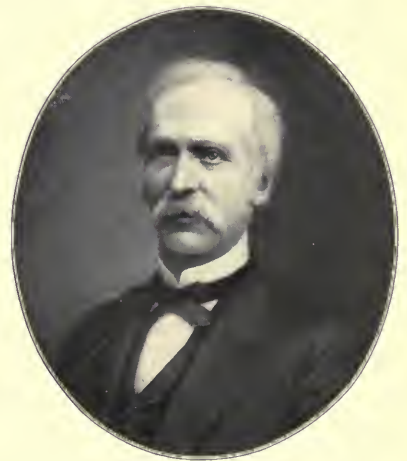
DR. HENRY VAN STUDDIFORD



DR. CHARLES A. POPE



DR. RICHARD F. BARRETT



DR. S. GRATZ MOSES

THE MEDICAL PROFESSION

Men of strong sympathy, fine sensibilities and great charity have ennobled the medical profession of St. Louis. It is told of Dr. Hodgen that in driving up to the residence of a patient, where the case was desperate, he would sometimes say to the one with him: "Look out and see if crape is on the door. I am afraid to look." If crape was on the door the doctor drove on quickly; if not, Dr. Hodgen was out of the buggy in a hurry and with a bright face, his lips forming for a pleasant little whistle showing the pleasure he felt, he went into the house.

Students of Dr. Moses M. Pallen, a member of an old Virginia family, who came to St. Louis in 1842, were given an impression of professional obligation which was far more than scientific. Dr. Pallen held the professorship of obstetrics for more than twenty years. He taught thousands of students "that the doctor when at the bedside of the woman in labor almost meets his God, and that duty, the stern daughter of God, must be evoked every moment and hour in her travail. Give your strength to the laboring mother. Fill her with hope; it may be light diet but it will be very stimulating; it awakens courage. If the doctor ever is at the service of any one he must be at the absolute service of the lying-in woman. Be thoughtful of her in her agony of pain. Encouragement is everything. It well becomes God's most exalted creature. To relieve distress is not only human but it is Godlike; and thrice blessed is that man who relieves a single maternal pain." That was the character of Dr. Pallen's teaching as one of his pupils, Dr. Warren B. Outten, described it long years after his own graduation.

The medical profession of St. Louis before the Civil war drew upon Kentucky born men for some of its strongest characters. Besides Joseph Nash McDowell and M. L. Linton, John T. Hodgen, E. H. Gregory and E. S. Frazier were from Kentucky stock. Dr. Moses L. Linton came from Kentucky in 1842. A graduate of Transylvania University, perfected in his profession by study abroad, he had a short time before moving to St. Louis announced his conversion to the Roman Catholic faith. Then had ensued a sharp controversy between Rev. Robert Grundy, a distinguished Presbyterian minister, and Dr. Linton, running through a series of pamphlets and attracting a great deal of attention. Dr. Linton wrote with much spirit and in an attractive style. The high standard of medical education in St. Louis owes a great deal to that farmer's son in Kentucky. Dr. Linton took a course in Europe at a time when few American doctors did that. He was associated in his studies abroad part of the time with Dr. Charles A. Pope. That association had much to do with Dr. Linton's decision to settle in St. Louis, where he was invited to take a chair in the faculty of the medical department of St. Louis University. The St. Louis Medical Journal, established in 1843, owed its beginning to Dr. Linton more than to any one else. Dr. McPheeters was associated with Dr. Linton in the editorial management of the Journal. "Outlines of Pathology" was the title of one of the first medical books published by an author west of the Mississippi. In that book Dr. Linton gave to the profession what served for students in the way of general instruction many years.

Between 1850 and 1860 St. Louis began to produce her own professors. One of the first of these was Dr. T. L. Papin, a descendant of the founder of

the settlement. In 1852 he became a member of the faculty in the Missouri Medical college. The greater part of his career he was a teacher of medicine. St. John's Hospital owed its origin to Dr. Papin and the connection of the medical college with the hospital was largely brought about by him. The Nidelets, James C. and Sylvester, were descended from the Pratte family. They completed their education in St. Louis and entered the medical profession here. The father of the Nidelets was of San Domingo birth, but of French descent. He was Stephen F. Nidelet. He came to this country while a boy and became a merchant of Philadelphia. While on a visit to St. Louis he made the acquaintance of Celeste E. Pratte, a daughter of General Bernard Pratte and a belle of the decade of 1820-1830. Marriage followed. Some years afterwards the Nidelets removed from Philadelphia to St. Louis and made this their home.

Dr. E. H. Gregory, born, bred and educated in Kentucky, joined the profession at St. Louis in 1852. He became the surgeon-in-chief of the Sisters' Hospital. That was the first hospital west of the Mississippi. Sister Francis Xavier, with three other members of the order of Sisters of Charity, which had been founded at Emmitsburg, Maryland, in 1809, came to St. Louis in 1828 and started the hospital in a modest way on a strip of ground 100 feet wide running from Fourth to Third street along the south side of Spruce. The lot was a donation for the purpose by John Mullanphy, who set a fine pace for philanthropy in St. Louis soon after the American flag was hoisted. The first building was small. It left room for an orchard and a garden. The institution grew until crowding commerce prompted removal, July, 1874, to a large block of ground on Montgomery street east of Grand avenue. Around him Dr. Gregory gathered a staff composed of such specialists as N. B. Carson, Paul Y. Tupper, S. Pollak, W. C. Glasgow, L. L. McCabe.

The German patriots, who added elements of great influence to the population of St. Louis, included some characters born to make war on the existing order whether in politics or in the professions. One of these was Dr. Adam Hammer. He was a man of medium height, slender, sallow. Below a high round forehead were a long sharp thin nose and a pointed chin, emphasized by chin whiskers. Dr. Hammer had keen black eyes. Members of the profession said Dr. Hammer looked like the pictures of Harvey, who discovered the circulation of the blood. Hammer had been well educated in German universities. He came here with considerable reputation as a surgeon. He had performed some wonderful operations. So long as he resided in St. Louis he was the chief figure in frequent professional disputes. At the meetings of the Medical society, Dr. Hammer could be depended upon to start something before the evening was over. These scenes at last became so disagreeable to the other members that the presence of the reporters was dispensed with. Dr. Hammer was for a time the dean of the Humboldt Medical college, which was located opposite the city hospital. Afterwards he was offered a chair in the faculty of the Missouri Medical college. It was something of a relief to the profession in St. Louis when Dr. Hammer, after dividing his time between this country and Germany, decided to take up his permanent residence in the fatherland.

To the third generation of a family of medical practitioners in St. Louis belonged Dr. John Charles Lebrecht. His father was Dr. John Lebrecht. The grandfather on the maternal side was Dr. Valentine Ludwig. John M. Youngblood was of Tennessee birth. He was southern in type but like many other St. Louisans who came from Southern states, especially Tennessee and Kentucky, he took the Union side. When he went back to his native state during the war, he was the surgeon of a Missouri regiment of United States volunteers. After the war Dr. Youngblood's practice included free service to a great many poor people. When he died in 1879 there was presented the touching scene of his office thronged with men, women and children who had been befriended by him.

The grandfather of Dr. Mordecai Yarnall, although of old Quaker stock, fought under Commodore Perry and helped to gain the victory on Lake Erie. For his gallantry New York and Pennsylvania gave Lieutenant Yarnall medals and Virginia bestowed upon him a sword. After service in the Confederate army with Stonewall Jackson, Mordecai Yarnall came to St. Louis and joined the medical profession. Dr. Adolphus Schlossstein came to St. Louis in 1867, with not only the classical education of the gymnasium, but after having taken courses at several universities; he was fresh from study in the hospitals and practice as a surgeon in the German army. He practiced his profession and at the same time became interested with his brother, George Schlossstein, in the manufacture of window glass. The Schlossstein family was of Bavarian descent.

In the decade of 1880-1890 a new generation took up the traditions and carried forward the prestige of the medical profession of St. Louis. Medical education for which St. Louis had won widespread fame was still farther advanced. The St. Louis Post-Graduate School of Medicine, the first institution of the kind in the country, was established. Its purpose was to encourage the graduate to go on with his study and researches. A moving spirit in this development was Herman Tuholske, who had come from his home in Berlin, with a classical education in the gymnasium to enter upon professional life in St. Louis not long after the Civil war. Graduating from the Missouri Medical college, Dr. Tuholske perfected himself by study in the schools of London and the European capitals. He attracted much attention by the reforms he instituted as the physician in charge of the St. Louis dispensary. He went through epidemics with credit for his personal courage and professional skill. When he began to agitate the movement for advance in the standard of medical education in St. Louis he was joined by such men as Robinson, Michel, Steele, Hardaway, Glasgow, Spencer, Fischell and Engelmann. In response to this St. Louis movement the State of Missouri required three years' attendance upon lectures for license to practice.

St. Louis had at one time eleven medical colleges. Going east in 1893 to address the alumni of a medical college, the then chancellor of Washington University, Dr. W. S. Chaplin, gave this testimony to the progressiveness of medical education in St. Louis:

Some thirty years ago the faculty of one of these medical schools formed an organization which was a hard and fast agreement that they would turn over every dollar of profit to a fund, put it out of their control entirely and devote that fund to furthering medi-

cal education. As a result of this they built one of the very best educational buildings I know of. It has large laboratories; it has splendid lecture rooms. It has every feature of the most modern methods of teaching. And that has been built and equipped out of the self-sacrifice of members of the medical profession. I believe it is a lone example of such self-sacrifice. I know of no other profession that can boast of such an example; nor do I know of any other school in the medical profession that can show it.

Upon Dr. John Green, the chancellor bestowed, in large measure, the credit for the movement.

The St. Louis College of Physicians and Surgeons came into existence in 1879. The movement was of considerable strength and resulted in the erection of a modern college building. The Beaumont Medical college cultivated close relations with hospitals, the Alexian, St. Mary's and the Missouri Pacific. It had its origin with a group of younger members of the profession, desiring to spread the benefits of hospital experience. Marion-Sims Medical college was started in 1890 and the Rebecca hospital was established in connection with it. The Barnes Medical college was inaugurated with a board of trustees including some of the most prominent citizens of St. Louis. For this institution was erected a handsome five-story building on Garrison avenue and Chestnut street, very complete in appointments. The medical colleges of St. Louis have for several years graduated from 600 to 750 students annually.

Alfred Heacock, who came from Pennsylvania, after a few years' practice in Ohio and Indiana, lived to be the oldest practitioner in St. Louis. When he was eighty years of age, the St. Louis Medical society made him a member for life without payment of dues. In earlier years before the days of railroads, Dr. Heacock crossed the Mississippi by the upper ferry and attended patients in the American bottom and as far east as Collinsville, making the travel on horseback.

At a meeting of the Alumni Association of the Missouri Medical college, Professor C. O. Curtman, in 1895, introduced the X-ray discovery to the medical profession of St. Louis.

The surgeon-general who developed the Marine Hospital Service into its latter day importance was born in St. Louis. General Walter Wyman, son of Professor Edward Wyman, graduated at Amherst and at the St. Louis Medical college. He entered the Marine Hospital service as an assistant surgeon in charge of the St. Louis Marine hospital in 1876 and almost immediately began to attract more than local attention by his efforts to improve the conditions of the deck hands of western rivers. Congress was prompted by the movement which General Wyman fostered to pass a law for the better treatment of deckhands. Then came the enlargement of the Marine Hospital service to meet the problems of epidemics with government authority—first cholera, then yellow fever and plague. To General Wyman's fearlessness and intelligence the country has owed its escape from threatened visitations of contagious diseases. The surgeon-general's successful conduct of the service encouraged Congress to transfer, step by step, to this department the various government functions relating to the public health. The quarantine system grew into its effective status under General Wyman's investigations and recommendations. With the Spanish-American war, the service came into greatly increased responsibilities. It was extended over Cuba and Porto Rico. General Wyman aimed at control of the



DR. GEORGE J. BERNAYS



DR. L. H. LAIDLEY



DR. W. M. MCPHEETERS



DR. A. C. BERNAYS



DR. JOHN T. HODGEN

THE MEDICAL PROFESSION

yellow fever situation in the West Indies and he achieved it. He promoted the establishment of a great sanitarium for the treatment of consumptives on the plains of New Mexico. The extension of American influence in the Pacific brought the study of leprosy, and of the bubonic plague within his jurisdiction. The greatest public health officer in the world today is a St. Louisan, born and bred.

The first successful operation of the Caesarean section performed in St. Louis or Missouri is credited to Dr. A. C. Bernays. This was in 1889. Dr. Bernays was a young man, in the thirties. He was the first American to receive at Heidelberg the degree of Doctor of Medicine "Summa cum laude." He became famous internationally for the originality of his surgical operations, many of which were classed as daring by the profession. His surgical experiences he published in a series of pamphlets bearing the title, "Chips from a Surgeon's Workshop."

"The students' friend," Dr. Robert Luedeking was called. He was a native St. Louisan. When he died in 1908, at the age of fifty-five, he had honored his profession and his city. The title bestowed upon him had been earned by his devotion to the cause of medical education. Dr. Luedeking received the very best of advantages at Heidelberg. He endeavored to advance the standards in his teaching which began with a professorship in the St. Louis Medical college and was concluded with several years of invaluable service as dean of the medical department of Washington University. Dr. Luedeking was more than an instructor, he was the adviser and helper of the young men who came to St. Louis to prepare themselves for the profession. Through Dr. Luedeking's efforts and influence, Adolphus Busch was inspired to lend his aid to the material increase of facilities for instruction in St. Louis—facilities which placed this city with the best of centers of medical education.

The most notable forward stride in medical education was taken by St. Louis in 1910. Washington University, through the president, Robert S. Brookings, and the chancellor, David F. Houston, announced the reorganization of the Medical Department in connection with a group of new hospitals. The plans contemplated expenditure of \$5,000,000 for grounds, buildings and endowments. The initial impetus to this movement was given by contributions amounting to more than \$2,000,000 by W. K. Bixby, Adolphus Busch, Edward Mallinckrodt and Robert S. Brookings. The inspiration of the plans was succinctly stated in this paragraph from the formal announcement by the Corporation of Washington University:

The greatest natural resource that any community has consists of its men and women, and there is no resource which so much needs conservation or whose conservation has been so much neglected in its larger aspects. It is difficult to see how any other educational department can so directly and profoundly influence the welfare of a great community as an effective medical department; and while other departments, such as agriculture, college and educational divisions have been fairly well developed, medical departments everywhere, not only in the West, but throughout the nation, have been comparatively neglected.

In May, 1911, the sites had been secured; the architects' plans for the buildings were ready. Chancellor Houston made this definite announcement:

St. Louis is to have a new, thoroughly efficient, modern general hospital, a new children's hospital and a great, modern medical school. This is no dream; it is a reality. The

school is in operation, with its reorganized staff and largely increased facilities. All obstacles to the prosecution of the hospital plans have been removed, and the erection of buildings will be begun as soon as the details have been perfected. The three institutions will work in the closest affiliation and, as far as service goes, will be one.

The three institutions will occupy adjoining tracts of land beautifully located at the east end of Forest Park, east and west of Euclid avenue, south of the Wabash railroad. The tract has a double front on Forest Park, and it would be difficult to find a more convenient or beautiful location in St. Louis. The site is sufficiently removed from the smoke of the city, yet sufficiently near the mass of population to make access easy.

On the tract will be erected the Robert A. Barnes Memorial General Hospital, with a building for a training school for nurses, the new building for the St. Louis Children's Hospital and an entirely equipped home for Washington University Medical School, consisting of a clinical building in close proximity to the hospitals, a pathological laboratory building, a laboratory building for biological chemistry, physiology, pharmacology and preventive medicine, a building for the anatomical department and a power plant for common service.

The Robert A. Barnes Memorial Hospital, facing south, will at the outset contain approximately 300 beds, with all the most modern arrangements not only for administrative service, but for scientific efficiency. The building and equipment will cost about a million dollars, and the hospital will begin work with at least a million dollars of endowment. It will be of modern, fireproof construction and will be as perfect for its purpose as the best architect and the best hospital expert in America can make it.

The St. Louis Children's Hospital, of adequate size and of equally modern construction, will be located on the southwestern corner of the tract, fronting on Forest Park, with a southwestern exposure. When completed it will be filled with patients at the time remaining in the present Children's Hospital, which is now working in affiliation with the Washington University Medical School.

The clinical and laboratory buildings of Washington University Medical School, with their equipment, will cost in the neighborhood of \$1,000,000, and to them, when they are completed, will be transferred the laboratories and the recently greatly extended equipment contained in the present university medical buildings.

The buildings of the three affiliated institutions, with their equipment, will therefore represent an investment of more than two and a quarter millions of dollars, and the operating expenses of the three will represent the income of a capital in excess of three million dollars.

The Academy of Medical and Surgical Sciences was one of the forms that the motive to raise the standard of the profession of medicine took. This association was formed in 1895 by Drs. James M. Hall, Wellington Adams, Emory Lamphear and others.

The coming of the Alexian Brotherhood to St. Louis was just fifty years ago. Five members of this order arrived here in 1869 to establish a monastery and a hospital. The institution has grown to possess buildings which cost \$250,000, in which 1,500 patients are cared for yearly.

Dr. John T. Temple, a Virginian by birth, a graduate in medicine of the University of Maryland, introduced the practice of Homeopathy in St. Louis in 1844. He participated in the founding of the Homeopathic Medical college of Missouri in 1857. Dr. J. T. Vastine came from Pennsylvania in 1849. His son, Dr. Charles Vastine, succeeded him. A homeopathic physician who early achieved general acquaintance in St. Louis was Dr. Thomas Griswold Comstock. He was descended from one of the Mayflower families which settled in Connecticut. Dr. Comstock studied and graduated in 1849 at the St. Louis Medical college. In 1851 he went to Philadelphia and studied Homeopathy. He practiced a short time in St. Louis and then went to Europe, where he spent several years in the medical schools of the continent. Returning to St. Louis in 1857

Dr. Comstock, while classed as a homeopathic physician, was an independent practitioner. He was early recognized as one of the most learned and best read men in the medical profession of the city. He was perhaps the most proficient linguist here for years. The Comstock residence, on Fourteenth and Washington avenue, contained some of the choicest works of art as well as one of the finest private libraries in St. Louis. Riding behind one of the best carriage teams of the city was Dr. Comstock's recreation.

Dr. Augustus H. Schott was an infant in arms when his parents left Hanover, Germany, in 1851, to come to America. He was educated at Shurtleff college and at the Homeopathic Medical College of Missouri. After several years' practice at Alton he came to St. Louis and soon after took a professorship in the Homeopathic Medical college. Dr. E. C. Franklin came from Dubuque, Iowa, in 1857, and soon after joined the coterie engaged in carrying on the Homeopathic college. About the same time Dr. William Tod Helmuth came from Philadelphia. Helmuth, a dozen years later, went from St. Louis to become famous as a surgeon in New York. Franklin joined the faculty of the Homeopathic medical department of the University of Michigan. Dr. George S. Walker was of Pennsylvania birth. He did not become a homeopathic practitioner until eight years after he made his residence in St. Louis in 1852.

The Eclectic school of medicine in 1873 founded the American Medical college. The leaders in the movement were George C. Pitzer, John W. Thrailkill, Jacob S. Merrell, Albert Merrell and W. V. Rutledge. The college graduated about 1,000 students.

Dentists began to announce their presence in St. Louis within two years after the first newspaper was published. One of them advertised in 1809 that he was prepared to do "extracting, cleaning, plugging and strengthening the teeth." With the coming of Dr. Isaiah Forbes in 1837 the dental profession took on a new character. The year after he came Dr. Forbes constructed upon plans of his own a dental chair which was a great improvement on those in use. A dental society was formed. A dental journal was published. St. Louis dentists advanced new ideas and invented new methods. Dr. John S. Clark of St. Louis was one of the first, if not the first, in the country to use rolled cylinders of gold foil for filling teeth.

One of the most noted fathers of the dental profession in St. Louis was Henry J. McKellops, a New Yorker, who came here in 1840. He was a page in the Missouri Legislature and with the money thus earned attended the State University at Columbia. He became famous in his profession all over the world as the introducer of that instrument of torture—the mallet—to pound into solidity the fillings. That was over fifty years ago. At the time, the profession was not organized. Dr. McKellops led in a movement which established national, state and local associations of dentists throughout the country. In his years of travel and investigation he assembled what was regarded as the most complete dental library in the world.

The Morrisons, brothers, became noted among dentists in 1870-80. Dr. James Morrison invented a dental chair of iron with a wonderful range of motions, which came into quite general use. He devoted a great deal of attention to a dental engine. William N. Morrison contributed to the science of dentistry some valuable ideas in crown work.

The Missouri Dental college was organized in 1866. It required the students to take certain regular courses of study in a medical college in addition to the dental course. Other dental colleges adopted this St. Louis idea. Dr. Forbes was the first president of the dental college. Down to the present day the dental profession of St. Louis has maintained the progressive spirit and the high standards which characterized these pioneers. In 1909 the American Dental association, the organization representing the profession throughout the country, looked to St. Louis for a president—electing to that high position Dr. Burton Lee Thorpe, not only a practitioner of repute but a contributor of national reputation to the literature of the profession.

Cancer is an ailment people do not like to talk about. In the winter of 1905 a St. Louis physician who was shut in with the grippe received a visit from two fellow practitioners. Conversation rather curiously drifted to the depressing topic of cancer. All three doctors were men with wide experience. They knew that cancer was one of the diseases which the usual hospital management does not welcome and for which facilities of treatment are not possessed by many institutions. They told experiences with cases where cancer patients were poor and where neglect in the earlier stages had meant a lingering death. The three doctors agreed that there was nothing St. Louis needed more, with its variety of eleemosynary institutions, than a free cancer hospital. When the case of grippe reached the convalescent stage, these doctors got together a small group of public spirited men and women in the parlors of Mrs. J. M. Franciscus. They went over the ground. They offered all of the medical service free, providing the laity would do the rest.

The next step, in February, 1905, was a little gathering in the offices of the Third National Bank. Those present were Charles H. Huttig, who became president of the organization formed, W. J. Kinsella, J. M. Franciscus, John Schroers, Doctors W. E. Fischel, H. G. Mudd, M. F. Engman, and George Gellhorn.

Then followed a canvass to see if five years of experiment would be justified. Some people gave cash contributions and others pledged themselves to annual payments for five years. It was agreed that "if a five years' test of our plans proves them impracticable, or at least not productive of the results desired, we should then be willing to close the establishment."

In 1910 the patients in the rented building were moved into a building owned by the association and equipped with facilities not only for treatment, but for research work upon skin and cancer diseases.

There is no other skin and cancer hospital in the United States which in laboratory, in wards, in operating rooms, in provision for clinics can compare with the St. Louis institution. Grounds and building and equipment represent \$175,000. The management has undertaken to provide an endowment of \$500,000 for maintenance and, in 1911, had raised more than one-third of the amount.

The temporary quarters for the five years' experiment provided beds for only a limited number of patients. Such was the pressure that some had to be accommodated with cots. The permanent hospital takes care of more than twice the number who could be accommodated in the temporary hospital. During the five years of trial no patient was permitted to pay anything. The

doctors redeemed at par their promises to give service absolutely free. They agreed to continue to serve in the new hospital at the same rate, and the management proclaims that the rule of no pay from patients will be adhered to. Grounds and building were the gift of one man—George D. Barnard. The new hospital is known as “the George D. Barnard Free Skin and Cancer Hospital.”

No institution in the world is better prepared than the new Barnard hospital to do pathological work. Even during the experimental or temporary period of five years the hospital accomplished results which attracted attention not only in this country but abroad. Notably has this been the case in the acetone treatment, which originated with a member of the staff of the St. Louis institution. This treatment is now generally accepted by the medical profession in the United States and in other countries as the best method of treating a certain class of cases.

When representatives of the Barnard Hospital went abroad they were welcomed and shown great consideration by such men as Dr. Basham of the London Cancer Hospital, which is the largest institution of the kind, and by Professor Czerny, who has given up a professorship of surgery at Heidelberg to devote himself to cancer research, endowing the hospital for cancer treatment at Heidelberg with \$100,000. At Berlin the representatives of the Barnard Hospital were shown special courtesies and their work commented upon. One of the new ideas which has been tried with remarkable results in the St. Louis institution is the “fulguration” treatment. This consists in the application of a direct spark of electricity upon the surface of the cancer. The apparatus for the application was obtained in Europe by Doctor Frank J. Lutz, and was presented by him to the x-ray department of the Barnard Hospital.



CHAPTER XVIII

THE PRODUCTIVE COMMERCE

A Century of Manufacturing—The Earliest Mills—Oxen and Water the Power Before Steam—Chouteau's Pond and Roy's Tower—"The First Batch" of Crackers—Grimsley's Saddle Factory—Tobacco Industry in 1817—The Catlins, the Liggetts and the Drummonds—How Sam Gaty Turned a Shaft—Early Workers in Metals—A St. Louis Made Steamboat in 1842—What "Westward Ho!" Meant to the Four Schaeffers—The Garrisons, Builders of Engines—Days of Mechanic Princes—A St. Louis Stove the Surprise of the Fair—An Industry Founded by the Bridges—Stove Manufacture Revolutionized by Giles F. Filley—Great Expectations of Vineyards—The Brewing of Beer—Forty Breweries Before the War—Cotton Manufacturing Experiments—Stephen A. Douglas on St. Louis Opportunities—"The Largest Beef and Pork Packers in the Union"—Francis Whittaker, the Ames Brothers and John J. Roe—Cheapness of Food Encouraged Early Industries—Audubon on This Land of Plenty—An Expert's Forecast in 1881—Steamboat Profits Turned Into Industries—Competition in Wooden-ware Distanced—Flour and Furniture—First Among Cities in Many Specialties—Amazing Growth of Shoe Manufacturing—The Wise Policy of Many Young Partners.

"The culture of hemp has occupied the attention of our farmers, and a rope-walk will shortly be erected in this town. Thus we have commenced the manufacture of such articles as will attract thousands of dollars to our territory; thus we will progress in freeing John Bull and Jack Ass of the trouble of manufacturing for us."—*Missouri Gazette, March, 1809.*

A century ago the first newspaper, when not nine months old, began to urge the importance of home manufactures upon St. Louis. "Manifest destiny" was a favorite theme with writers, but the men who made St. Louis never overlooked the importance of supplementing natural advantages with enterprise. In the early days the supremacy of the settlement, town and city depended upon distributive commerce. St. Louis was a distributing center. Fortunes were made and the city waxed rich and powerful through the bringing of all kinds of manufactured products and their distribution to great and growing sections of the country. But the permanence of St. Louis' prosperity, the enduring growth of traffic, came with a new character. As productive commerce became more and more important St. Louis was built for the generations to come.

In its issue of January 31, 1811, the *Missouri Gazette* announced: "An event not viewed as of public importance itself may yet be highly interesting from the reflections to which it gives rise. An English gentleman, Mr. Bridge, of considerable capital, arrived here on Tuesday evening last, with his family, for the purpose of establishing himself in this place. We understand he has brought with him the machinery of a cotton factory and two merino rams. Such an immigrant is an important acquisition to the country."

The water power mill on Chouteau's pond ran without competition for years. A saw mill was established at the foot of Ashley street, on the ground overlooking the river. It was the first saw mill west of the Mississippi. In connection with it the owner, Sylvester Labbadie, operated a grist mill. The power was a tread mill on which patient oxen walked slowly, by their weight making the wheel go around. The age of steam had not arrived for St. Louis. Manuel

Lisa, at a later period, ventured some of his profits, made at fur trading, in a mill on the river bank. Slowly but surely St. Louisans of the old and new stock felt their way into the industrial field.

When St. Louis became a town the north boundary was described as "beginning at Antoine Roy's mill, on the bank of the Mississippi." Years afterwards the landmark was called "Roy's tower." Tradition had it that the tower was built as part of the fortification of St. Louis. The great, circular, stone tower stood on the river bank, above high water, at a point between Morgan and Ashley streets. The tradition that the tower was built for military purposes seems to rest on the similarity to Spanish construction of that character. Truth of history seems to be that the tower was inspired by industrial activity in St. Louis. Antoine Roy was one of the pioneer millers. He operated by wind power. His was probably the first wind-mill built in St. Louis. The great arms projected from the stone tower in such a manner as to catch the full strength of the wind blowing up the river. St. Louis had two other mills at that time—Auguste Chouteau's and Gregoire Sarpy's—but they were run by water. Antoine Roy was one of the well-to-do citizens of St. Louis. His name appears on the first tax list made after the American flag was raised. The valuation put upon his holdings was \$3,000. The tower was still standing in the days of the daguerreotype, forty years after it was first listed by an American assessor. It was one of the most interesting relics of St. Louis when the picture was taken, about 1847. Antoine Roy was also known as Roi. He was twice married, first to Felicite Vasquez and later to Mary Louise Papin.

In 1815, the 11th of November, Christian Smith informed the people of St. Louis that on the next evening "the first batch" of crackers and biscuits would be "drawn" from his "bake shop," and the citizens were "invited to send and make trial." The town had been incorporated about six years when the trustees passed an ordinance that "no loaf of bread shall be vended at a price greater than twelve and one-half cents."

The Grimsleys were Virginia people, a large family of them. Nimrod Grimsley, the head of the Kentucky branch, moved to that state. Thornton Grimsley was not born until after the family settled in Kentucky. He came out to St. Louis in charge of a stock of goods while he was still apprenticed to a saddlery manufacturer at home. That was in 1816, when Thornton Grimsley was eighteen years of age. When he reached the age of twenty-one and the end of his apprenticeship he took six months of schooling with the proceeds of extra work done by him during his apprenticeship. At the end of that time he became the representative of his employer in charge of the St. Louis branch, and three years later he went into business here for himself. Recognizing the demand which must come in the southwest for what he knew most about, Grimsley opened a small saddlery shop. He invented the dragoon saddle. The government adopted the Grimsley saddle, and for many years would have no other. Grimsley's saddle factory became one of the institutions of the west. It did more government work than any other factory in the country. Thornton Grimsley was of striking appearance. He was of large frame and wore side whiskers at a time when that style was exceptional. In the brilliant militia uniforms of the period his figure was imposing. There was rarely a great celebra-



WILLIAM SCHOTTEN



THE OLD ROY TOWER AND LEVEE IN 1850
From a Daguerreotype, Missouri Historical Society

tion in St. Louis during the second quarter of the century, with which Thornton Grimsley was not associated as grand marshal.

James Richardson, who came from Virginia much earlier than Grimsley's arrival, and settled north of the city, was a saddler. He constructed a side saddle and presented it to one of the Spanish governors for his wife. The governor was so well pleased that he gave Richardson a grant of a thousand arpents of land.

The French habitants of St. Louis raised tobacco in their common fields. Tobacco was manufactured in only crude forms until after the American occupation. In 1817 Richards & Quarles had "a tobacco manufactory" on the cross street nearly opposite the postoffice. About 1840 the newspapers spoke of tobacco as "another item of our trade which is swelling every year into much greater importance." Missouri was raising 9,000 hogsheads of tobacco in 1841 and sending all but 500 hogsheads to St. Louis. As a tobacco market St. Louis grew until the receipts in 1876 reached 29,204 hogsheads.

The Catlin family had much to do with the development of the tobacco industry. The first of the St. Louis Catlins came from Connecticut and brought with him a valuable knowledge about the manufacture. He was Dan Catlin. He established in North St. Louis a factory which was one of the most important local industries of its day, 1840. Dan Catlin had two sons, Daniel and Ephron, both children when the family moved from Litchfield. Daniel Catlin grew into the management of the tobacco manufacturing, and taught other St. Louis manufacturers how much there is in putting products with attractive brands on the market. The Catlin tobacco company expanded into an institution giving employment to more than 400 people. Ephron Catlin, three years younger than Daniel, chose the drug business in preference to tobacco manufacturing. The brothers, both men of splendid physiques, were conspicuous in a community where stalwart young manhood was not exceptional. They married sisters, Misses Justina and Camilla Kayser, daughters of Henry Kayser, one of the foremost civil engineers of the west.

Christopher Foulks came from New Jersey about 1820, with a knowledge of tobacco manufacture. He became one of the pioneers in that industry. Joseph Liggett was a Londonderry man who settled in St. Louis and married Elizabeth Foulks, daughter of the pioneer tobacco manufacturer. The son, John Edmund Liggett, was born in St. Louis in 1826. He was one of the pupils of David H. Armstrong in the first public school of St. Louis, and afterwards attended Kemper college in the southwestern part of the city. At eighteen, John E. Liggett left school to go into the tobacco factory of Foulks and Shaw. The head of the house was his grandfather. The junior partner was his stepfather. When the grandfather retired, the grandson became a partner, and the firm was Hiram Shaw & Company. A brother, W. C. L. Liggett, bought out Mr. Shaw, and the new style was J. E. Liggett and Brother. Henry Dausman bought out the brother after five years. The tobacco manufacturing went on, growing under Liggett and Dausman. In 1873 George S. Meyers bought out Dausman. Hiram Shaw Liggett, son of John E. Liggett, grew into the business. Through four generations the plant grew into one of the great industries not alone of St. Louis but of the country. A vast fortune was built up with the profits of carefully con-

ducted manufacturing. In the family through the generations was always a devotion to the cause of education which found expression in princely gifts to institutions.

Before the Civil war St. Louis was selling manufactured tobacco in every state and territory of the United States. The Lewis brothers, who started in Glasgow, Missouri, in 1837, had ten years later removed to St. Louis, and developed greatly their business, keeping a branch at Glasgow. They manufactured annually millions of pounds of fine cut and plug. They exported to Europe as well as supplied a home market, which included all of this country. Twenty years after the war St. Louis had become the second largest tobacco manufacturing center, being surpassed only by Jersey City. In 1908 St. Louis was maintaining the position it had held for years as "the place where more tobacco is manufactured annually than in any other place in the world." That year of depression in some industries showed an increase in the products of St. Louis tobacco factories to 75,750,000 pounds, as compared with the 65,980,000 pounds of 1907. The product of the six tobacco manufacturing establishments of St. Louis in 1907 was valued at \$21,127,654. In 1910 the volume of the tobacco business of St. Louis was reported by the Business Men's league to be \$50,000,000.

The Drummonds were of Scotch ancestry. James Drummond was born in Scotland. He was a soldier in the Revolution. His son Harrison moved west from Virginia and settled on a farm in St. Charles county. James T. Drummond was born in St. Louis in 1834. His brother, John Newton Drummond, was born on the St. Charles county farm two years later. While they were young men, the Drummonds became interested in tobacco manufacture. John Newton Drummond left the farm to work in a factory. James T. Drummond, after teaching school and after being a traveling salesman for his father-in-law, James Tatum, put his savings into a small tobacco factory at Alton about the beginning of the Civil war. His brother joined him. After the removal to St. Louis, the business grew to immense proportions.

Sam Gaty was an orphan eleven years old when, taking an old shot gun which had been his father's, he left the people with whom he had been placed, made his way to Louisville and bound himself as an apprentice in a foundry. When he had learned the trade, with a companion named Morton, he came to St. Louis. That was in 1828. Martin Thomas had the foundry of the city and James Newell was the expert blacksmith. McQueen was managing the foundry. Gaty and Morton asked for work. McQueen refused to hire them, saying he must have competent men and was going to get them from New York. The steamboat Jubilee, fortunately for Sam Gaty, broke a shaft about that time. To make a new one seemed to be beyond the mechanical resources of St. Louis. Newell, the blacksmith, heard about the trouble. He suggested that Gaty might be able to turn out a steamboat shaft. McQueen was incredulous, but he sent for the youth from Louisville. Gaty said he could make a shaft. "How will you do it?" asked McQueen. "That is my business," replied Gaty. He was given the opportunity and turned out the shaft, the first one manufactured in St. Louis. Later Sam Gaty made the first steam engine built in St. Louis or west of the Mississippi. His fortune after that was a matter of industry and persistent attention to business.



AUGUST GAST



THOMAS R. PULLIS



SAMUEL GATY



FRENCH RAYBURN



GILES F. FILLEY

MECHANIC PRINCES OF ST. LOUIS

The way in which Gaty prepared for his shaft-making excited great interest in St. Louis. There wasn't a geared lathe in the place. Hunting up two cog-wheels of different sizes, Gaty bolted the larger to the face plate of the lathe and the smaller one he put on the center shaft. He arranged his machinery in such an efficient manner that he turned the new shaft in a day and a half. There was a brief controversy over the price of the job. McQueen asked Gaty before he began how much he was going to charge. "One-half of your whole price," said Gaty. McQueen demurred. Gaty, recalling the way in which he had been refused work, said, "Get your skilled workmen from the east to do it." McQueen thought it over and told Gaty to go ahead.

On the reputation acquired in the steamboat shaft incident, Gaty started a foundry. The three partners had a capital of \$250. The money was absorbed before the business was well established. Mr. Gaty took a place by the day at \$1.25. He went into partnership with his employer and built up one of the largest of the early industries of St. Louis. In his old age he was very wealthy, his success being ascribed to the fact that he stuck to the business and had never risked anything in speculation. In 1840 Mr. Gaty married Miss Elizabeth Burbridge. He was the father of thirteen children.

Philip Kingsland learned the manufacture of iron in his father's shop at Pittsburg. He was put through an apprenticeship which was not only thorough but showed him no favors because he was the son of the proprietor. In 1835, at the age of twenty-six, he came to St. Louis and started a foundry and machine shop. His brother George joined him. The Kingslands later engaged in the manufacture of agricultural machinery.

The 160 foundry and machine shops of St. Louis in 1910 showed a gain of twenty-five per cent in product since 1905. They were employing 7,000 people and the output was valued at \$15,000,000. They were making all kinds of tools and engines and iron work for building. They were sending their product to the Orient and all parts of South America.

A steamboat—hull, engines, tackle and all of St. Louis make—came to the wharf on the 25th of April, 1842. Citizens began to talk of a manufacturing city. Hundreds of boats were built here after that. Not one of them made the public impression that the St. Louis Oak did when she steamed down from Captain Irvine's boatyard.

To the Kentuckians who flocked to Missouri about 1830 this city owes the origin and the rise of its hemp market. And with the raw material came the manufacture of rope and gunny cloth and allied products. In 1853 the 63,450 bales of hemp received here were worth \$300,000. McClelland, Scruggs & Co. and Douglass & Bier joined with others in the manufacture of rope and hackled hemp under a new patent, and utilized from 2,000 to 3,000 tons of the raw material yearly. Near the shot tower on north levee John L. Blaine conducted large rope works. Just below Park avenue Johnson, Bartley & Lytle had a large rope manufactory. R. B. Bowler came from Cincinnati and organized the St. Louis Rope and Bagging company. St. Louis came to the front in manufacture of wire rope and aerial tramways in a phenomenal manner, sending the product to all parts of the North and South American continents. The output of these plants, including rope and cable of fibre with metal, in 1910 was \$6,000,000.

St. Louis became a great market for flaxseed and a center for the manufacture of oil. This was a development promoted by the white lead industry. As Henry T. Blow increased the manufacture of white lead, he encouraged the production of flaxseed and castor beans by importing the seed and the beans and making distribution to farmers who would plant.

Long before the first railroad was built westward St. Louis received by wagon haul of forty miles shipments of gunpowder. The place of manufacture was Gallagher's Mill in Franklin county. John Stanton, for whom a town was named later, was the pioneer manufacturer. He utilized the nitrous earth found in the caves of the foothills of the Ozarks.

Ellis N. Leeds, the son of a New Jersey farmer, laid many thousands of brick in the first ten years he had lived in St. Louis. The journeyman became a director of the Merchants bank, of the St. Louis Gas Light company, of the Cheltenham Brick company, of the Vulcan Iron company, and retired a capitalist after thirty years of active business life.

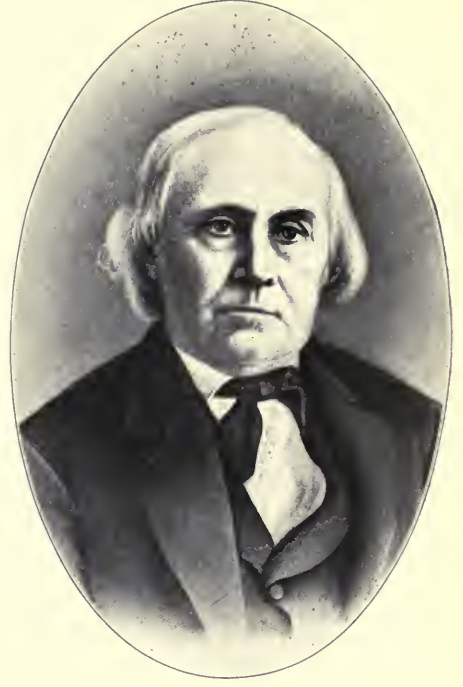
Nicholas Schaeffer with his three brothers walked over the Alleghany Mountains on his way to St. Louis. The young men and their mother came to America in 1832. They bought a horse and wagon at Baltimore and started to drive to Cincinnati. At Hagerstown the horse was stolen. The mother was given a place to ride in a freight wagon. The sons walked to the Ohio river at Wheeling. Nicholas Schaeffer mixed mortar for seventy-five cents a day, worked in a tannery at fifteen dollars a month, was steward in a hotel, tried flat boating before he came to St. Louis in 1839 and made the beginning of what was to be for forty years the largest soap and candle manufactory in the west. He came from Alsace, then in France, now a German province.

Gerard B. Allen was the son of a manufacturer in Cork, Ireland. He came to St. Louis a young man in 1837 and engaged in contracting and building. From manufacturing lumber he went into iron and established the Fulton Iron Works.

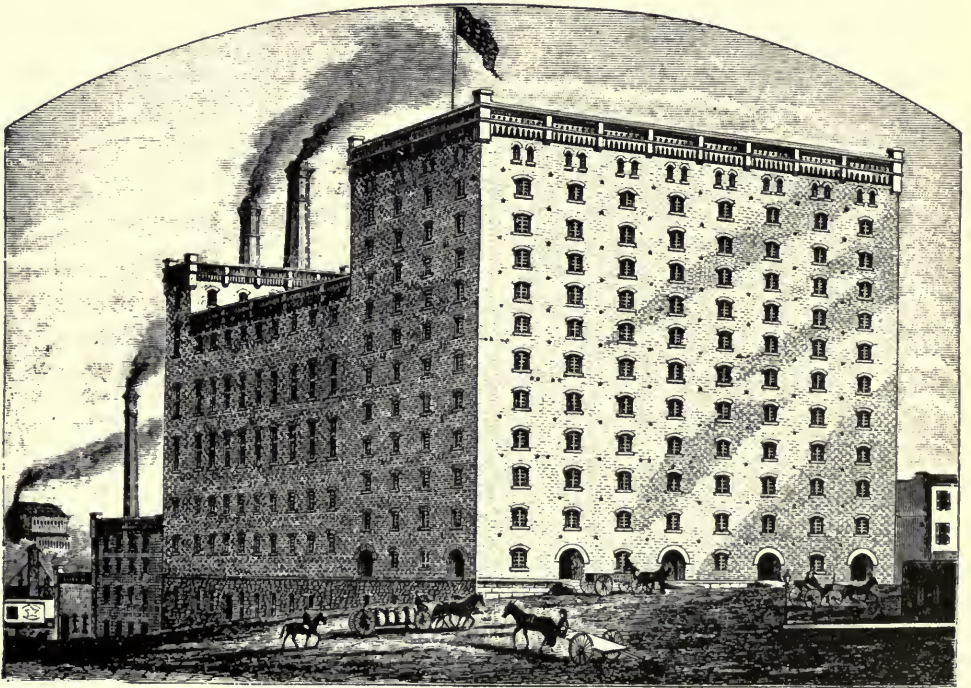
The Garrisons were New Yorkers, sons of Oliver Garrison who ran some of the earliest packets long before railroad days between New York city and West Point on the Hudson. Daniel R. Garrison, with some knowledge of steam engine construction gained in shops at Buffalo and Pittsburg, came to St. Louis in 1835 and was put in charge of the drafting for the Kingsland, Lightner & Co. foundry and engine works. He was just of age. In 1840 Daniel R. Garrison and his brother Oliver began to manufacture St. Louis steam engines. With the rush to the gold diggings Daniel R. Garrison went to California. Oliver Garrison remained in St. Louis building steam engines and shipping them to his brother. Of the first lot of three engines Daniel R. Garrison sold one to the Hudson Bay company. He went to Oregon to deliver it. The main couplings were lost overboard. There was no time to send back to St. Louis for new parts. Daniel R. Garrison, with Indian guides, went 100 miles into the Willamette wilderness, dug some iron ore, built a temporary furnace, smelted the ore and made new couplings. This is said to have been the first manufacture of iron on the Pacific coast. The engine which Daniel R. Garrison built for the boat is said to have been used on the first steamboat constructed on Pacific waters. The Garrisons retired with fortunes from the



ALBERT HARIG



TOBIAS SPENGLER



THE BELCHER SUGAR REFINERY
BUILDERS OF INDUSTRIAL ST. LOUIS

foundry business. Daniel R. Garrison took up railroad building and management first with the Ohio and Mississippi, now the Baltimore and Ohio, in the fifties, and then with the Missouri Pacific during the war. After the war the Garrisons took up and for ten years carried on the great iron manufacturing industry, the Vulcan and Jupiter works, at the south end of Carondelet.

The original Plymouth Rock stock sent its representatives to the upbuilding of St. Louis. Warren A. Souther and E. E. Souther, who established a house dealing in iron, about the Civil war period, descended from Nathaniel Souther, the first secretary of the Plymouth colony. A branch of this numerous New England family settled in Alton in 1842. From Alton the Southers came to St. Louis. Out of the iron business established by the Southers grew the Souther Iron company and later the Missouri Bolt and Nut company.

One of the chief surprises of a fair held in 1842 was "a St. Louis manufactured stove." This was the initial effort of the Empire Stove Works established by the Bridges. Hudson E. Bridge and his brother began the manufacture of stoves in a modest plant up town. By 1848 they were occupying half a block at Main and Almond. Six years later they had spread to the levee. They were melting ten tons of iron a day and turning out 11,000 stoves a year. That was in 1854. The Empire was one of four stove-making establishments in St. Louis at the time.

The Excelsior Stove Works of Giles F. Filley & Co. had been in operation since 1850. This establishment had finished 20,000 in the third year of operation, using 4,000 tons of iron. These stoves had been shipped to all parts of St. Louis trade territory. They had given the stove manufacturing center of the country, Albany, its fatal shock. A fireproof pattern safe assured the community that the Excelsior Works had come to stay. This safe was like no other in the United States. It had massive brick walls without windows, three stories, an iron roof with an iron shutter which could be opened to let in the light and air. There the patterns of the many varieties of stoves were kept secure from fire.

In 1910 St. Louis was manufacturing twice as many stoves as any other city in the United States. The product that year was 847,000 stoves, which sold for \$8,800,000.

A scientific discovery which revolutionized stove manufacture is credited to Giles Franklin Filley. It was of the useful, homely character which might be properly associated with Mr. Filley's middle name. The discovery came about through Mr. Filley's experiments to find something better than the close iron door which covered the feedhole to his iron furnace. The iron of the door became so hot when the cupola was fired that it soon burned out. The workmen couldn't stand in front of it. Mr. Filley tried a wire screen covering. Rather to his surprise this held the heat within the furnace, did not become so hot as the iron door and lessened the amount of fuel necessary for smelting. It was a saving of expense in the operation of the cupola furnace. At that time the stove manufacturers of the country claimed great improvement in the construction of oven doors which were close-fitting on cookstoves. They went so far as to make double doors with non-conducting material between the plates. The object was to keep all of the heat in the

oven. Having observed the efficiency of the wire screen over the cupola door, Mr. Filley tried a gauze wire door to the cooking stove. He discovered it gave a more even temperature; that baking and roasting could be done with less fuel. But perhaps more than all, the cooking with the gauze wire door did not burn and destroy the savory odors.

For a full generation after the cooking stove became general in St. Louis homes, lament was loud and universal that things did not taste as well as they did when done in the old way. The local scientists wrestled with the problem. John H. Tice, who was known locally as the philosopher of Cheltenham, stated the indictment against the cooking stove:

Those whose remembrance runs back half a century, when cooking stoves began to come into use, will recall the fact that their sainted mothers, while lavish in praises of the handiness, convenience and general performance of the innovation, uniformly made one objection to it, namely, that in baking and roasting it did not come up to the old standard. All persons who have passed the meridian of life recall with zest the fine and delicious flavor of the tender beef, pork, lamb, turkey, etc., roasted before the open fire, and hence their own experience can bear testimony to the maternal objection.

The gauze doors determined that it was far better that the ovens should not be airtight for baking; that excessive heat meant annihilation of the distinctive odors of meats and other things. The local scientists agreed that 212 degrees was about the proper standard to accomplish the best oven results and that Giles F. Filley's gauze wire doors operated to maintain such a standard with a saving of wood or coal. A higher range of heat, it was agreed, injured the baking.

Hitchcock & Co., in the southern part of the city, also made stoves, and by way of variety turned out 3,000 plows a year. The south as well as the west, before the Civil war, was looking to St. Louis for agricultural machinery.

The immediate vicinity of St. Louis became famous for its fruit. Pomology had its professors seventy years ago. In 1837 the wife of Peregrine Tippet, a Marylander, who called his farm in St. Louis county Cedar Grove, planted apple seeds. She was Susanna Lee, the mother of Mrs. Martrom D. Lewis. From that seed planting came the apple popular several generations ago as "Aunt Susan's Favorite." Norman J. Colman, after much investigation, decided that no part of the United States offered such encouragement to fruit growing as the vicinity of St. Louis. When the Civil war came Mr. Colman had the greater part of what is now known as the Cabanne section covered with a young nursery. He had planned to supply young trees for the starting of thousands of orchards in Missouri and Southern Illinois. The war paralyzed the industry. Mr. Colman was the first Secretary of Agriculture.

As early as 1835-40 several St. Louisans became deeply interested in the subject of wine growing. One of them was Kenneth McKenzie. He made a trip to Europe for the purpose of getting information as to vineyards and as to wine making.

Amadee Berthold brought over from France while he was there a cutting of a celebrated grape. He placed it in a tin pan with earth. At that time a certain allotment of water was made to each passenger crossing the ocean.



ELLIS N. LEEDS



PHILIP KINGSLAND



HUDSON E. BRIDGE



JAMES A. WRIGHT



GERARD B. ALLEN

MECHANIC PRINCES OF ST. LOUIS

Mr. Berthold cut down his allotment until he actually went thirsty in order that he might use the water to nourish the cutting. That vine, for it had rooted when Mr. Berthold reached St. Louis, was planted back of the Berthold mansion on Fifth and Pine streets. It grew to very large size and bore enormously.

Thomas Allen, afterwards the railroad builder, took up grape culture and established a vineyard on the Russell place, near where the McKinley high school is located. Mr. Allen had made for him a gray blouse, such as was worn in the vineyards of Germany. He donned this blouse, and attended to his grapes daily. He wrote charmingly of the opportunities St. Louis presented for horticulture. In a St. Louis newspaper of September 29, 1846, appeared this acknowledgment: "Thomas Allen of Crystal Springs farm, in the southern part of the city, has presented us with ten varieties of peaches raised this season on his grounds. Mr. Allen has a heavy crop of apples, of which there are thirty varieties; also a large crop of grapes, of which he has twenty varieties."

There were great expectations from 1845 to 1860 that St. Louis would become one of the principal wine markets of the United States. Extensive vineyards were planted. Much careful study was given to grape culture and wine making. One of the experts who passed upon the condition here was a minister, Rev. Mr. Peabody. He claimed that in climate and soil the advantages of the vicinity of St. Louis were superior to any part of the United States, east of the Rocky Mountains. An estimate gave 15,000,000 acres in Missouri tributary to St. Louis suitable for vineyards.

Alexander Kayser was one of those who anticipated great development for the wine industry of St. Louis and vicinity. In 1848 he offered three premiums of \$100 each for "the best specimens of Missouri wines, the vintage of three consecutive years." The competitors numbered twenty-seven for the third year. The premium went to Jacob Romel of Hermann on "a wine of pure Catawba grapes."

Gustave Edward Meissner joined the viticulturists of St. Louis. He was a relative of the Roebings, the famous bridge builders of New York, and before coming to St. Louis had given a great deal of study and investigation to grape growing. Finding the vicinity of St. Louis ideal in respect to soil and climate for viticulture, Mr. Meissner made this his home. He acquired an island in the Mississippi a few miles below the city, called Meissner's Island. There he established a vineyard of 600 acres. At one time his vines were producing 100 varieties of grapes.

A fact that encouraged the St. Louis wine-makers was the discovery of six fine varieties of grapes that seemed to be native to the soil of Missouri, and proof against disease. These early experiments produced wines which experts pronounced excellent in flavor and keeping quality. The grapes grown in the vicinity of St. Louis were declared to yield a "must full of body and having saccharine enough to prevent acetic fermentation."

But notwithstanding all of the natural encouragement for grape growing and wine making the St. Louis market in 1853 received of native wine only nine casks, seven barrels and eight boxes. A hundred years before Cahokia

and Kaskaskia across the river were making more wine than that. The wine product of St. Louis in 1870 was \$800,000.

The brewing of lager beer in St. Louis began in 1840. Adam Lemp came to this country from Germany. Two years after settling in St. Louis he started a small establishment on Second street between Walnut and Elm. Twenty years later "Lemp's" had become one of the institutions of the city. Upon Second street was a large public hall where people gathered and drank their "lager," as they called it. In the rear of the hall were the manufacturing departments and the vaults where the beer "lagered."

St. Louisans commenced drinking beer in 1810. St. Vrain opened a brewery north of the city and put it in charge of a German brewer named Hab. He made two kinds, strong and table beer. Strong beer he sold for ten dollars a barrel, and table beer for five dollars a barrel. These prices were cash. If produce was taken, St. Vrain charged twelve dollars a barrel. About the same time Jacob Philipson made beer which was retailed "at twelve and one-half cents a quart at the stores of Sylvester Labadie and Michel Tesson, and at various other convenient places." Ezra English made malt beer and stored it in English cave, where Benton Park is now. Then the firm of English & McHose was formed to manufacture beer on a large scale for that day. The rising tide of German immigration made lager beer familiar to St. Louisans before 1850.

In 1860 the *Mississippi Handels-Zeitung* gave a list of forty breweries in operation in St. Louis, making 23,000 barrels of beer a year, with a capital of \$600,000. The magnitude of the business seemed amazing to the American newspapers. The statistician of the *Missouri Republican* figured that the consumption in St. Louis was 658 glasses for every person in the course of a year. The product of twenty-seven St. Louis breweries in 1910 was \$25,000,000, giving St. Louis second place among the beer exporting centers of the United States. The employes numbered 5,373 and the wages paid to them amounted to \$4,416,000. The supplies purchased, most of them in St. Louis, during the year amounted to \$15,000,000. The factories and shops furnishing these supplies gave employment to 20,000 people, whose wages aggregated \$13,000,000.

In 1854 St. Louis had "a cotton factory, the thread of which had almost superseded all other yarns in the St. Louis market." This industry had not only survived the fire of 1849, but had grown from a little shop near Main and Chestnut to one of the largest plants in the city. It was located on Menard, Souldard and Lafayette streets. It was working up from 1,500 to 1,800 bales of cotton a year and turning out 400,000 pounds of cotton yarn, 90,000 pounds of carpet warp, 40,000 pounds of candlewick, 60,000 pounds of cotton twine, 740,000 yards of cotton sheeting, and 120,000 pounds of cotton batting.

Why St. Louis did not become a cotton manufacturing center has never been made clear. The first spinning mill west of the Mississippi was started here in 1844. It had 800 spindles. A new building was erected. The number of spindles was increased to 1,600. The mill ran steadily and with apparent success until 1857, when it was entirely destroyed by fire. Adolphus Meier inaugurated the industry. He had come from Bremen with a fine education and some capital in 1837. His father was a man of high standing as a lawyer



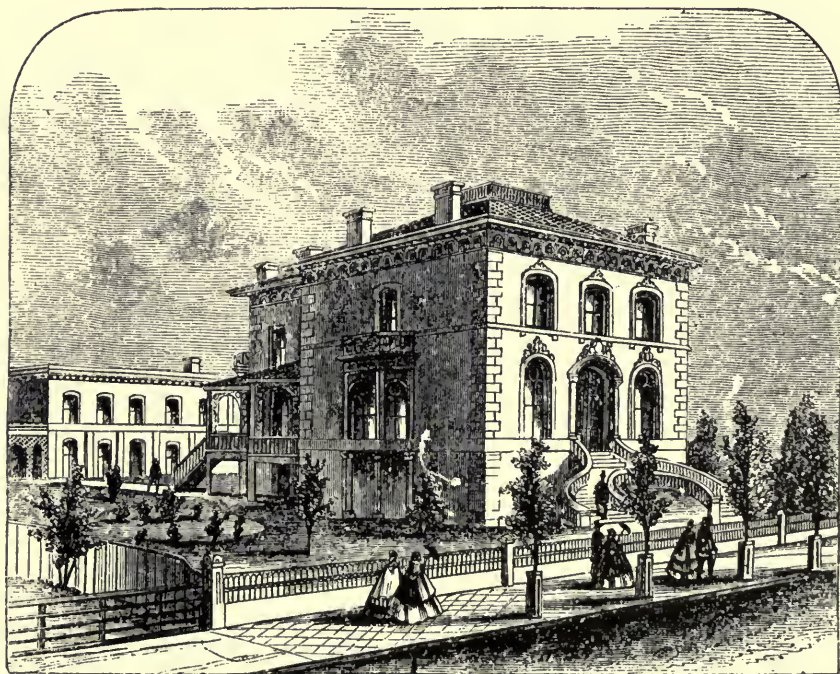
M. M. BUCK



J. K. CUMMINGS



ALVAH MANSUR



LUCAS PLACE IN 1859
RESIDENCE OF WILLIAM M. MORRISON
BUILDERS OF INDUSTRIAL ST. LOUIS

and held the office of secretary of the Supreme court. After seven years in other business in St. Louis, Mr. Meier and his relatives established the cotton mill. When the mill burned, a charter was obtained from the state and the St. Louis cotton factory was built, Mr. Meier becoming the president. Most of the stock was taken by his firm.

Adolphus Meier was one of the pioneers of manufacturing in St. Louis. He did much more than start the first cotton factory west of the Mississippi. He inspired extensive and expensive experiments to make coke from soft coal in the Belleville district. He established the Meier iron works of East Carondelet. He assisted in building at St. Louis the largest tobacco warehouse in the United States. The Peper cotton press was equipped with hydraulic presses, in part the invention of Edwin D. Meier, the son of Adolphus Meier. This revolutionized the handling of cotton bales. Christian Peper backed the working out of this problem liberally. There was almost no manufacturing problem to which Adolphus Meier did not lend his aid. The fact that his investments were not always profitable did not dishearten him. One thing Mr. Meier did for manufacturing in St. Louis was of great consequence. He made evident to those who came after that fuel could be laid down cheaper at St. Louis than at any other manufacturing center in the country. A part of this demonstration Mr. Meier brought about by the construction of a turnpike in Illinois from the mines to the bank of the river opposite St. Louis. This was done in 1848. It made possible the transportation of coal to St. Louis through the winter and spring months in which, previously, the supply had run short, with the result that prices soared. Later Mr. Meier headed a company which built and operated the Illinois & St. Louis railroad for the purpose of carrying coal to St. Louis.

In a little shop on Walnut street, across from the Cathedral, William Schotten ground out spices with a hand mill. That was in 1847. Under thirty years of age, he had come from Nuess, near Duesseldorf. St. Louis was a Mecca for the Germans coming to America in that period. Schotten came because others of his countrymen were en route here. The little factory he established was a beginning. The founder with his own hands turned the crank of the mill. Then he went out and made the rounds of the grocers, selling his stock. Before he died in 1874 he saw his business grown to \$200,000 a year. In 1897, the house he had established celebrated a semi-centennial anniversary when the annual business amounted to a volume of which the founder had never dreamed.

The development of the sugar refining industry of St. Louis in 1850-60 was enormous. In 1851 the refined sugars shipped away from St. Louis had reached 21,893 barrels, according to the government report. Within four years after that time the amount of sugar refined and shipped from St. Louis was over 100,000 barrels. In three months of 1854 the sales of sugar, molasses and syrups at the St. Louis refinery were over \$800,000. In 1850-5 St. Louis imported five times as much sugar as Cincinnati did. St. Louis refined sugars were famous. In 1853 St. Louis imported 50,774 hogsheads, 13,993 barrels and 40,217 boxes and bags. The refining of sugar was one of the principal industries. Of the entire Louisiana sugar crop St. Louis received more than

went to all of the Atlantic ports from Maine to Florida. This was the sugar manufacturing and distributing point for the interior of the country.

One manufacturing industry meant others. As the refining of sugar grew in magnitude cooperage became important in St. Louis. The cooper shop was an adjunct of the Belcher refinery. It employed 125 men and occupied a large stone building. In 1853 this shop turned out 121,000 pieces, chiefly barrels and half barrels, to carry the sugars and syrups refined and manufactured by the refinery. This product required 2,000,000 staves, lumber for headings and 800,000 hoop poles and twenty tons of hoop iron. The city that year had a coopers' society with 600 members. So rapidly did the business of the refinery develop that a considerable proportion of the cooperage work was given to outside shops. There were times when the coopers of St. Louis working ten hours a day could not keep up with the demand for barrels and other pieces of cooperage.

The first type foundry in St. Louis was established by A. P. Ladew, the son of an Albany, New York, merchant, who came here in 1838. August Gast landed in St. Louis in 1852, without a penny in his pocket. Leopold Gast brought over with him a press and a limited lithographic outfit. The Gasts were natives of Lippe-Detmold, Germany. They had learned the trade of lithography in Germany. They started a little shop on Fourth street where the Southern hotel is. In 1854 St. Louis had a type foundry and St. Louis papers were printed with St. Louis type which sold at New York prices. An entire newspaper outfit could be furnished in St. Louis in twenty-four hours. The city had six lithographic, printing and engraving establishments, four steel and copper engraving and three wood engraving. There were six book binderies and eight book and job offices. The art preservative was worthily and strongly represented. Much of the reputation of St. Louis gained as a center of type manufacturing, the city owes to a German who came from Dresden. He had served a six years' apprenticeship with a great printing and publishing house in his native city; he had worked in the foremost type making shops of Prague, Munich and Frankfort-on-the-Main; he spent some time in England; he came to this country and studied in Boston. In 1874 Carl S. Schraubstatter came to St. Louis and with James A. St. John established a type foundry which became famous throughout the country for the excellence of the product.

When the St. Louis Ice Company was organized in September, 1854, the capital consisted of 1,000 shares of \$25 each. The plan of organization contained the following provision: "No one person to be allowed more than eight shares." This met with great popularity. In six days all of the stock was subscribed. When the stockholders organized they chose for trustees such prominent citizens as Asa Wilgus, Kenneth McKenzie, William M. McPherson, John J. Anderson, William W. Greene, W. Patrick, Edward Brooks, John McNeil, T. E. Courtenay, L. Dorsheimer, John B. Carson, George Knapp and B. F. Stout. The company located an ice house on the Levee between Plum and Cedar streets.

Stephen A. Douglas came to St. Louis shortly before the presidential campaign of 1860. He emphasized in an impressive way the opportunities for manufacturing development presented to St. Louis:



J. T. DRUMMOND



FRANCIS WHITTAKER



W. H. WOODWARD



A. W. FAGIN



HENRY AMES



J. E. LIGGETT



WILLIS J. POWELL



JOSEPH SCHLANGE



JOSEPH UHRIG

BUILDERS OF INDUSTRIAL ST. LOUIS



I have said that I am glad to be here in your great state, and I am not impolite when I say you are unappreciative of your powers here at this place. I have considered your natural resources; with you nature has been more than lavish, she has been profligate. Dear, precious dame! Take your southern line of counties, there you grow as beautiful cotton as any section of this world; traverse your southeastern counties and you meet that prodigy in the world of mineralogy,—the Iron Mountain married to the Pilot Knob, about the base of each of which may be grown any cereal of the states of the great northwest, or any one of our broad, outspread western territories. In your central counties you produce hemp and tobacco together with these same cereals. Along your eastern border traverses the great Father of Waters like a silver belt about a maiden's waist. From west to east through your northern half the great Missouri pushes her way. In every section of your state you have coal, iron, lead and various minerals of finest quality. Indeed, fellow citizens, your resources are such that Missourians might arm a half million of men and wall themselves within the borders of their own state and withstand the siege of all the armies of this present world, in gradations of three years each between armistices, and never a Missouri soldier stretch his hand across that wall for a drink of water!

About 1855 glass works went into operation at St. Louis. The industry was established at Broadway and Monroe streets by G. W. Scolly & Co. The sand was found a few miles from the city. The lead was here. The pearlash was obtainable from asheries on the Upper Mississippi. Only the clay for pots to stand the intense and prolonged heat was wanting. About that time Charles Semple in digging a well on his farm a few miles out on the Natural Bridge road found just the clay that was required. This clay was made into pots and put to the severest tests at the glass works and stood them. The products of the works began at once to cut into the glass trade of Boston at St. Louis. St. Louis glass was added to St. Louis flour, St. Louis sugar, St. Louis yarn, St. Louis machinery.

The fair fame of St. Louis has made the name of the city a household word for widely varied reasons. In the earlier years of his career Denton J. Snider, then a member of the faculty of the St. Louis high school, during a lecture before a parlor audience, made the assertion that the name of William T. Harris was known to more people than the name of any other St. Louisan. Dr. Harris had developed his theories of education along lines which made the public school system of St. Louis the object of interest and study by educators everywhere. He had established the school of speculative philosophy which was stimulating the minds of thinkers in many countries. Professor Snider made his assertion positively and for a few moments it seemed as if it would be accepted by all who heard him without challenge. Then James A. Waterworth, not long over from County Down, Ireland, of wide mercantile acquaintance abroad, engaged in the insurance business of St. Louis, a reader and a writer in practical fields, questioned the accuracy of Professor Snider's opinion. Admitting all that had been told respecting Dr. Harris, Mr. Waterworth said he thought there was another St. Louisan whose name was known to more people in this and other countries. Mr. Snider called for the name. "Whittaker," said Mr. Waterworth, stoutly. "I believe more people know the name of the St. Louisan associated with the sugar cured ham than have heard of Dr. Harris."

The first Sunday that Francis Whittaker spent in St. Louis he went to the Presbyterian church to hear Dr. Potts. After the service he walked out to the high ground west of Jefferson avenue, and turning about looked long

and thoughtfully at the St. Louis of 1848. He had come west with letters that made it possible to choose his location. A brother, Dr. John H. Whittaker, was president of the New York Medical college. Before he left the grove of trees on the ridge, Mr. Whittaker decided that St. Louis was to be his American home. He had come from County Leitrim, Ireland, where his father, of good birth, had held the office of sheriff. Practical knowledge of two kinds of business, widely separated, had prepared Mr. Whittaker for his St. Louis career. There was an apprenticeship served to a packer in Sligo. After that had come several years of experience in a bank. Mr. Whittaker became a pork packer. In the early years of the enterprise he was his own foreman and when work pressed he took his place at the "cutter's table." When he reached home in the evening often his hands were too tired for the knife and fork. Direct shipments to Europe were advocated by Mr. Whittaker with great earnestness as long as he lived. Their importance to the development of St. Louis were in his opinion very great.

In 1858 St. Louis claimed confidently "the largest beef and pork packers in the Union." The Ames family moved west from Oneida county, New York. Nathan Ames and his two sons, Henry and Edgar, were pioneer pork packers in Cincinnati long before "the Queen City of the West" had gained the sobriquet of "Porkopolis." They went there in 1828, but in 1841 they decided that St. Louis was a coming center of commerce, more encouraging than Cincinnati. Henry Ames added to knowledge of pork packing a thorough acquaintance with the river transportation business.

Almost the only industry of St. Louis which the Civil war did not materially injure was pork packing. It was in the hands of a group of men devoted to the Union. When St. Louis began to organize an army, before there was commissary or other preparations to take care of volunteers, these pork packers supplied food to the "Home Guards." Later, when the troops were mustered in faster than the business departments of the army could be organized, these packers supplied food in great quantities, trusting to the government to straighten out the irregularities and to meet the bills. Several firms pursued this policy of doing all that was asked in emergencies and trusting to the government. They gave credit to the government to the extent of hundreds of thousands of dollars. The patriotic course had its reward, although that was hardly foreseen. The War Department patronized the firms which had acted promptly and liberally in 1861. When the war ended the packing industry of St. Louis was flourishing. These firms were Francis Whittaker & Co., Henry and Edgar Ames & Co., and John J. Roe & Co.

The Ames Brothers came to St. Louis with their father, Nathan Ames, in 1841. Two centuries back the Ameses were an old colonial family of Massachusetts. Henry Ames was eight years the older. The brothers were unlike physically and mentally, but between them existed an affection of extraordinary character. Henry Ames was a broad shouldered, square faced man. Edgar Ames was not so heavily built. His face was that of the student and thinker. The lineaments of Henry Ames were those of the intense business man. When paralysis made it impossible for Henry Ames to walk he was carried daily to his counting room, and, sitting in his chair, directed the busi-

ness. Edgar Ames suffered from gradual paralysis for some years before his brother was affected. The physicians suggested rattlesnake poison as a medicine to check the disease. Henry Ames insisted that the effects of the poison be tried upon him and that the doctors study the result in his case before they experimented with his brother Edgar. He had his way and took six doses, although warned that his condition was entirely different from that of his brother, and that while the poison might be of benefit or harmless to the younger man it might operate badly with him. The poison did make Henry Ames very sick. A variety of business enterprises besides the pork packing industry claimed the attention of Henry Ames. Edgar Ames was fond of books and art. He did much for St. Louis in that direction, but he looked forward to the accumulation of a fortune which would enable him to do a great deal more. Some one asked Edgar Ames why he continued to work so hard. His reply was, "I work to make money to beautify our city." While he was looking forward to the time when he could carry out the plans which he had in mind but was not ready to make public, death came suddenly. Henry Ames and Edgar Ames died within a year of each other. Edgar Ames was only forty-three.

One of the cheeriest of the business magnates of St. Louis in the before-the-war period was the remaining member of this group of packers. John J. Roe settled here about the same time that the Ames family did. He was one of the Ohio river steamboatmen who came to St. Louis to trade, and who decided that residence in St. Louis offered the best opportunities. The devotion of John J. Roe to the Union cause was perhaps more remarkable than the patriotic impulses of Whittaker and the Ames brothers. Mr. Roe had been a slaveholder, but from conscientious belief that the peculiar institution was not right he had freed his negroes. He was of New York birth. His parents migrated to the Ohio river where, at Rising Sun, his father operated a ferry. Roe was a genius as a trader. He rose in steamboating to the position of captain with a share in the profits. He was so successful that in two years he had become sole owner of the boat. In 1840 he landed at St. Louis with a boat load of merchandise on a trading expedition to the Upper Missouri. The prospects of the city so impressed Mr. Roe that he remained here and started a commission house. This grew into the pork packing business of Hewitt, Roe & Kercheval. James Hewitt & Co. of New York had branches in the West. A few years after Mr. Roe started in St. Louis, the community saw his proverbial good humor tested. A fire swept away the pork packing house. Mr. Roe settled with everybody, kept his cheerfulness and began to build his fortune over again. He had more partners, probably, than any other business man in St. Louis in that day. He went into all kinds of business enterprises. He had investments in steamboats. He was a director in steam railroads and in street railroads, in banks and in insurance companies. And all of the time he was calling acquaintances by their first names, doing helpful acts, bolstering somebody's credit, giving instructions in his business and seeing anybody who wanted to see him. Thirty years afterwards St. Louis produced another business man with like capacity for handling multifarious enterprises and with similar friendliness of manner toward everybody—David R. Francis. "Captain Roe," those best acquainted

said, was one of the last of St. Louis "captains." There came a day when the stockholders who were building the Eads bridge were pessimistic; they tired of the assessments and talked of stopping the work. John J. Roe came forward with \$100,000 cash to continue the construction. He went to New York, called the large stockholders together, and in thirty minutes there had been subscribed \$1,200,000.

On Lafayette avenue, on Compton Hill, Captain Roe laid out one of the show places of St. Louis with ten acres of ground, where he hoped to spend his declining years. But he went ahead at full steam down town. He met one man and asked him why he looked so blue. "I have two thousand barrels of pork to deliver tomorrow," was the reply. "The railroad people say they cannot reach here for three days. Pork has advanced three dollars a barrel." "I'll loan them to you," said Captain Roe, and he wrote the order for delivery. He was passing a young man on the street when he turned back and asked: "You said some weeks ago you wanted to get a bookkeeper's position; have you succeeded?" "No, Captain," was the reply. "Well," said Captain Roe, "go up to Mr. Blank's and tell him that you are the young man I spoke about several days ago. If the place suits you he will give it to you." "The bank does not seem to like this paper," a business man said as he met Captain Roe near the cashier's desk in one of the financial institutions of the city. "Why, what is the matter with it?" asked Captain Roe. "If they don't want it I'll take it." The cashier reconsidered. An agent of the packing house who was going out to buy to the extent of \$500,000, came into the presence of the head for his instructions. "All you have to do is to take care of your money and see that you get all the property you pay for," said Captain Roe, and the agent passed out. He was in his sixty-first year and was attending a meeting of one of the many corporations in which he was interested one day of February, 1870, when his voice suddenly failed, the smile faded, the head dropped to one side and Captain Roe was dead.

The meat packing houses of St. Louis increased their product over fifty per cent from 1905 to 1910, selling in the latter year \$26,601,000 worth of meats.

One of John Hogan's "Thoughts About St. Louis" in 1854 suggested this advantage of St. Louis as a center of productive commerce:

First, perhaps chiefest, among the requisites for large manufacturing establishments, is an abundant supply of food of all kinds, and at fair living prices. To manufacture extensively in all the various branches of mechanism entering into commerce requires an immense number of hands. To supply these and their families and all dependent upon them, with food convenient for them, absorbs at the best a large amount of the entire proceeds of their labor. Now, one of the immutable laws of trade is, that where the demand is greater than the supply, the price of the article is enhanced. If, then, there is a large concentration of operatives, who from their vocations are necessarily consumers, and not producers of food, unless they are employed nearest to the greatest and most abundant supply, they will find enhanced prices, and, by consequence the pro rata of wages over the amount expended for food is proportionally decreased. But is there any place in the United States where there is a greater concentration of food at fair, we may say first hand prices, than at St. Louis? I doubt whether, as an original and supply-produce point, St. Louis has its equal anywhere.

Audubon, the naturalist, during his visit to St. Louis in 1843, was impressed with the abundance of food supplies from the country immediately adjacent to the city. He wrote to James Hall:



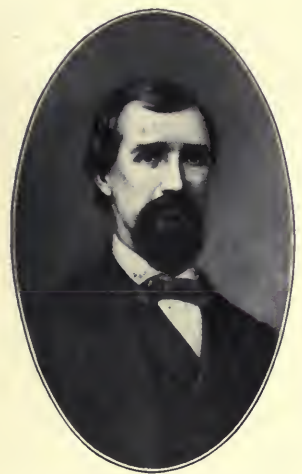
CHARLES G. STIFEL



IGNATZ UHRIG



LOUIS SCHLOSSTEIN



EDGAR AMES



JOHN J. ROE



JOSEPH GARNEAU



GEORGE P. PLANT



JOSEPH SCHNAIDER



JULIUS WINKELMEYER

BUILDERS OF INDUSTRIAL ST. LOUIS

The markets here abound with all the good things of the land and of nature's creation. To give you an idea of this read the following items: Grouse, two for a York shilling; three chickens for the same; turkeys, wild or tame, twenty-five cents; flour, two dollars a barrel; butter, six pence for the best—fresh and really good; beef, three to four cents; veal, the same; pork, two cents; venison hams, large and dried, fifteen cents each; potatoes, ten cents a bushel; ducks, three for a shilling; wild geese, ten cents each; canvas back ducks, a shilling a pair; vegetables for the asking, as it were.

In a land of such plenty the naturalist felt that hotel rates were too high. He added to his letter:

And only think, in the midst of this abundance and cheapness, we are paying at the rate of nine dollars a week at our hotel, the Glasgow, and at the Planters we were asked ten dollars. We are at the Glasgow hotel, and will leave it the day after tomorrow, as it is too good for our purses. We intended to have gone twenty miles in Illinois to Edwardsville, but have changed our plans and will go northwest to Florissant, where we are assured game is plenty and the living quite cheap.

A once promising industry of St. Louis was the building of locomotives. In 1854 a force of 200 men worked in a plant which embraced a pattern-maker's shop, an iron foundry, a brass foundry, a smith's shop, a boilermaker's shop, a sheet iron worker's shop, a coppersmith's shop, a carpenter's shop, a finishing shop and a paint shop. The plant occupied a frontage of 500 feet on South Third street; it turned out all of the parts of locomotives and put them together in working form. Palm and Robinson were the locomotive builders. They turned out the first St. Louis-built locomotive on July 1, 1853, and delivered it to the Pacific railroad. They continued to build locomotives at the rate of about one every five weeks. These were twenty-two ton locomotives. The material to construct one of them, with tender, consisted of 24,500 pounds of cast iron, 9,200 pounds of plate and sheet iron, 12,000 pounds of rolled bar iron, 7,500 pounds of hammered iron, 1,400 pounds of steel, 4,200 pounds of copper and 500 pounds of tin, zinc and brass. A considerable part of the metal which went into these St. Louis-made locomotives came from Missouri mines.

Wilhelm Palm was a highly educated young German fresh from the University of Berlin when he came to St. Louis. For a short time he was assistant editor of the *Anzeiger*. His experiment in locomotive building at St. Louis was so successful that he retired with a comfortable fortune. It is tradition that the first ten locomotives for the Ohio and Mississippi railroad were constructed in St. Louis, transported by ferry to the Illinois side and put in service on the rails.

Eberhard Anheuser came to St. Louis in 1845 and went into the business of soap manufacturing. He did not become interested in the manufacture of beer until 1860, when he acquired an interest in the Bavarian brewery. William Anheuser, who was a boy of ten when the family left Brunswick, Germany, continued in the business his father had established in St. Louis—soap manufacturing.

In 1860, St. Louis had 1,126 manufacturing industries with \$12,733,948 capital, giving employment to 11,737 people and producing \$27,000,000 in value. This city fell below Boston, Cincinnati, Newark, New York, Philadelphia, Providence, Pittsburg in manufactures.

Twenty years later, in 1880, St. Louis had come up to 2,886 manufacturing industries, employing \$45,385,000 capital and 39,724 people. The products

had been increased to \$104,383,587 in value. St. Louis was surpassed in 1880 only by Brooklyn, Chicago, New York, Philadelphia and Pittsburg. These interesting comparisons were compiled from government census figures and were given in one of the most effective studies of St. Louis from the business point of view in a paper presented before the Round Table in 1882 by Charles W. Knapp.

In 1910 the manufactured products of St. Louis industries reached a valuation of \$327,676,000, a gain from \$193,691,595 in 1900 as shown by the census. The capital invested in manufacturing at St. Louis in 1910 was \$234,199,358. The number of people employed in these manufacturing industries was 125,087.

Two brothers, whose grandfather came from Switzerland to Pennsylvania, brought to St. Louis thorough knowledge of leather manufacture. Both had been apprentices in tanneries. They were Chauncey Forward Shultz and John A. J. Shultz. One was born in Pennsylvania; the other in Maryland. Chauncey F. Shultz came to St. Louis shortly before the civil war. His brother came in 1864. Together these brothers established and developed the Shultz Belting company. The younger brother invented processes which gave to the St. Louis industry wide repute. He manufactured a new kind of rawhide belt which was considered a notable improvement. He introduced rawhide lace leather, the first made in the world. He patented the woven leather belt. In 1908 he was chosen president of the Missouri Manufacturers' association.

The manufacture of clothing on a large scale in St. Louis was one of the industries which became important just after the close of the civil war. Edward Martin, after several years' experience in Cincinnati, came to St. Louis to engage in this business. He associated with him his brothers Claude and John. The Martins were sons of a well-to-do freeholder in County Tyrone, Ireland.

Thirty years ago J. D. Hayes, of Detroit, was one of the best known experts in trade and transportation problems. He wrote to Joseph Nimmo, the government statistician, April 7, 1881, this notable forecast on the probabilities of manufacturing development at St. Louis:

For hundreds of thousands of years before the present race of people were known, the Mississippi and Missouri rivers formed their junction near the place where St. Louis now stands,—those rivers being navigable for so many hundreds of miles in each direction, draining a country rich in agricultural lands, as well as very abundantly supplied with iron, coal and other minerals, together with the great variety of different kinds of valuable timber suitable for manufacturing, all of which could be brought to that point by the natural flow of water, thence onward down to the Gulf of Mexico to reach open and unobstructed navigation all the year round to all parts of the world. This vast region of country along those rivers is capable of sustaining a population of three hundred millions of people, without having more inhabitants to the square mile than some parts of Europe. With such a country, and such natural resources to and from, such a central point would not fail to attract the dullest mind to its future prospects long before the steamboats and railroads had entered into competition in rates with the currents of the rivers in their onward course to the ocean. Therefore, from the beginning to the present time and for all coming time, railroads and steamboats must compete with the currents of those rivers for the traffic of St. Louis; therefore, manufactories at that point enjoy benefits which are in some respects a protection as against interior towns or cities having to pay local or non-competing rates. The St. Louis rates affect the rates on all productions far back into the country each side of the river, as far back as to where the local rates into St. Louis and the through rate from St. Louis added together equal the east-bound rate by rail from the interior cities and towns.

The public are educated to call this natural advantage "discrimination in rates in favor of St. Louis" which is true so far as the other places are concerned, but it is a "discrimination" made by God himself in the formation of the world, therefore beyond the power of railroad managers to change. The manufacturer can with some degree of certainty put his money, energy and material together at that point, looking to the future wants of the vast number of people that are in the west and the millions upon millions that will be there, and go forward with manufacturing enterprises without limit, feeling secure in the ability to compete with any other part of the world.

In the little model shop of Edward Burroughs on Pine street, the son William S. Burroughs, began about 1881 to work out his idea of an adding machine. The Burroughs, father and son, were from New York. Their shop was full of castings and wheels and strange looking things. It was frequented by St. Louis inventors who wanted their ideas put into mechanical form. William S. Burroughs turned out a machine which would do surprising performances in mathematics. Then he began to apply the principles to a contrivance that would set down and add columns of figures. The first lot of fifty counting machines would not stand wear and tear. Fifty of these machines went into the junk heap. More substantial material was employed. In nine years Burroughs produced the machine which would stand the tests and the company formed to manufacture the machines began to turn out large numbers for commercial uses. The adder became almost as common as the typewriter in banks and other business houses.

Several of the most beneficial industries of St. Louis owed impetus if not origin to profits of the steamboat business. In the upper part of St. Louis county was "the Virginia settlement" of the Tylers and Colemans. James Dozier and his father-in-law, John Dudgeon, coming from Lexington, Ky., in 1828, joined this settlement. In 1844, Captain Dozier became one of a coterie of Missouri river commanders, among them Roe, Throckmorton, Kaiser, La-Barge and Eaton. He retired in ten years with a comfortable fortune and established himself in a country home at Dozier's Landing, St. Charles county. Immediately after the war Captain Dozier invested in the bakery business in St. Louis and founded the Dozier-Weyl Cracker company. In 1880 St. Louis was a cracker and bread center, with 215 bakeries, great and small, turning out products valued at \$2,000,000 a year. In 1910 St. Louis had 354 bakeries, turning out products to the value of \$7,000,000 annually.

The wooden-ware and willow-ware industry and trade were among the early business triumphs of St. Louis. There was quite a trade in wooden-ware during the decade of 1830-40, but it was carried on under the same roofs with hardware. In the summer of 1851 Samuel Cupples came from Cincinnati, bringing a stock of wooden-ware and willow-ware, with which he opened a store in that line distinctively on Locust street near the Levee. Just twenty years later St. Louis ruled the world in this trade. A statement of conditions in 1883 contained the following:

In St. Louis the wooden-ware and willow-ware trade has obtained the ascendancy over that of any other city in America or Europe. Prices for every other city on the continent are fixed here. In the manufacture of these wares a capital approaching in the aggregate \$3,000,000 is utilized and upwards of 1,000 hands are employed. One St. Louis firm sells more annually than the combined trade of any other four houses in the same line in the world, and more than the aggregate sales of all of the houses in this line of business west of the

Alleghanies. St. Louis is absolutely beyond competition in this line, having the largest manufactory of this character in the world. Not only are these goods, chiefly derived from home manufactories, shipped to every considerable city and town in America, but there is a considerable export to Cuba, South America and to Australia.

At the time the above was written, twenty-five years ago, St. Louis had a five-story paper bag factory that was eating up ten tons of paper daily. There were three oak-ware factories turning out more product than any other establishment of the kind in the country. There was a broom factory using more broomcorn than all of the hand broom factories in the west. It turned out 600 dozens of complete brooms daily. The largest manufactory of axe handles, hoe handles and other kinds of handles in the world was here in St. Louis.

St. Louis wooden-ware houses in 1910 did business to the amount of \$18,000,000. The leading house issued a polyglot catalogue costing \$10,000. Nearly one-half of the business of the United States in numerous articles of household use classed as wooden-ware was manufactured and jobbed by St. Louis houses. The pioneer St. Louis house in this line was the largest in the country.

The first St. Louis flouring mill equipped with improved machinery and with steam power was at the foot of Florida street. It was conducted by Edward Walsh. That was in 1827. Just twenty years later St. Louis had fourteen large mills. And in 1850 there were twenty-two mills grinding 12,000 bushels of wheat into 2,800 barrels of flour daily. The jolly millers were a power in the business of the city. When they organized their Millers' association, the directors included Gabriel Chouteau, John Walsh, Joseph Powell, C. L. Tucker, Dennis Marks, Dr. Tibbetts, James Waugh and T. A. Buckland.

A milling business of \$1,500,000 before the civil war was the industry which Aaron W. Fagin created. The Fagins were Ohio people, having come in the pioneer days from New Jersey. Aaron W. Fagin left the trading business on the Ohio river to settle in St. Louis. In 1849 he built the United States mill and began shipping to all parts of the country. The mill was a mammoth establishment for that day. Every barrel of flour which went out showed on the head a hand holding four aces—hard to beat.

Previous to 1880 St. Louis was the first city of the country in the manufacture of flour. E. O. Stanard, George P. Plant, George Bain, Alexander H. Smith, J. B. Kehlor were feeding bread eaters on three continents. Shortly after 1870 George Bain tried 30,000 barrels on England and went there to introduce it. In 1879 St. Louis shipped 619,000 barrels of flour to Europe and South America. George H. Morgan told the Merchants' Exchange in 1882 that St. Louis millers had \$35,000,000 invested and were turning out 12,000 barrels of flour a day.

St. Louis millers recognized early the tendency to localize manufacture. In 1882 they owned and carried on large mills at a dozen points in Illinois and Missouri. Stanard, Tiedeman, Fath, Ewald, Kaufmann, the Kehlor, Mauntell, Borgess, Reuss had mills outside of St. Louis which were producing 750,000 barrels of flour a year, a product properly a part of the trade of St. Louis.

In 1882 the flour of St. Louis manufacture reached 1,850,000 barrels and the receipts from outside of the city 2,003,000 barrels. That year St. Louis sent 623,000 barrels to foreign countries, 970,000 barrels to the eastern part



E. ANHEUSER



ISAAC COOK



WILLIAM F. NOLKER



GEORGE J. FRITZ



JOSEPH PETERS



J. W. LAMBERT



WILLIAM GLASGOW, JR.



SAMUEL WAINWRIGHT



WILLIAM J. LEMP

BUILDERS OF INDUSTRIAL ST. LOUIS

of the United States and 1,660,000 barrels to the south. Besides these shipments 350,000 barrels were sent direct from mills outside of St. Louis but owned in St. Louis.

The centennial of the furniture industry might have been celebrated last year. In July 1810 Heslep and Taylor informed the public that they had "just arrived from Pennsylvania with an extensive assortment of materials necessary for elegant and plain chairs. They will gild, varnish, japan and paint their work agreeable to the fancy of those who wish to encourage the business in this place."

Three years later Philip Matile, from Switzerland, opened a shop to do more elaborate woodwork. In 1819 came Laveille and Morton bringing flat-boat loads of lumber with their wood-working tools stowed on top.

Not until the decades from 1840 to 1860 did furniture manufacture take its place as one of the great industries of the city. In 1847 Paris H. Mason and Russell Scarritt began to make furniture on Washington avenue near Second street. Conrades and Logeman established their business in 1854 and the next year Joseph Peters was making a specialty of bureaus and cabinet work. John H. Crane began in 1855 and so did William Mitchell, although his shop did not become the Mitchell company until 1870. Martin Lammert opened in 1860. The interesting and the significant fact about these furniture makers is the identification of most of their names with the industry to this day. Joseph Peters was a native of Prussia and learned the trade of cabinet making before he came to St. Louis. He worked nine years at the trade in St. Louis before he could get enough capital to open a small shop. In 1908 St. Louis had fifty furniture factories making \$5,867,000 in products, giving employment to 7,100 people. St. Louis was exporting furniture to Europe.

The fourth city in population and in manufacturing, St. Louis ranks first in some specialties of productive commerce. Here are the largest shoe house, the largest tobacco factory, the largest brewery in the United States. Here are produced more street cars, stoves and ranges, more American made chemicals than in any other manufacturing center of this country.

In 1905, according to the census experts of the government, St. Louis had obtained first place in the manufacture of carriages, buggies and wagons. The 107 factories engaged in that industry turned out during 1910 vehicles which sold for \$10,000,000.

To the notable industries of St. Louis in the first decade of the twentieth century were added electrical products. Incandescent lamps, insulated wire and a great variety of electrical manufactures made up a jobbing volume of \$20,000,000 in 1910.

The car building industry of St. Louis is equivalent to the support of a city of 50,000 people. Eight plants in 1910 were employing 10,000 men. They were building every kind of street car and steam car, which ranged from the freight costing \$700 to the private palace costing \$40,000. They were drawing supplies of mahogany, Oregon fir and other material from great distances and were shipping cars to other countries, one order of \$1,000,000 going to the Argentine Republic. The railway equipment turned out by the factories of St. Louis in 1910 amounted to \$70,000,000.

The clay products of St. Louis factories—pipe, pottery, fire brick, terra cotta and tiling—amounted in 1910 to \$6,000,000, leading every other clay manufacturing center of the United States by fifty per cent. This class of industries gave employment to 3,000 people.

Manufacture of clothing became one of the thriving St. Louis industries between 1900 and 1910. It increased forty-seven per cent in the latter half of the decade. In 1910 the 108 factories employed 8,000 people and had an output of \$14,573,000.

In 1910 the shoe factories numbered thirty-two, with seven others in nearby towns, owned by St. Louis manufacturers. These thirty-nine factories employed 20,000 people and made shoes to the number of 26,306,735 pairs, valued at \$46,249,161.

Two developments in the productive commerce of St. Louis have been strikingly similar in the successful results. They started thirty years apart. Conditions which confronted them were of like discouraging character. The foresight and superb courage of a handful of men in each of these movements meant a great deal to the industrial progress of this city. The Filleys and the Bridges in the decade of 1840-1850 inaugurated the manufacture of stoves against the opinion of the business community, creating an industry which has grown to nineteen establishments turning out annually products to the value of \$7,500,000. Thirty years later the Browns, the Hamiltons, the Desnoyers and a little group of men began a demonstration of the advantages St. Louis offered for manufacture of boots and shoes. They faced the same adverse opinion which failed to deter the pioneer stove-makers. This industry grew until there were thirty-two shoe manufacturing concerns in St. Louis turning out 100,000 pairs of shoes a day, with an annual product of over \$25,000,000. The Browns were from New York state. In the decade 1870-80 they sold shoes in the St. Louis territory. To George Warren Brown came the inspiration that shoes for this trade could be made in St. Louis. The house for which George Warren Brown traveled sought to dissuade him from manufacturing by an offer of share of profits in the jobbing. The young man was barely twenty-five when he took his \$7,000 of savings, and with \$5,000 added for capital started in a loft on St. Charles street the modest beginning of the industry which has proven so much for the advantages of St. Louis as a center of productive commerce. When George Warren Brown went on the road to place the St. Louis manufactured goods, the merchants looked at the samples, gave orders and frankly told the shoe manufacturer they were patronizing him on personal grounds and not with the expectation that his stock would be up to sample. Success came quickly. Hamilton, Brown and company, leading wholesale dealers in the boots and shoes of eastern make, began to manufacture. Others followed. This industry drew to it young men of business judgment and energy rather than large investments of capital. It developed upon brains rather than upon cash. It created for St. Louis a coterie of energetic public spirited citizens. It has done a great deal more for the city than is represented in the addition it has made to the volume of productive commerce. As the business grew into the form of corporations, the ambitious and the worthy were encouraged to become shareholders. The Browns, with the recollection of their

own experiences, led in this. One of the most successful of the shoe companies consists of a hundred partners. This single line of manufacture has developed for St. Louis half a thousand business men whose activities and whose influence are widely felt for the common good.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE DISTRIBUTIVE COMMERCE

A St. Louis Merchant of 1790—When Catfish Was Circulating Medium—Soulard's Trade Review of 1805—Dressed Deerskins the Leading Article of Commerce—"Incalculable Riches Along the Missouri"—Prices of Staples in 1815—The First Bookstore—"Heavy Groceries"—Henry Von Phul, the Oldest Merchant—Collier's Luck—The "Dry Grocery" of Greeley & Gale—The Jaccards—How Jacob S. Merrell Won Success—Robert M. Funkhouser's Start in a Notable Career—The Orthweins' Grain Experiments—St. Louis Commerce in 1851—Era of Elevators—Senter and the Cotton Trade—Pioneer Incorporation—Edward C. Simmons and His Pocket Knife—The First Illustrated Trade Catalogue—Isaac Wyman Morton's Activities—When Samuel Cupples Came to St. Louis—Evolution of Cupples Station—Shopping Districts of Four Generations—The Branch House Policy—Chamber of Commerce and Merchants' Exchange—High Standards of Business Honor—A Wonderful Record of Cheerful Giving—Master Mechanics of St. Louis in 1839—Arbitration Substituted for Litigation in 1856—The Board of Trade Which Preceded the Business Men's League—The City's Importance Not Measured by Local Statistics—What St. Louis Men and Money Have Done in the Southwest.

Those old-time workers may have been a little too conservative, sometimes timid,—“old fogies,” you would call them nowadays,—but they were scrupulously honest in their dealings, strict constructionists in their regard for contracts, men of untarnished integrity in meeting their engagements, and it is to their practice and example that the present high commercial credit of St. Louis, both at home and abroad, is greatly due. However strong and promising the present may be, I cannot, as your oldest member, say a better word than this,—that we should hold fast to the early traditions of the Chamber of Commerce, and maintain that high regard for honorable dealings which has characterized the past, so that to be a recognized member of the St. Louis Merchants' Exchange may always and everywhere be a passport to respect and confidence. Consider through what trials and difficulties we have thus far advanced. No city has suffered greater reverses by fire, pestilence and flood, by financial crises, by internal dissensions and civil war; and yet we have passed through all, chiefly by the sturdy strength and steadfastness of our business men.—*Wayman Crow, 1875.*

More flippantly than accurately, a writer on the colonial commerce of the settlement said a St. Louis merchant in 1790 was “a man who, in the corner of his cabin, had a large chest which contained a few pounds of powder and shot, a few knives and hatchets, a little red paint, two or three rifles, some hunting shirts of buckskin, a few tin cups and iron pots, and perhaps a little tea, coffee, sugar and spice.”

Bills of exchange which passed from hand to hand in the colonial period were not always based upon shaved deerskins and other furs, although that kind of circulating medium was most common. Occasionally financial transactions took a form of which the following is an illustration:

“Bon pour six livre de Barbue, a St. Louis, ce 25Sbre, 1799.—

“ANTOINE ROY.”

Turned into English this French copy of an original paper which meant value would read:

“Good for six pounds of catfish, at St. Louis, the 25th September, 1799.—

“ANTOINE ROY.”

St. Louis was a fine fish market in the days of the fur traders. Catfish, buffalo fish and the more delicate silver fish were caught and marketed by resi-

dents of the settlement who followed that as a business. Antoine Roy dealt in fish and issued orders on himself as the equivalent of money.

In 1805 was made what may be considered the first review of the trade and commerce of St. Louis. It was prepared by Antoine Soulard, who held the office of surveyor of Upper Louisiana. It was dated "At St. Louis of the Illinois, March, 1805." Mr. Soulard's report showed the year's trade at St. Louis amounted to \$77,971. The items were skins, hides, tallow and fat and bears' grease. The largest item was dressed deer skins, of which St. Louis handled 96,000, valued at \$28,000. The next item of trade was beaver pelts, of which St. Louis handled 12,000 pounds, valued at \$14,737. Mr. Soulard said:

This table, which is made as correct as possible on an average of fifteen years, gives the amount of \$77,971. The goods carried up the Missouri and exchanged for this peltry would amount to \$61,250, reckoning the charges to be a one-fourth part of the worth of the articles. From this it follows that the trade favors an annual profit of \$16,721 or a profit of 27 per cent.

Mr. Soulard proceeds with an argument intending to show the possibilities of improving St. Louis' trade and commerce. He says:

If the Missouri trade, badly regulated and without encouragement, gives annually such a profit there can be no doubt of its increase if encouraged by the government. It must be observed that the prices fixed in the table are those current at the Illinois. If the London prices were taken and deducted from the charges the profits would appear much greater. If the Missouri river of the savages and having but a single branch of trade favors such great returns in proportion to the capital employed in it, what might we not expect from investment by companies with large funds aided by a numerous population and devoting themselves to other kinds of traffic? Some of these, I am bold to say, may be undertaken with a certainty of success when we consider the riches offered by its banks of which in this note I have endeavored to sketch an outline.

Antoine Soulard had been surveyor of Upper Louisiana for several years and had traveled about considerably. He was greatly impressed with "The Incalculable Riches Along the Banks of the Missouri." As early as March, 1805, he enumerated the kinds of wood and the uses to which they might be put. He spoke of the knowledge which the Indians had of trees and of forest plants, and, in the course of his statements, he said:

They derive from certain plants with great care and system that product which renders them insensible to the most vehement fire. I have seen them take hold of redhot irons and burning coals without suffering any inconvenience.

In 1816 the prices on staple articles of the market which prevailed in St. Louis were as follows:

Beef, on foot, per cwt.....	\$ 4.00	Flour, horse-mill, S. fine, per cwt....	\$ 6.00
Butter, per lb.....	.25	Grain—Wheat, per bu.....	1.00
Bees wax, per lb.....	.25	Rye, per bu.....	.62½
Candles, per lb.....	.25	Barley, per bu.....	.75
Cheese, per lb.....	.25	Corn, per bu.....	.37
Cheese, common, per lb.....	.12½	Oats, per bu.....	.37
Boards, none in market.....	.00	Gunpowder, per lb.....	1.00
Cider, none in market.....	.00	Hams, per lb.....	.12
Coffee, per lb.....	.50	Hides, per piece.....	2.75
Cotton, per lb.....	.40	Hogs' lard, per lb.....	.12
Cotton yarn, No. 10.....	1.25	Bears' lard, per gal.....	1.50
Feathers, per lb.....	.50	Honey, per gal.....	1.00
Flour, per bbl., S. fine, in demand...	16.00		



STEPHEN RIDGELY



JOHN H. LOUDERMAN



THE OLD CHOUTEAU MILL
After 1852 in use as a stone saw mill

BUILDERS OF INDUSTRIAL ST. LOUIS

The price of a load of wood on the little carts was "six bits" or seventy-five cents. The Americans started and preserved a tradition that one of these honest vendors of wood was offered a dollar for his load and that he cried out "Seex beets! seex beets! No more, no less!"

The first regular bookstore was opened on Main street by Daniel Hough and Thomas Essex about 1820. Mr. Hough was from New Hampshire, educated at Dartmouth. In 1820 St. Louis was importing goods, annually valued at "upwards of \$2,000,000." The Indian trade was considered to be worth \$600,000.

"Heavy groceries" constituted a distinct branch of the trade of St. Louis for many years. The Colliers, the Lacklands, the Glasgows were dealers in heavy groceries. They would be called importers now. They brought to St. Louis sugar by the boat load, coffee, tea and a few other staples in enormous quantities, selling them at small margin as desired by jobbers. The business experience of Henry Von Phul, who lived to be the oldest merchant in St. Louis and died in his 91st year, dated back to the first decade of the century, when he was employed by James Hart at Lexington, Ky. Mr. Hart was the brother-in-law of Henry Clay, and the son of the man for whom Thomas H. Benton was named. Young Von Phul began his commercial career by taking charge of keel boats loaded with flour, lead and provisions. He floated down stream, stopping at the principal towns on the Mississippi river, trading his products for cotton. He continued this until he reached New Orleans, where he sold the cotton and other products that had not been traded, as well as the keel boats. He then returned on horseback to Lexington, where he made up another shipment and repeated the voyage and the trading. This was the business Mr. Von Phul followed until he came to St. Louis in 1811. The head of the Von Phul family was born in Philadelphia. His mother was a Graff, coming from Lancaster. Henry Von Phul arrived in St. Louis to find the horsemen organizing under Colonel Nathan Boone to fight in the war against England. He joined the command. After the war of 1812 Henry Von Phul married the daughter of Doctor Antoine F. Saugrain and began his career as a merchant on Main street. To him were born fifteen children. Through sixty-three years Henry Von Phul was a business man in St. Louis. He saw the first steamboat land. He invested in steamboats. He conducted for many years one of the largest commercial houses in the Mississippi valley. His credit was such that many western banks kept their St. Louis balances with him. In 1872, at the age of eighty-eight, Mr. Von Phul, after passing safely through crisis after crisis, was involved through endorsements of the obligations of Von Phul Brothers of New Orleans. Against the earnest advice of his counsel, this sturdy old captain of industry paid every dollar of the debts for which he was responsible legally or morally with interest at eight per cent. This action swept away what was a great fortune for those days. Two years later Henry Von Phul died almost poor, leaving a record which is part of the glory of St. Louis commercial integrity.

"Collier's luck" was a common expression in St. Louis business circles during the thirty years of one man's activities. George Collier had many and widely varied interests. He had more partners in his time, probably, than any

other St. Louisan. In the selection of these associates he showed remarkable judgment. Largely for that reason everything he went into turned out well. The Colliers, John and George, were Marylanders by birth. Their father had owned a farm and had been engaged in the coasting trade, and died when the boys were young. Their mother, a woman of force, sent them to Wylie's academy, a business school of high standing in Philadelphia. John Collier came west in 1816 and George Collier followed two years later. Beginning with a small mercantile trade, they expanded their business until they were selling "heavy groceries" throughout St. Louis territory. John Collier died in 1821 and George Collier continued the store taking into partnership Peter Powell, another young man from Maryland. In 1830 George Collier retired from the store with considerable capital. He entered upon what was an entirely new field for St. Louis and upon what meant a great deal to a number of St. Louisans. Selecting young men who showed ability and energy, Mr. Collier furnished the capital for venture after venture. His favorite investments for ten or twelve years were in steamboats. But his methods were entirely original with him. Having made up his mind favorably as to the qualifications of the young man, Mr. Collier sent him around to the Ohio river to build a steamboat. The trade to be served was carefully considered. The boat was planned for that special trade. Mr. Collier supplied the credit. The silent partner remained in Pittsburg, actively superintending the construction. When the boat was completed the partner became the captain, steamed to St. Louis and entered upon the trade selected and received a share of the profits. If there were no profits; if the boat was not suited for the trade; if the plans proved to have been ill advised, Mr. Collier quickly disposed of the boat. It was one of his rules to get out of an unprofitable venture as quickly as the turn could be made. But the capitalist was seldom mistaken in his estimate of his silent partner or in his judgment of the kind of a boat that would pay on any particular river. He entered boats for transportation business in all directions from St. Louis. At times he had as many as half a score on the rivers. Men who became capitalists themselves, laid the foundation of their fortunes by operating boats in which George Collier gave them an interest. Sullivan Blood, the early president of the Boatmen's bank, John Simonds who became the partner in the private banking house of Lucas & Simonds, N. J. Eaton who resigned his commission in the United States army, and Rufus J. Lackland were among the silent partners of George Collier.

Mr. Collier bought and shipped lead in great quantities. He invested in lead mines at Galena. When Henry T. Blow was struggling with the infant white lead industry of St. Louis, Mr. Collier became the largest individual subscriber to the Collier White Lead works. For some years he carried on a banking business, having as a partner William G. Pettus. Mr. Collier and Mr. Pettus married sisters, the Misses Morrison. In 1840 Mr. Collier retired from the banking business, Mr. Pettus continuing it. Two years later he formed the firm of Collier & Morrison which launched his brother-in-law into mercantile life. In 1847 George Collier retired and the house became William M. Morrison & Co., the silent partners being the young men, Rufus J. Lackland and Alfred Chadwick. At every new business step Mr. Collier extended a helping

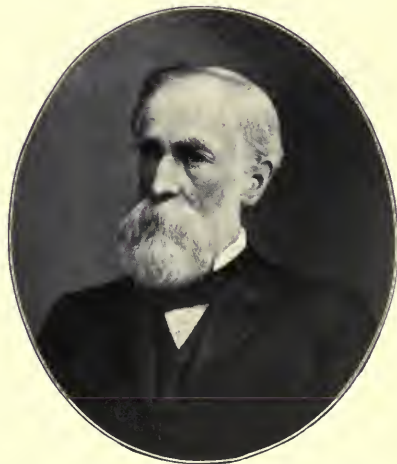


EUGENE JACCARD

The pioneer in the retail movement to Fifth street



JOHN KENNARD



RICHARD M. SCRUGGS

FORMER REPRESENTATIVE MERCHANTS OF ST. LOUIS

hand to some young man. He came to be looked upon as an adviser to all financial St. Louis. The second wife of George Collier was Miss Sarah A. Bell. The two daughters of Mr. Collier married brothers—Henry and Ethan Allen Hitchcock. A grandson of George Collier was elected to the St. Louis circuit bench in 1908.

When Carlos S. Greeley started a wholesale grocery in St. Louis he put in no stock of liquor. The news traveled quickly up and down the Levee and Main street, that two young men from the east were going to try this experiment. The trade generally looked on with amusement. Predictions were made that the new firm would not last. Greeley was under thirty when with Mr. Sanborn he opened the store on the Levee in 1838. The elimination of "wet groceries" wasn't altogether a novelty to Mr. Greeley. When the young man left his native New Hampshire he had about \$100 made in "swapping steers" and other property which had come into his possession. He found employment in the retail grocery of Moses Pettingill at Brockport, New York. Mr. Pettingill was running a grocery without liquor and making money. Afterwards he became one of the most successful pioneer merchants of Peoria. Greeley bought out his employer and continued the policy of selling no whiskey. When he came to St. Louis he had this experience and a capital of about \$5,000. His first partner was Mr. Sanborn who had been with him in the Brockport store. Mr. Gale, a Salisbury, New Hampshire, friend of Mr. Greeley, bought out Mr. Sanborn. The "dry grocery" house of Greeley & Gale made money from the beginning. It grew into one of the institutions of the city. The profits helped to build the Kansas Pacific railroad, the line from Sedalia to Warsaw, the St. Louis and Illinois railroad; they were represented in the capital of the National Bank of Commerce and the Boatmen's; they helped to establish the Belcher Sugar refinery, the St. Louis Cotton Factory, the Crystal City Plate Glass company. They contributed generously to Drury College, to Lindenwood Seminary, to the Mercantile Library, to Washington University.

The Jaccards were Swiss. Louis Jaccard came first, in 1829. His nephew Eugene Jaccard followed in 1837. The association of the name with the jewelry business in St. Louis eighty years ago began with the elder Jaccard working as a journeyman for nine dollars a week. D. Constant Jaccard, another member of the family, a cousin of Louis and Eugene, came from St. Croix to St. Louis in 1848, leaving Switzerland because of the political disturbances. He founded the house of Mermod, Jaccard & King.

It was said of Augustus F. Shapleigh, who was the father of the wholesale hardware trade of St. Louis, that he never asked an extension on a loan and never let a just bill be presented a second time for payment. The sales of the hardware jobbers of St. Louis are more than the combined sales of all the hardware jobbers of New York, Boston, Philadelphia and Baltimore.

One of the merchants who suffered in the great fire was Adolphus Meier. Three years before, Mr. Meier had come from his home in Germany and had established himself in the hardware business with his brother-in-law John C. Rust. At six o'clock in the morning he saw the roof of his store fall in. At eight o'clock he had drawn the plans for a new store and had placed the contracts for the brick work and lumber.

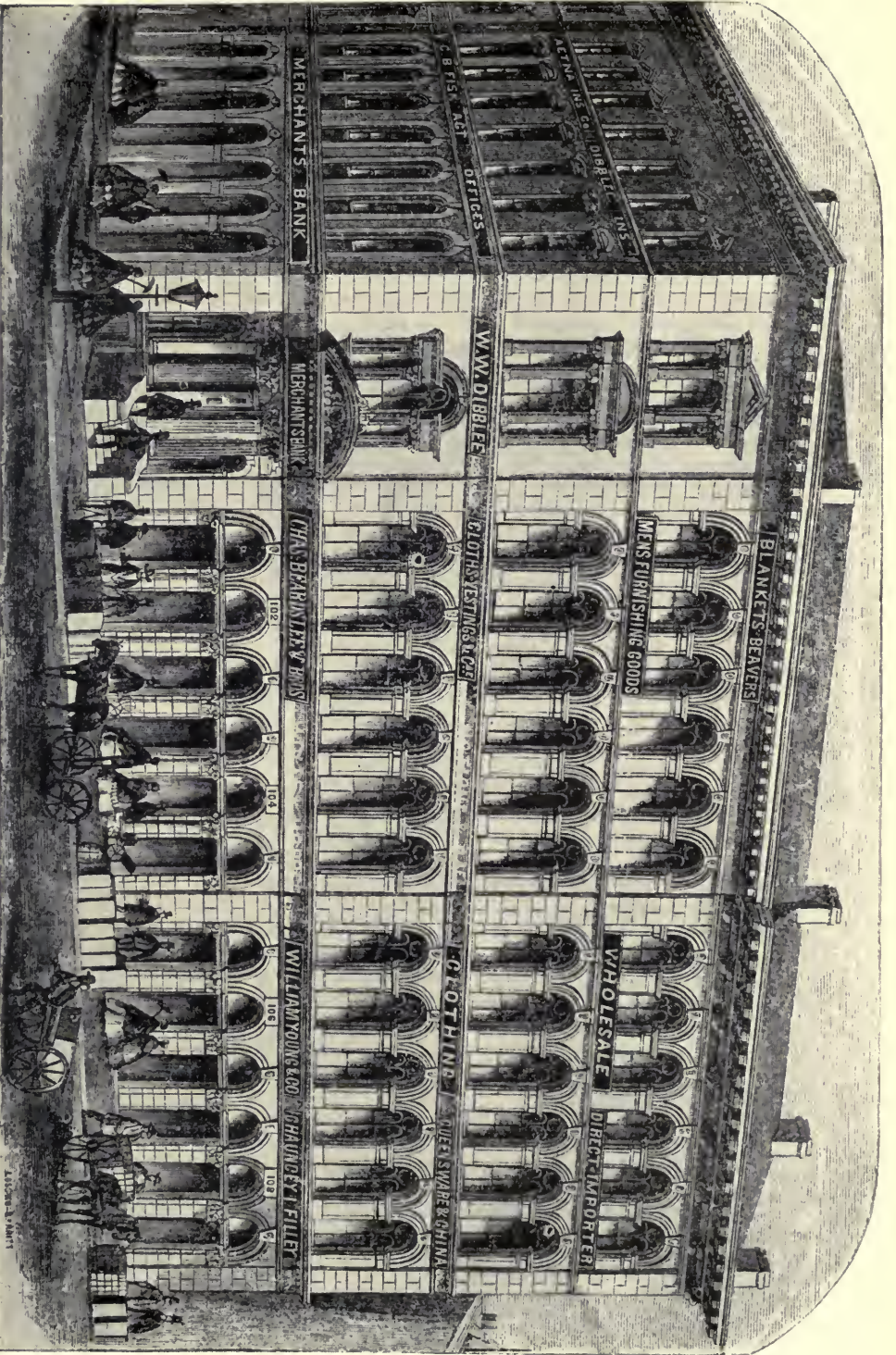
The founder of the Merrell Drug company, Jacob Spencer Merrell, at the age of fifteen paid his father \$150 for his time. He worked his way westward; on the Erie canal from his New York birthplace. He took deck passage on a Lake Erie boat. He cut cordwood, on what is now part of Toledo. He worked in a Lexington, Ky., grocery for ten dollars a month, hired a horse and traveled through the mountains buying furs. When he sold his furs in Cincinnati he saw a little drug factory for sale and bought it on credit. The rest was steady progress. When Mr. Merrell came to St. Louis in 1853, he had the capital to establish himself in a strong position. When the American Medical college was established, Mr. Merrell was one of the founders.

The Funkhouser family was of patriotic descent, moving from Virginia to Kentucky and then to Illinois. An ancestor was Colonel Cross, of fame in the Revolutionary war. Robert M. Funkhouser, the head of the family in St. Louis, reached Alton in the spring of 1840 with a capital of fifty dollars. He found the town full of young men looking for openings, went down to the river and took the first boat for St. Louis. The second evening after he reached this city he went into an auction sale, which in the early years was a popular form of evening amusement. The auctioneer was selling looking glasses at what appeared to the young school teacher to be very cheap. Mr. Funkhouser bought four dozen and the next day went through the city offering looking glasses for sale at retail. He was so vigorous in his business methods that he attracted the attention of a merchant, T. R. Selms, who engaged him on the spot as clerk at a salary of \$250 a year with board thrown in. Mr. Funkhouser married the daughter of his first employer, became a merchant on his own account, a bank director, a savings association director and president of the Chamber of Commerce.

When John Kennard, Sr., grew old he placed the affairs of the house in the hands of his sons. He had been a devoted and consistent Methodist all his life, but he deemed it proper that the last days should be spent in quiet preparation for the end. Once the pastor, Rev. J. H. Linn, of Centenary, spoke to him; he found that Mr. Kennard had kept in view this sentiment, that a business man should close his earthly affairs in time so that the departure might not come to him unprepared. "I have my time now," Mr. Kennard said, "at discretion. I cannot help but be employed—that is my nature and my habit. But I have full confidence in my sons; I have committed these worldly matters into their hands—wholly into their hands."

James H. Brookmire, born in the suburbs of Philadelphia, began in St. Louis as a shipping clerk, in 1855, for his uncles the Hamills who were wholesale grocers on the Levee. He was noted for the thoroughness with which he studied the business, even perfecting himself in the chemistry of the principal products sold in his trade. He invented several things which came into general use by the trade.

The Orthweins came from Wuerttemberg in 1854. They lived for a time in Logan county, Illinois. Charles F. Orthwein as a boy received advice and encouragement from Abraham Lincoln. He was a clerk in a country store before coming to St. Louis, just previous to the Civil war. As early as 1866, before he was thirty years old, Charles F. Orthwein startled St. Louis by



THE WHOLESALE DISTRICT, MAIN AND LOCUST STREETS, BEFORE THE WAR

ALLEN & MANN



chartering a steamboat and five barges to go up the river and load with grain. He was the early advocate of moving grain in bulk down the river. His proposition, which he urged with great force, was, that the economical exportation of grain must be down the river; that railroads must turn over their grain at St. Louis for the river route. To show what could be done Mr. Orthwein shipped 12,000 bushels of wheat by way of New Orleans to New York, where it arrived in perfect condition. This was the answer to the theory that grain sent out in bulk by water would suffer from temperature and moisture. Mr. Orthwein repeated his experiments until St. Louis grain men were convinced that grain could be exported in this way without heating. But the handicap was the want of a deep channel at the mouth of the Mississippi. Then St. Louis got behind Captain Eads and pushed for the jetties. The grain export trade of St. Louis by way of New Orleans went up to 15,000,000 bushels annually about 1880. William D. Orthwein, two years younger than Charles F., joined his brother in the grain business at St. Louis in 1862. He later took up milling in addition to the handling of grain. For fourteen years the house of Orthwein Brothers, with branches in several cities, was very powerful in the grain handling of the southwest. In one period the Orthweins exported 12,000,000 bushels of corn annually to Europe.

Of old New England stock, the parents of Frank Orville Sawyer moved west from Exeter, New Hampshire, to Cincinnati. Mr. Sawyer was educated at Woodward College, Cincinnati. He came to St. Louis before the Civil war and founded the Sawyer Paper company.

How rapidly St. Louis extended her trade is shown in a statement of business made by six dry goods houses in 1853. These houses reported:

Sales in 1845.....	\$1,119,657
Sales in 1853.....	4,074,782

In eight years their increase of annual business was \$2,955,724. But this was by no means an indication of the volume of St. Louis trade in the one line. There were at that time over twenty wholesale dry goods houses in this city. In 1855 St. Louis had fifty-two houses in the wholesale grocery business, selling goods annually to the value of \$22,000,000. In 1881 the number of wholesale grocery houses was the same, fifty-two, with sales, exclusive of sugar and coffee and rice, reaching \$30,000,000 a year. In 1908 the business done was \$69,000,000.

In 1856 a missionary went east to inform the benighted on the Atlantic seaboard about St. Louis and the west. The mission was supported by the chamber of commerce, now the merchants' exchange. The lectures which Richard Smith Elliott was to deliver, according to the resolution of the chamber of commerce, embraced "facts in regard to the physical geography, natural resources, economic relations, and progress in wealth, morals and refinement of our part of the country." To his Boston audience in the state house Mr. Elliott described St. Louis as "a city of 125,000 people, with churches, schools, hotels, steamboats, newspapers and other institutions of civilized life." He said:

Our paved and macadamized streets would more than reach from Boston to Worcester. There are eighteen miles of public street sewers. The wharf stretches one mile and a quarter on the Mississippi, is several hundred feet wide, and, during the season of navigation is

crowded with the products of every clime and soil. In 1855 there were 600,000 barrels of flour manufactured in St. Louis and over 400,000 received from other places, making a million of barrels, equaling the flour trade of Philadelphia. About 140,000 bags of coffee were received in 1855, enough to make a string of coffee bags more than fifty miles in length. The hemp, tobacco, pork, lard, wheat, bale-rope, flour, coffee, sugar and salt passing through the hands of St. Louis merchants in 1855 would, allowing the actual space occupied by each article, reach in one grand line from St. Louis to Boston. In 1840 St. Louis had 16,000 people; in 1855, she had 125,000. She added in fifteen years 109,000 to her population.

The growth of distribution from St. Louis as a manufacturing and commercial center was rapid. Shipments of produce and manufactures from this port by river to places on the interior waters of the United States are given in government reports. For the year ending June 30, 1851, these local shipments were:

Flour, bbls.	648,520	Whiskey, bbls.	29,916
Flour, sacks	2,156	Lard, bbls.	47,450
Wheat, sacks	112,600	Lard, kegs	19,730
Oats, sacks	415,624	Lard, tons	421
Barley, sacks	17,487	Beef, tes.	5,111
Pork, hhds.	108	Beef, bbls.	4,538
Pork, tes.	5,012	Bacon, casks	24,432
Pork, bbls.	122,948	Hemp, bales	57,160
Lard, tes.	14,290	Hides	38,490
Lead, pigs	472,438	Nails, kegs	38,776
Lead bars, lbs.	78,600	Glass, boxes	6,418
Tobacco, hhds.	9,210	Salt, bbls.	76,753
Tobacco, boxes	5,011	Cotton yarn, bags.....	6,180
Refined sugar, bbls.	21,892	Wrought iron—	
Sugar, hhds.	21,905	Manufactures, tons	15,345
Sugar, bbls.	11,548	Castings, tons	30,840
Molasses, bbls.	40,510		

In 1860 the grain dealers of St. Louis began to hold meetings and to assert that the time had come for this market to handle grain in bulk instead of confining themselves to sacks. Henry and Edgar Ames and Albert Pearce offered to build an elevator. The necessary bill for a location on the river front went through the council but was vetoed by the mayor. The innovation was opposed. Not until 1864 was consent obtained to build the first elevator at the foot of Biddle street where the electric power plant is now located. Not until the elevator got into the management of a board of which John Jackson was president and Dennis P. Slattery was the secretary did it become profitable to its owners. John Jackson was from County Down, Ireland, of Scotch-Irish parentage. He had been a successful merchant in salt and other heavy groceries before he devoted his attention to the development of the grain trade of St. Louis.

The Larimores, N. G. and J. W., brothers, were boys when their parents moved to St. Louis county from Kentucky in 1884. They were brought up on a farm of 1,000 acres which their father bought for ten and twelve dollars an acre and developed into "the model farm." As that it took the premium offered by the St. Louis Fair association in 1864 and was known far and wide. The Larimores left the model farm and came to St. Louis to enter the grain trade. In company with G. G. Schoolfield and D. H. Silver the Larimore



AARON W. FAGIN



GEORGE PARTRIDGE

COMMANDERS OF COMMERCE



THE WHOLESALE DISTRICT OF 1909

Washington avenue, west of Eighth street

brothers built a great warehouse at Fifth and Chouteau avenue and joined in the movement to educate St. Louis in the handling of bulk grain. The warehouse was divided into many bins. In those days the St. Louis millers wouldn't buy wheat by grade but insisted on having each carload put in a separate bin. Dealing in bulk grain was an evolution. When the Larimores began to put their profits in elevators, about 1873, they received a great deal of discouraging advice. They made money, bought wheat land in North Dakota by the thousands of acres in advance of the building of Hill's Great Northern and founded the town of Larimore. N. G. Larimore married the youngest daughter of Levi Ashbrook, one of the pioneer pork packers of St. Louis. J. W. Larimore married Bettie R. Carlisle, of a widely known Methodist family, long identified with the Methodist Orphans' home and other philanthropic effort.

With confidence the men who participated in the trial of bulk shipment of grain by river look for the renaissance. In their judgment the experiment was successful. It demonstrated the theory. The practice did not become permanent because of limitations on the route. With a deep and permanent channel, grain will again go by river. The secretary of the merchants' exchange, George H. Morgan, looking backward on forty-four years' experience and forward to the promise of the deep waterway, said:

At the close of the Civil war the members of the merchants' exchange took up with renewed energy the task of restoring to the commerce of the city the grain trade of the west, which had been diverted to more northern markets, and of renewing the trade relations which had previously existed with the south. In the annual report of the exchange published in 1865, the right hand of fellowship and commerce was extended to all former business acquaintances in the following words:

“And now that the strife is over, forgetting all dissensions of the past, they extend the right hand of friendship to those who so lately opposed them, and invite them to come back and renew those kind relations which before existed.”

For the proper extension of the grain trade additional facilities were needed. The custom of shipping in sacks, which had hitherto prevailed, was too expensive and cumbersome, and the handling of grain in bulk, which had already been inaugurated in competing markets, was imperatively necessary if St. Louis was to compete for the grain trade of the Mississippi Valley.

To meet this need members of the exchange erected the St. Louis Grain Elevator on the levee at the foot of Ashley street, and in the fall of 1865 it opened for business and demonstrated that grain could be profitably handled in bulk.

To move the grain in bulk a barge line was formed to carry the freight to New Orleans, where a transfer elevator was built to transfer the grain from the barges to the ocean vessels.

There was some movement of bulk grain via the water route by individuals for New Orleans and for Atlantic ports, but it was found that there were doubts in the minds of shippers as to the safety of the gulf route, on account of climatic conditions, whether grain would keep in as good condition as by the more northern routes.

It was decided in the early part of 1869 that experimental shipments of grain to Europe should be made to test the question and an organization was effected under the name of the St. Louis Grain Association, with a capital stock of \$100,000. The exchange in its corporate capacity took \$20,000 of the stock and the balance was taken by firms and individuals. Shipments of 470,000 bushels of wheat were made to Europe during the first year and while the venture was not successful from a pecuniary point of view, the practicability

and safety of the gulf route was firmly established. The export movement was slow in starting but gradually grew in favor, and in the year 1880 over 15,000,000 bushels were exported by St. Louis houses.

From this initial step the grain movement via Gulf ports has grown to large proportions, and a large portion of the grain trade of the West now moves on longitudinal lines to the Gulf ports.

In 1906 there was exported from New Orleans and Galveston 49,721,960 bushels of wheat, corn and oats.

To the Merchants' Exchange of St. Louis is due the credit of demonstrating the desirability and safety of an outlet to the markets of the world by the Gulf route, resulting in an immense saving in freight rates on the surplus products of the great west, to the great benefit of the farmer and the grain dealer.

While this movement has now ceased via St. Louis on account of the uncertainties of river navigation and other transportation conditions west of the Missouri river, it is confidently believed that when the river is so improved by the general government that a depth of not less than six feet from St. Paul to St. Louis and of not less than twelve feet from St. Louis to New Orleans is secured, and the route from the lakes to the Mississippi river is finished, via the Illinois river, the volume of traffic seeking the cheaper outlet by water routes will become very large and the pristine glory of the mighty Mississippi will be renewed.

The St. Louis Fair was much more than encouragement to agriculture. It was an annual exposition of the industries of St. Louis. It was made an occasion to stimulate thought and energies in a variety of directions for the city's good. In 1868 the Excelsior Insurance company offered a premium of \$100 to be awarded at the Fair "for the best plan of construction of iron barges and vessels suited to carry grain in bulk on the Mississippi river and tributaries." Logan D. Dameron and the Fair Association each contributed the same amount toward the premium.

The year before the war closed William Marshall Senter, the son of a Lexington, Tennessee, farmer came to St. Louis to work out his theory that this city might handle a large cotton trade. He was the central figure in a very interesting trade evolution. St. Louis was handling about 30,000 bales a year. Mr. Senter, with others who joined him, formed a cotton association in 1870. In 1873 the cotton exchange was organized. J. W. Paramore joined the coterie who were bound to make St. Louis a great cotton market. He was the son of a Mansfield, Ohio, farmer, the tenth of eleven children in the family. He served in the war as colonel of the Third Ohio cavalry, for a considerable period commanding a brigade. With some experience in railroad building after the war, he came to St. Louis. A compress and warehouse were built, the largest and most convenient in the world at the time, it was said. The capacity was 500,000 bales. The plant occupied eighty acres of ground. It compressed 3,000 bales a day. The cotton handled under the stimulus given the trade by Senter, Paramore and their associates increased from about 30,000 bales a year to over 400,000 bales about 1880. To hold and develop this cotton trade of St. Louis Colonel Paramore planned a great system of narrow gauge railroads. The routes were chosen with special reference to the cotton growing sections of the southwest. The roads as planned were to cost about half as much as standard gauge and to cost for operation about one-third of the gross earnings. Turning over the management of the compress to Mr. Senter, Colonel Paramore in 1881 began to build these narrow gauge roads under the name of the Cotton Belt, starting from a landing in Missouri on the Mississippi river. He was able

to show that cotton was shipped from Texas and Arkansas to Europe by way of St. Louis cheaper than by way of the gulf ports. Two conditions contributed to this result. They were reasonable transportation charges to St. Louis; economy in the handling of the staple.

When the handling of cotton reached its zenith the St. Louis Compress company had \$1,250,000 capital employed. The buildings contained thirty acres of floor space to and from which a network of railroad tracks made connection. The company employed from 300 to 800 men. In 1879-80 the number of bales compressed here was 275,000.

The Factors' and Brokers' Compress company with capacity for 55,000 bales a year, with buildings and tracks at Columbus and Lafayette streets, was formed in 1874 by R. B. Whittemore, Oliver Garrison, H. M. Mandeville and others.

To grasp quickly new conditions has saved prestige to St. Louis in ways of transportation, character of industries and methods of trade. When the shipments of cotton through St. Louis were greatest the cotton factors here began to prepare for the coming localization of the compressing and warehousing. William M. Senter, James L. Sloss, J. D. Goldman, A. C. Stewart and other St. Louisans organized and put in operation the Texarkana Cotton Compress company to handle the staple which could not under the natural laws of trade be brought to this city. As the cotton receipts at St. Louis diminished under the influences of new railroads and better seaport connections, St. Louis factors established warehouses and compresses in centers of production on the most economical routes. In this way St. Louis preserved her interests in the cotton trade although the actual cotton did not come here.

The first commercial or jobbing house in the United States to incorporate was a St. Louis firm. A manufacturer promptly refused an order for \$200 worth of goods from this house although the order was given on a cash basis. The manufacturer reasoned, curiously enough as it seems now, that incorporation by a mercantile house meant a purpose to avoid personal liability. The St. Louis house which pioneered the incorporation movement on the 1st of January, 1874, was the Simmons Hardware company. The experiment was considered by not a few to be suspicious; it might pave the way to dishonest failure. The truth was that incorporation was trade evolution. It meant many partners. It led to profit sharing. Perhaps no one development did more to advance the trade interests of St. Louis than the incorporation of the mercantile houses, for the Simmons idea spread rapidly to all branches of wholesale business in this center. The beginning of the Simmons Hardware company as a corporation seems humble now. The cash capital of the company was only \$200,000. Some of the men who had proven their worth to the house and were at the heads of departments borrowed money to buy their stock. One of these was James E. Smith, in 1909 the president of the Business Men's League.

In a recent address Mr. E. C. Simmons drew attention to the number of men occupying high positions in St. Louis business circles, who had come up from subordinate positions as clerks or salesmen. He mentioned R. H. Stockton, J. E. Pilcher, C. D. Smiley, J. E. Smith, H. M. Meier, C. N. Markle and

"as a pronounced example Saunders Norvell," who had served business apprenticeship with his house. He said:

All of these men prospered and have taken a front rank among commercial men. To these names should also be added that of my late, and always deeply lamented partner—Mr. Isaac W. Morton, who was bookkeeper and then a salesman for us before he became a partner of the firm and afterwards an officer of the corporation. I have named those gentlemen for two reasons; first, because it makes me happy to have it said that so many men profited and succeeded in such large measure by association with our house; and second, because I want to impress it on your minds that those men were all salesmen, and that their success in life is due to the fact that they were good salesmen.

Take the case of one of the gentlemen whose name I have mentioned as having prospered by reason of being connected with our house—Mr. R. H. Stockton; he was a natural born salesman of the first class; he sold a world of cutlery, chiefly pocket knives and razors, to druggists, and I never found out how he did it until after he had left us, as he never gave away his plans or methods to anybody.

It was this: He learned all about tooth brushes—how they were made, what bones for the handles—where the bristles came from, how bleached, how glued in, etc., etc., in fact all there was known about tooth brushes. Then he would go into a drug store, leaving his cutlery samples by the door, ask for the proprietor, and if in, he would say, "I want to buy a tooth brush;" then he would talk tooth brushes so intelligently that he would get the merchant interested by telling him a lot of things he didn't know before; then he would buy a tooth brush—thus putting himself in the attitude of a customer. Then his real work would begin, for he would draw from his pocket a sample razor or pocket knife, and say, "I've got something here I want to show you—you haven't anything like it, and it's a great seller," and from this he would get a start, and then bring up his samples, and end up with a fine cutlery order. This is what I call brains in salesmanship.

While E. C. Simmons, as president of the National Prosperity Association was handling, in the summer of 1908, an enormous mail from all parts of the country he opened one letter which read:

"You may be right from your standpoint, because you are a rich man and have never known what it was to want money; but we poor devils who try to climb the ladder of prosperity have a different point of view."

"The man who wrote that letter," said Mr. Simmons, with reminiscent look, "perhaps did not know that I commenced my career as poor as the proverbial Job's turkey—making the fire, sweeping out, dusting the shelves. My life has been one of intemperate hard work. For twenty-five years of my life, I worked sixteen hours a day—without one single week's intermission or vacation. Often when footsore and weary I walked long distances, because I had not the price of carfare. I opened the store at six o'clock on winter mornings and five o'clock on summer mornings, although I was only required to open at seven in winter and six in summer."

It is tradition that Edward C. Simmons, while a child in Frederick, Maryland, was never so well contented as when he had a pocket knife in his fingers. He came to St. Louis, a small boy, and went to school on Sixth street, between Locust and St. Charles. He is best remembered by his fellow students as the youth who wanted to see and to examine every other boy's knife. Possibly he came well by the proclivity for his father, Zachariah T. Simmons, though of Pennsylvania nativity, was of descent from the land of steady habits and whittling.

In 1855, the day before New Year's, when he was sixteen years old, the high school student went into the wholesale hardware store of Childs, Pratt



ADOLPHUS MEIER



ALONZO CHILD



HENRY VON PHUL



WILLIAM L. EWING
At the age of fifty

COMMANDERS OF COMMERCE

& Co., and asked Mr. Pratt: "Don't you want a boy?" Mr. Pratt inquired kindly: "What can you do, my lad?" "I can do as much as any boy of my age. Where shall I hang my coat?" Mr. Pratt laughed as he closed the bargain with: "Well, my boy, if you work as well as you talk we can use you. Come down the day after New Year's and go to work."

That was the beginning of E. C. Simmons' more than half century identification with the trade of St. Louis. The boy with the pocket knife was father to the man with the hardware store. The day came when Mr. Simmons startled a manufacturer so that he talked about it for years, by buying 4,000 dozen assorted pocket knives in thirty minutes.

More than his admiration for the pocket knife, more than his quickness of speech, a crisis which came in his apprenticeship had to do with the future of Edward C. Simmons as a merchant. The boy was assigned to one of the partners in the house to get out orders from the stock. One day Jake Smith came down the river from Topeka. He bought a lot of goods. When the order reached young Simmons he saw that the prices entered on the order were higher than those on the samples in the stock room. He carried the book to the man who had sold the goods and showed him the increases. "You mind your own business and get out that order. I know what I am doing," was the answer he got. The boy went home and that night he lay awake thinking about the trick and wondering if he wasn't in some way responsible for a share in it. The next morning he went to the salesman and said: "I am afraid you did not understand me. This is wrong. Don't you see you are doing a wrong, charging a man more than the marked prices?" The salesman replied: "My boy, let me teach you a lesson. This man lives in Topeka, sixty-six miles west of Kansas City. The goods go by boat to Kansas City and then have to be hauled by ox teams to Topeka. We will never see this man again and therefore we must make all we can out of him now. So run along, my boy, and finish up the order." And the boy stood still, saying, "But it's wrong. It's wrong," until the salesman threatened to have him discharged.

When the next season's trade opened, Jake Smith came down on one of the first boats after the ice went out of the Missouri. He was in a rage when he found the man who had overcharged him on the goods. The boy heard the tirade. The salesman listened quietly and said: "Jake, you are all wrong, and I am the best friend you've got. I'll prove it to you before we get through." "Well, do it," said Smith. Then the salesman said: "You were going into a new country, weren't you?" "Yes." "Into a new market where no prices had been established?" "Yes." "You knew nothing about prices, did you?" "No." "Naturally you would base your selling prices on your cost and mark your goods accordingly, wouldn't you?" "Yes." "Then I said to myself, I must help this friend to establish good high market prices. If I sell him cheap he will establish low selling prices. No, I won't do him that injury. I will charge good stiff prices and he will go to Topeka, and when he has the market so established he will come back here again and I will sell him a bill of goods so cheap that it will make his eyes water, and he can take them to Topeka and sell them at the high prices I have been the means of helping him to establish. And now I am prepared to sell you a bill of goods so cheap as to make the two

average up to your satisfaction." Jake Smith shook the hand of the salesman warmly and thanked him and gave the order for another bill of goods. When the customer had gone out the salesman proceeded to give the boy a lesson on the art of selling hardware. The boy revolted, gave up his position and found employment with a new house, Wilson, Levering & Waters, just starting on Main street. His first employers failed. Six years after the Jake Smith incident, Edward C. Simmons was a partner in the business which was done on the square.

Isaac Wyman Morton's part in the trade development of St. Louis was something besides a third of a century of general activity. Mr. Morton created the first elaborate and illustrated trade catalogue issued by a St. Louis house. Eighteen months—days, evenings and holidays—he devoted to the work. There was no model to copy for Mr. Morton was entering a comparatively new field. Mr. Morton prepared the huge volume in detail,—the descriptions, the classification, the indexing and the paging. He superintended the engraving of the pictures. In those days, thirty years ago, the making of cuts had not reached the present standards. This illustrated hardware catalogue came out in 1880. It was a revolution in selling methods. The cost, \$30,000, staggered some of the other stockholders of the Simmons Hardware company. But that first year the catalogue was in use the sales of the house increased over \$1,000,000. Mr. Morton's industry gave to the trade what it had not had and that was a catalogue which became the model for similar publications in various lines. The author had just passed thirty years of age when he began this catalogue. He had come from his birthplace, Quincy, Illinois, to St. Louis, when he was nine years old. His parents were Massachusetts people. With Wyman Institute and Washington University education. Mr. Morton, at seventeen was successively collector, book-keeper and teller in the Second National bank, only to conclude in 1865 that more active business life would suit him better. He became clerk, salesman, partner, "friend and companion" to Edward C. Simmons.

The founder of Cupples Station, that great aid to the commerce of St. Louis, looked back upon an object lesson at the beginning of his experience in St. Louis. When Samuel Cupples in 1851 landed at the wharf he found congestion confronting him. The wholesale grocers filled Front street with their heavy stocks. The commission merchants were in the next rank crowding Commercial alley. In Main street were the dealers in hats, shoes, boots and dry goods. And that was the business part of St. Louis. Mr. Cupples unloaded his stock of woodenware on the Levee about the foot of Locust street and set about finding a store. It seemed almost impossible to secure a place without going beyond the business limits. Along the Levee the steamboats were crowded so close that they moored at right angles with the current of the river and sometimes the boats lay two and three deep at the wharfboats. The second day after unloading his stock Mr. Cupples still in search of a storeroom went down to see that everything was safe. As he stood there looking at his freight, a man with a stick came along and stopped. He was the harbormaster.

"Who owns these buckets and tubs?" he called out in a loud tone.

Mr. Cupples mildly identified himself as the owner and explained that he was looking for a store.



CUPPLES STATION



CHOUTEAU MILL POND

This picture taken looking northwest from about the center of the Cupples station district; building on right is the front of Collier White Lead Works. Chouteau Mansion in the center stood on present site of Four Courts.

"Move them away," ordered the autocrat of the St. Louis terminal of 1851. "If they are not moved by twelve o'clock tomorrow, I'll have them moved and charge you storage."

Samuel M. Dodd led a movement of the wholesale business westward from Main street to get more room. Dodd, Brown & Co. located on Fifth and St. Charles streets in 1871 when such a breaking away from the old center of jobbing trade seemed hazardous.

Cupples Station was an evolution. At Seventh and Poplar streets the city had a market house which had outlived its usefulness. The property was for sale. The house of Cupples & Co. was on Second street. "We needed a warehouse," said Samuel Cupples. "Robert and I thought the market house was in a location convenient to the railroad and would suit our purposes. We bought it. Then we bought another back of it. The idea of having warehouses with railroad tracks beside them grew on the benefits that accrued." That is the history of Cupples Station which has been worth millions of dollars to St. Louis trade in the heavy lines. The saving in the years of Cupples Station's growth held old and gained new trade territory for St. Louis. In 1911 Cupples Station had developed into a collection of nearly fifty large buildings. There were forty firms housed in these buildings. They were sharing in the advantages of the track and elevator service and were carrying on a trade of \$100,000,000 a year. The main group of buildings was constructed in 1891. The forty-three buildings in 1911 represented an investment of \$6,000,000. As a center of wholesale trade Cupples Station had no rival in the country.

Stability has been a marked characteristic of mercantile St. Louis. It has applied to retail as well as to wholesale trade. The structure had two cornerstones—one-price and plain-dealing. In 1849 a young Virginian journeyed through the west looking for the most promising opportunity to open a store. A boy of fifteen, he had begun as clerk in a store at Lynchburg. He had risen to be the cashier of a dry goods establishment in Richmond. Going south he had held a position in the branch office at Huntsville of a New Orleans cotton house. In company with M. V. L. McClelland, Richard M. Scruggs traveled from one city to another studying the advantages offered. An uncle of Mr. McClelland volunteered the capital to start. To the young men, St. Louis, with its 50,000 population, seemed most promising. The firm of McClelland, Scruggs & Company began business in 1850 at Fourth and St. Charles streets. The city limits were at Eighteenth street. In 1888 the business was moved to Fifth and Locust streets and in 1907 to Tenth and Olive streets.

William L. Vandervoort came into the St. Louis firm in 1860. He was a merchant by the blood. His great uncle, Peter L. Vandervoort, brought the first camel's hair shawls, four of them, to this country. He conducted the first "one-price" dry goods store in the United States. That store was where the shadow of Trinity church now falls. The first four shawls were sold to the four wealthiest ladies in New York city. The Vandervoorts were merchants a hundred years before William L. Vandervoort began at the bottom in a Baltimore store at one dollar a week and table board. A bad season cut the salary to fifty cents a week. The twelve-year-old clerk tried another store and congratulated himself on a salary of two dollars a week and full board. He swept

the store at five o'clock in the morning and put up the shutters at ten o'clock at night. He carried the parcels. In 1860 Mr. Vandervoort had his choice between partnership with McClelland and Scruggs at St. Louis and one of the most responsible positions in the house of "the merchant prince of America," Alexander T. Stewart. He chose the St. Louis connection.

The great grandmothers of the generation of 1911 shopped on Market street. From the Levee to Third street was the retail district. Ubsdell, Pierson & Co., of New York, established a St. Louis dry goods store at Third and Market streets. The fire of 1849 swept the retail district. Merchants opened new stores on Fourth street. The property owners on Market street rebuilt hastily, but not well. The merchants refused to move back. Fourth street became the shopping center. The Ubsdell, Pierson & Co. branch had located temporarily on Fourth and Olive, where the Merchants-Laclede bank now is. It was removed in 1857 to Fourth between Vine and St. Charles streets, and remained there until 1880. William Barr and James Duncan were the managers. During the war Mr. Barr, Mr. Duncan and Joseph Franklin bought out the New York partners. In 1870 Mr. Duncan retired. Twenty-eight years ago, following the westward trend, the firm removed to Sixth and Olive. This was the genesis of "Barr's," an institution which within the current year will celebrate its sixtieth anniversary of continuous retail business in St. Louis.

Perhaps "the branch house" policy is the latest and most significant development in the trade evolution of St. Louis. The jobber is establishing branches and is districting his territory. This has come about largely within the past half decade. It seems to be a natural change, meaning a great deal to the future of St. Louis trade. It holds out encouragement for extension of trade territory, with this as the directing center of distribution. A retail merchant in South Dakota who came to the World's Fair in 1904 called upon E. C. Simmons. He was asked why his orders for hardware were not as large as they had been a few years before. His answer was:

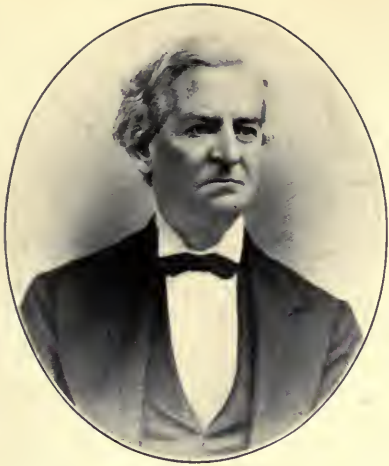
"Well, when you had a strike and your business here in St. Louis was badly interrupted, I commenced buying some goods in Sioux City. I found that I got them in two or three days after giving the order instead of waiting ten days or two weeks to receive them from St. Louis or Chicago. And I also found that by ordering little lots I could do my business on less capital if I bought near home."

"But haven't we a much better assortment than Sioux City has?" urged Mr. Simmons.

"Yes," said the South Dakota merchant, "but those people have all I need."

"Are not our prices much lower?" again urged the St. Louis merchant.

"Yes," said the visitor, "but I make a rattling good profit on the goods I buy from them." And then he came back with this counter argument. "When I commenced I had \$10,000 in my business, but I have since taken out half of it and bought me a nice farm home in the suburbs of our little city. I do as much business on my \$5,000 by purchasing near home in little lots as I did before on \$10,000 capital when I bought in St. Louis and Chicago. What argument have you to meet that?"



D. A. JANUARY



A. F. SHAPLEIGH



D. B. GALE



C. F. G. MEYER



S. M. EDGELL

ARCHITECTS OF ST. LOUIS COMMERCE



Mr. Simmons said he hadn't any. If the trade wouldn't come to St. Louis—St. Louis would have to go to the trade. And thereupon the Simmons Hardware company adopted the policy of establishing branch houses beyond the circuit of immediate St. Louis territory to hold and to extend the more remote districts. The policy of branch houses is not limited to one line of St. Louis trade.

On a dull summer day of 1836 twenty-five young business men organized the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce. The meeting place was the office of the Missouri Insurance company on Main street, between Olive and Pine streets. That was the center of business. The primary purpose was to agree upon certain regulations which the members would observe in their business. One of the first transactions was to adopt a tariff of commissions to be charged on sales of produce and lead, on purchases and shipments of produce, on payment of freight bills, on advances to customers, on placing insurance, and on adjustment of losses. The chamber also fixed the schedule of fees for arbitration of business disputes and the rates of service for agents of steamboats. In short, the young men determined that business in these lines should be organized. They founded what is today the oldest commercial trading organization in the United States. One of the most active of the twenty-five was George K. McGunnege, who was at that time a member of the legislature. At the next session McGunnege put through a bill incorporating the chamber and giving it a charter. The idea was so novel that the legislature conferred power upon the organization to do anything it pleased which was not "contrary to the laws of the land." The only other restriction imposed was that the property which might be acquired should "not exceed at any time the sum of \$20,000." In the very beginning the chamber of commerce took on the character of a public spirited movement. The membership soon overflowed the insurance office. The meeting place was changed to the office of the Missouri Republican, on Main street near Pine. The next move was to the basement of the Unitarian church, on Fourth and Pine streets. The meetings were held at night. The organization was expanding. Its discussions were interesting.

Out of the chamber of commerce with its meetings to consider subjects germane to business interests of the city and out of the merchants' exchange and newsroom where papers were kept on file and to which business men resorted for conversation developed the idea "on 'change." The newspapers began to agitate this as the next step toward commercial organization in St. Louis. "We think," wrote Editor Chambers, "the idea a good one. If a certain hour is established for 'change, say twelve to one o'clock in the day, every merchant having business to do with another would know when and where he could be found." The suggestion met with such favor that in the spring of 1839 Rene Paul faced a large gathering of representative business men when he moved that Henry S. Cox be chosen chairman and William G. Pettus be made secretary of a meeting called to consider the matter. The meeting was held in the merchants' exchange and newsroom, as it had come to be known to all business St. Louis. The sense of those present expressed in the resolutions which A. B. Chambers offered was that an exchange building be erected.

John D. Daggett, Rene Paul, Nathaniel Paschall, Adam B. Chambers, John B. Camden, William Glasgow and Edward Tracy were the committee of seven chosen to take charge of the movement.

The next year occurred an incident illustrative of the standard of commercial honor which characterized the commercial community of St. Louis at that time. Edward Tracy had been president of the chamber of commerce from its beginning. Becoming financially embarrassed, he tendered his resignation. The members declined to accept the resignation, there being nothing that in any way was discreditable to the president. Mr. Tracy insisted that the interests of the chamber would be best served by a change. Henry Von Phul had been the vice president of the chamber. He was chosen president by acclamation, but declined to serve. The chamber then elected Wayman Crow, who continued to hold the office until 1849.

A third of a century after he had been elected president of the chamber of commerce, Wayman Crow, in June, 1874, stood beside the cornerstone of the new chamber of commerce building on Third street. As his mind went back to the early days, to this act of Edward Tracy and to like evidences of nice sense of mercantile honor, Mr. Crow said:

But having been in business here for more than forty years, I cannot recall to mind an individual now in commercial life who was engaged in mercantile pursuits at the time of my coming. You will pardon me then, I am sure—seeing that I belong to the past more than to the present—if my thoughts revert to those early days and rest for a moment with the men who were my trusted colaborers, and with those who immediately preceded us in our work. At least you will permit me to bear witness to the high character, the commercial honor, the personal faithfulness of those who were the early founders of our prosperity, and who gave the tone and standard—not yet lost, and never, as we confidently hope, to be lost—to the daily business life of St. Louis. Those old-time workers may have been a little too conservative, sometimes timid—“old fogies” you would call them nowadays—but they were scrupulously honest in their dealings, strict constructionists in their regard for contracts, men of untarnished integrity in meeting their engagements, and it is to their practice and example that the present high commercial credit of St. Louis, both at home and abroad, is greatly due.”

The movement for an exchange building did not progress. At one time the papers had it that a lot at Third and Chestnut had been purchased and at another time that a lot on Fifth street had been secured. In 1848 the exchange rooms on Main and Olive were opened. A secretary, Edward Barry, was appointed. Papers were kept on file. Telegrams giving the state of the markets were received. The next year the merchants' exchange was formally established by the chamber of commerce. This plan meant two organizations. Members of the exchange had all privileges except voting. The chamber of commerce controlled both bodies. The 'change hour was observed from 11 a. m. to 12 m. The rooms were opened at that time to everybody, but only members could buy and sell.

About the time that the merchants' exchange was started, the millers were looking for a shelter. They had been for years in the habit of going to the levee in the morning, examining the sacks of grain unloaded from the boats and then waiting in the dust and mud for hours until the sellers arrived to make trades. James Waugh and T. A. Buckland were especially vigorous in complaining about the exposure from which they had suffered from trying to



W. A. HARGADINE



T. B. EDGAR



JACOB S. MERRELL



DAVID NICHOLSON



C. S. GREFLEY

ARCHITECTS OF ST. LOUIS COMMERCE

buy grain on the levee. A meeting was called. Rooms were rented near Locust and the levee and the millers' exchange began to do business, inviting those who had grain or any kind of produce to bring in and display their samples. Upon two pine counters, in twenty-four tin pans, began the selling of grain and flour by sample in St. Louis. And this was the inauguration of the sample method of trading on 'change for the United States. It dates back to the decade of 1840-50. The merchants' exchange, which was only two blocks away, sent an invitation to the millers' exchange to bring their flour and grain samples and do the trading there. The invitation was accepted.

In 1850-60 the commercial organization developed great strength. The chamber of commerce in 1851 was presided over by William M. Morrison. In 1852 the body sent delegates headed by Joseph Stettinius to a "commercial convention" at Baltimore.

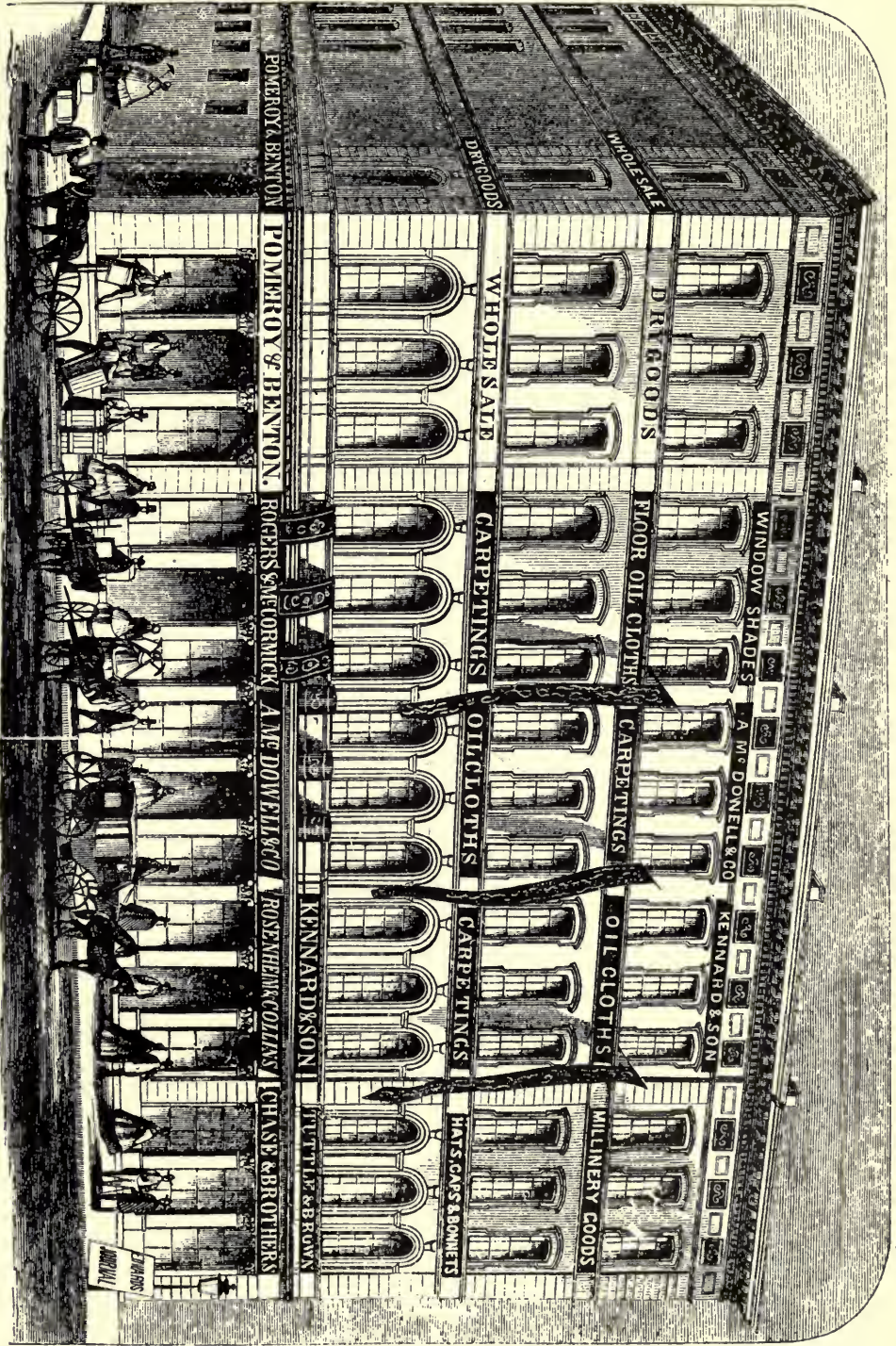
The movement for a building took on new life in 1855. Henry T. Blow, R. J. Lackland, Charles P. Chouteau, A. L. Shapleigh and Thomas E. Tutt were made a committee to get a charter for an exchange building company. Messrs. Edward J. Gay and Robert Barth, representing owners of property on the east side of Main between Market and Walnut streets, proposed to put up a building, the second floor of which should be occupied exclusively by the merchants' exchange at a rental of \$2,500 a year for ten years. This plan was carried out. A company put up the building on the site which Pierre Laclede had reserved for a plaza and which the village, town and city of St. Louis had used for a market place through several generations. The central point of the little settlement of 1764 became the commercial heart of the city in 1857. The structure was known as the chamber of commerce building. The ground floor was occupied by stores. The exchange hall was 101 feet long by 80 feet wide. From the floor to the apex of the dome was 63 feet. St. Louis had a celebrated fresco artist at that time, L. D. Pomerede, who decorated the interior of the dome with paintings representing the four quarters of the globe. This exchange hall, which was, probably, the finest commercial hall in the country of its day, was constructed under the immediate direction of Oliver A. Hart, for the St. Louis merchants' exchange company, chartered for the purpose of erecting the building.

The Civil war brought a severe test of the vitality of commercial organization in St. Louis. Over the annual election in January, 1862, the members divided. Those who withdrew held a meeting with Stephen M. Edgell as chairman and Clinton B. Fisk secretary. They called themselves "the union merchants' exchange of St. Louis." The new body took rooms in a building on Third street just south of the postoffice. Within a year the union merchants' exchange was back in the possession of the old quarters on Main, between Market and Walnut streets. The new exchange organized with Henry J. Moore as president. At the next annual meeting in January, 1863, George Partridge was elected president. In March following the body incorporated. The obligation which the members of the union merchants' exchange took was the result of a movement to commit the business community to the strongest possible expression of allegiance to the government. In 1875 the name was changed from union merchants' exchange to Merchants' Exchange of St. Louis.

In 1871, under the presidency of Gerard B. Allen, the westward movement became strong. Propositions were received from James H. Lucas and others to build a new chamber of commerce at Third and Chestnut; from P. B. Gerhart to build at Third and Locust; from John A. Scudder, Catherine Ames and William H. Scudder to build at Sixth street and Washington avenue, where the destruction of the old Lindell hotel had left a vacancy. The Third and Chestnut street proposition was accepted. A canvass of the membership showed that, at the time, 773 of the business houses represented on 'change were located south of Olive street, and 492 north of Olive. The St. Louis Chamber of Commerce Association to construct the building, was formed with Rufus J. Lackland, president; Gerard B. Allen and George Knapp, vice presidents. In July, 1873, work was commenced. In June, 1874, the cornerstone was laid with masonic and military ceremonies, Web M. Samuel, president of the exchange, delivering the address.

Before the Civil war the great commercial body of St. Louis kept a good president as long as he would serve. Many years the duties were performed in succession by Edward Tracy, Wayman Crow and William Morrison. Beginning with 1862 the custom of one-term presidents was inaugurated and adhered to. The presidents and vice presidents of the Merchants' Exchange for forty-seven years constitute a roll of commercial honor:

Year.	President	Vice Presidents.	Vice Presidents.
1862	Henry J. Moore.	C. S. Greeley.	A. W. Fagin.
1863	George Partridge.	C. S. Greeley.	A. W. Fagin.
1864	Thomas Richeson.	Barton Able.	C. L. Tucker.
1865	Barton Able.	E. O. Stanard.	H. A. Homeyer.
1866	E. O. Stanard.	Alex. H. Smith.	D. G. Taylor.
1867	C. L. Tucker.	Edgar Ames.	D. G. Taylor.
1868	John J. Roe.	Geo. P. Plant.	H. A. Homeyer.
1869	Geo. P. Plant.	H. A. Homeyer.	Nathan Cole.
1870	Wm. J. Lewis.	G. G. Waggaman.	H. C. Yaeger.
1871	Gerard B. Allen.	R. P. Tansey.	Geo. Bain.
1872	R. P. Tansey.	Wm. H. Scudder.	C. H. Teichmann.
1873	Wm. H. Scudder.	S. M. Edgell.	Web M. Samuel.
1874	Web M. Samuel.	L. L. Ashbrook.	John F. Tolle.
1875	D. P. Rowland.	John P. Meyer.	Wm. M. Senter.
1876	Nathan Cole.	John Wahl.	F. B. Davidson.
1877	John A. Scudder.	N. Schaeffer.	Geo. Bain.
1878	Geo. Bain.	H. C. Haarstick.	Craig Alexander.
1879	John Wahl.	Michael McEnnis.	W. J. Lemp.
1880	Alex. H. Smith.	Chas. E. Slayback.	J. C. Ewald.
1881	Michael McEnnis.	John Jackson.	A. T. Harlow.
1882	Chas. E. Slayback.	Chas. F. Orthwein.	Frank Gaiennie.
1883	J. C. Ewald.	D. R. Francis.	D. P. Grier.
1884	D. R. Francis.	John P. Keiser.	C. W. Barstow.
1885	Henry C. Haarstick.	S. W. Cobb.	D. P. Slattey.
1886	S. W. Cobb.	Chas. H. Teichmann.	J. Will Boyd.
1887	Frank Gaiennie.	Louis Fusz.	Thomas Booth.
1888	Chas. F. Orthwein.	J. H. Teasdale.	Chas. A. Cox.
1889	Chas. A. Cox.	Hugh Rogers.	Alex. Euston.
1890	John W. Kauffman.	Marcus Bernheimer.	G. M. Flanigan.
1891	Marcus Bernheimer.	Geo. H. Plant.	S. R. Francis.
1892	Isaac M. Mason.	Wm. T. Anderson.	Wallace Delafield.



FOURTH STREET, BETWEEN WASHINGTON AVENUE AND ST. CHARLES STREET, THE NEW SHOPPING DISTRICT OF 1857

Year.	President.	Vice-Presidents.	Vice-Presidents.
1893	W. T. Anderson.	Roger P. Annan.	L. C. Doggett.
1894	{ A. T. Harlow. Wm. G. Boyd.	{ Wm. G. Boyd. Geo. H. Small.	{ E. A. Pomeroy.
1895	Thos. Booth.	C. Marquard Forster.	Geo D. Barnard.
1896	C. H. Spencer.	Amedee B. Cole.	Clark H. Sampson.
1897	H. F. Langenberg.	Chris. Sharp.	Wm. P. Kennett.
1898	Chris. Sharp.	Henry H. Wernse.	Oscar L. Whitelaw.
1899	Wm. P. Kennett.	Oscar L. Whitelaw.	Daniel E. Smith.
1900	Oscar L. Whitelaw.	Wm. T. Haarstick.	Frank E. Kauffman.
1901	Wm. T. Haarstick.	Geo. J. Tansey.	T. R. Ballard.
1902	Geo. J. Tansey.	T. R. Ballard.	Wm A. Gardner.
1903	T. R. Ballard.	Wm. A. Gardner.	Charles H. Huttig.
1904	H. H. Wernse.	Otto L. Teichmann.	M. G. Richmond.
1905	Otto L. Teichmann.	Manley G. Richmond.	John E. Geraghty.
1906	Manley G. Richmond.	William H. Danforth.	Edward Devoy.
1907	George H. Plant.	Edward Devoy.	Edward E. Scharff.
1908	Edward Devoy.	Edward E. Scharff.	Manning W. Cochrane.
1909	Edward E. Scharff.	Manning W. Cochrane.	Nat. L. Moffitt.
1910	Manning W. Cochrane.	Nat. L. Moffitt.	C. Bernet.
1911	James W. Garneau.	C. Bernet.	John L. Mesmore.

A wonderful record of cheerful giving the Merchants' Exchange has made. In two generations the amounts raised by popular subscriptions on 'change for emergency relief have been nearly \$1,000,000. From Portland, Maine, to San Francisco, from Chicago to Galveston, this body of St. Louis business men has extended the generous hand. To suffering fellowmen in Ireland and Germany these men of the daily mart loosened the purse strings. Flood and drought, yellow fever and fire, cyclone and earthquake, tidal wave and cloudburst—no matter what the occasion—the responses from the members of the Merchants' Exchange have come promptly and liberally. In the long and honorable history of the commercial body the contributions to benevolence make a bright page:

1866	For sufferers by fire at Portland, Me.....	\$ 2,686.00
	For destitute in Georgia and Alabama.....	12,780.00
1867	For destitute in Southern states.....	23,283.66
	For sufferers by yellow fever at New Orleans.....	8,391.50
1871	For sufferers by fire at Chicago.....	150,000.00
1874	For families of firemen killed at fire, April 4th.....	2,997.25
	For sufferers by cyclone at Collinsville, Ill.....	210.00
1880	For suffering poor in Ireland.....	7,029.54
	For sufferers by cyclone at Marshfield, Mo.....	9,102.45
	For sufferers by cyclone at Savoy, Tex.....	220.00
1882	For sufferers by overflow of Mississippi River.....	8,971.55
	For sufferers by cyclone at Brownsville, Mo.....	426.00
1883	For sufferers by overflow in Germany.....	3,760.00
	For sufferers by overflow at Shawneetown, Ill.....	756.69
	For sufferers by overflow in American bottom.....	1,263.00
1885	For the poor of St. Louis, "Minnie Palmer Xmas Boxes".....	282.88
1886	For relief of sufferers by drought in Texas.....	7,508.00
	For relief of sufferers by earthquake at Charleston, S. C.....	1,532.35
	For relief of sufferers by cyclone at Sabine Pass, Tex.....	10.00
1888	For relief of sufferers by cyclone at Mt. Vernon, Ill.....	6,332.25
	For relief of sufferers by yellow fever at Jacksonville, Fla.....	8,341.00

1889	For relief of sufferers by flood at Johnstown, Pa.....	14,479.20
1890	For orphan asylum at Houston, Tex., sale of bale of cotton.....	585 00
1891	For Confederate Orphans' Home of Missouri (cake sold).....	157.00
1892	For relief of sufferers by overflow of Mississippi River.....	54,010.22
1893	For relief of sufferers by cyclone at Red Bud, Ill.....	849.00
	Relief of sufferers by cyclone at Cisco, Tex.....	927.00
	Relief of sufferers by cyclone at Hope, Ark.....	129.00
	Relief of sufferers by storm on Gulf Coast.....	982.50
1895	Relief of sufferers by drought in Nebraska.....	3,720.75
1896	Tornado, St. Louis, May 27th.....	267,440.49
	Tornado, Denison, Tex.....	1,503.00
1897	Flood relief, overflow, Lower Mississippi.....	7,224.00
	Yellow fever in Mississippi.....	1,284.00
1898	Overflow at Shawneetown, Ill.....	2,336.75
	Cloudburst at Steelville, Mo.....	704.00
	Bale of cotton sold for benefit United States Hospital fund.....	630.00
	Game of baseball for benefit of Fresh Air fund.....	196.00
	Yellow fever in South.....	1,673.75
1899	Tornado at Kirksville, Mo.....	3,582.35
	Texas flood relief, Brazos River.....	3,831.00
1900	Texas relief, tidal wave at Galveston and vicinity.....	39,063.30
1902	Relief of families of firemen who lost their lives at fire of February 4th.....	26,014.86
	Relief of drought sufferers in Southwestern Missouri.....	4,771.25
1904	Overflow, Mississippi River.....	35,046.00
1906	San Francisco earthquake.....	42,822.00
1909	Cyclone at Brinkley, Ark.....	1,855.00
	Total	\$899,613.00

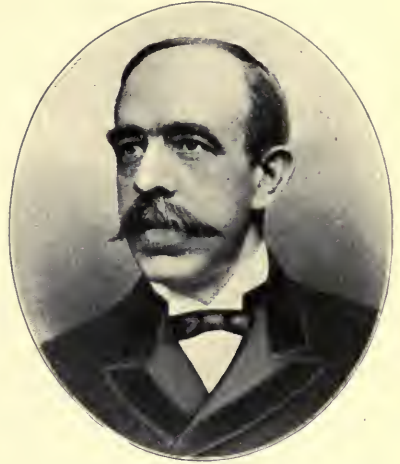
As early as 1839, "the master-mechanics of St. Louis," as they called themselves, organized the Mechanics' Exchange. This was not a labor movement but an organization of the producing industries of the city for mutual good. The plan was formed and presented from a body composed of one representative of each branch of manufacture or skilled trade. The list of these representatives is a good index to the industries of St. Louis in 1839. It includes men who became prominent in the life of the city and whose descendants are in some instances following the same industries as developed under new conditions, in St. Louis today:

Joseph C. Laveille, carpenter.
 Asa Wilgus, painter.
 Samuel Gaty, founder
 George Trask, cabinetmaker.
 James Barry, chandler.
 Joseph Laiden, chairmaker.
 William Shipp, silversmith.
 B. Townsend, wire and sieve maker.
 Thomas Gambal, cooper.
 S. C. Coleman, turner.
 John G. Shelton, tailor.
 Charles Coates, stonecutter.
 Anthony Bennett, stonemason.
 William Thomas, shipbuilder.
 Samuel Shawk, locksmith.
 N. Tiernal, wheelwright.
 Moses Stout, planemaker.
 J. Bemis, machinist.

Daniel D. Page, baker.
 Isaac Chadwick, plasterer.
 Thomas Andrews, coppersmith.
 John M. Paulding, hatter.
 James Love, blacksmith.
 John Young, saddler.
 Wooster Goodyear, cordwainer.
 B. Todd, burr millstone maker.
 Francis Raborg, tanner.
 N. Paschall, printer.
 B. L. Turnbull, bookbinder.
 David Shepard, bricklayer.
 I. A. Letcher, brickmaker.
 Samuel Hawkins, gunsmith.
 A. Oakford, combmaker.
 J. B. Gerard, carriagemaker.
 James Robinson, upholsterer.



D. C. JACCARD



CLARK H. SAMPSON



WILLIAM L. VANDERVOORT



A. E. FAUST

TYPES OF BUSINESS LIFE SINCE THE WAR

In 1852 the Mechanics' and Manufacturers' Exchange and Library Association was organized. The St. Louisans who took the active part in this movement were Thornton Grimsley, Charles H. Peck, P. Wonderly, J. C. Edgar, R. Keyser and John Goodin.

In 1856 the Mechanics' Exchange with rooms on Chestnut street between Third and Fourth streets was one of the strong institutions of the city. Anthony Ittner, Thomas Rich, A. Cook, W. Stamps, James Garvin, C. Lynch, J. Locke, James Luthy were some of the leading members. The laudable objects were "the encouragement, development and promotion of the mechanical and manufacturing interests of the city and the arbitration of all errors and misunderstandings between its members and those having business with them." The first president was N. M. Ludlow. To carry out the policy of settlement of disputes by arbitration the exchange formed a strong committee of appeal. The members of this committee were Charles H. Peck, Samuel Robbins, W. F. Cozzens, John Evill, W. G. Clark, L. D. Baker and W. H. Markham, all prominent men in the city. In 1908 Mr. Clark celebrated his ninetieth birthday at the home of his daughter, Mrs. James B. Hill.

With an address by Henry T. Blow and under Adolphus Meier as president the St. Louis Board of Trade entered upon its mission of business organization in October, 1867. The motive of the board of trade was similar to that which in later years operated through the Business Men's League to the great commercial and industrial advantage of the city. But at that time benefits of business organizations were not so well recognized. The board of trade held many meetings. It considered subjects in which the interests of St. Louis were concerned. Wayman Crow, Isidor Bush, E. C. Simmons, E. A. Hitchcock, Isaac M. Mason were among the active members in the period of the board's greatest usefulness. Chauncey I. Filley was for some time the energetic president.

The Boatmen's Exchange was an institution of such promise that in 1868 Charles P. Chouteau erected for the accommodation of the body a handsome stone front building at Levee and Vine streets, costing \$80,000. The building was the most imposing architecturally on the river front.

With Gerard B. Allen as president and Thomas Richeson as vice president the St. Louis Manufacturers' Association was started in 1874. Adolphus Meier and Giles F. Filley were especially active in promoting the organization.

In 1875 Anthony Ittner, W. W. Polk, Joseph K. Bent and others chartered another Mechanics' Exchange. Fine quarters were opened in the Hunt building on Fourth street opposite the Planters' House. Mr. Bent was of Massachusetts birth. He was for forty years a contractor and builder in St. Louis, operating part of the time his own planing mill and taking some of the largest contracts in carpenter work. He did the carpenter work of the Merchants' Exchange, of Barr's, of the First Presbyterian church on Lucas place. He had the contract for the construction of the Third National bank building which was occupied by the bank up to 1908.

The St. Louis Coal Exchange was opened in 1879 for the mutual protection of shippers and dealers. The president was Alexander Hamilton and the treasurer was C. E. Gartside.

Out of a strike among the furniture workers of the city grew an organization of manufacturers which became the St. Louis Furniture Exchange. The first officers were Daniel Aude, D. S. Horne and J. H. Koppelman.

The growth of St. Louis, financial, commercial and industrial, is not measured by the city's tonnage, clearings, sales and products. It goes far beyond these local returns, flattering as they are. St. Louis is financing, producing and trading in many places away from home. That is the latest evolution of business growth. Notably St. Louis has been reaching out into the southwest. The relationship has come to mean more than the holding of natural trade territory. President Breckinridge Jones, of the Mississippi Valley Trust company, at the close of 1908, in the *Manufacturers' Record*, pointed out what St. Louis men and St. Louis capital have been doing in the field:

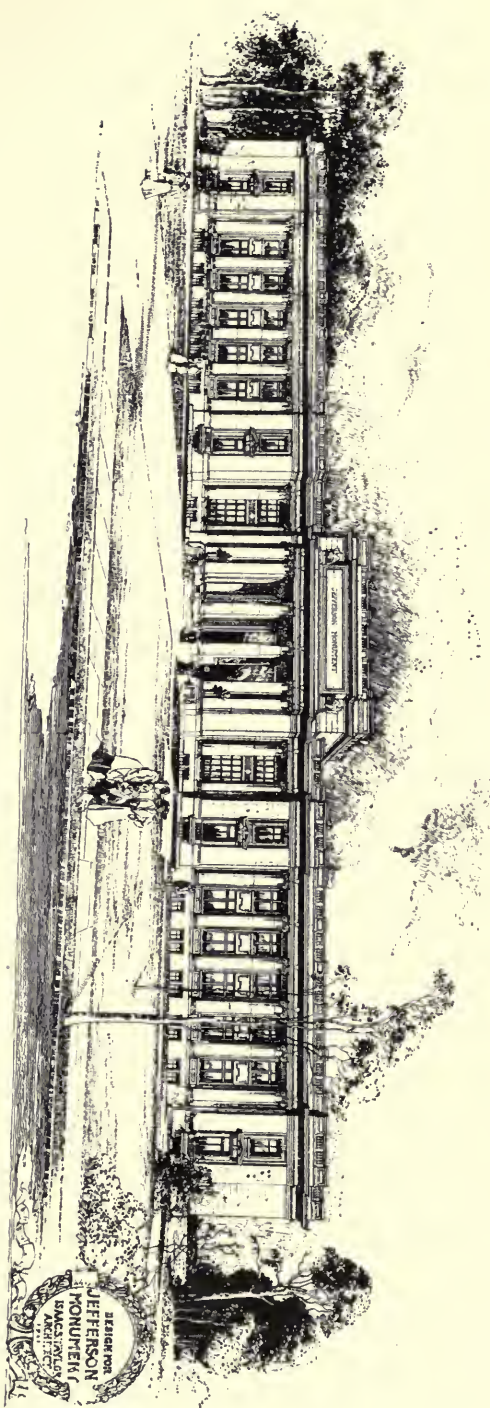
In 1903, out of a total of over 5,000 miles of railroad constructed in the United States, 2,302 miles were built in the southwest; that is, in the states of Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Indian Territory and Texas. In 1904 the total railroad building in the United States amounted to 3,322.26 miles; in 1905 to 4,358.2 miles, and in 1906 to 5,623 miles, of which, in each year, at least 40 per cent was in the states above named. About the same percentage of mileage is being constructed in the southwest now. In all of this development St. Louis capital has been heavily interested. Among other recent roads made possible by St. Louis capital are the following: Arkansas Southern, running from Eldorado, Ark., to Alexandria, La., Blackwell, Enid & Southwestern, extending from Blackwell, Okla., to Vernon, Texas; Denver, Enid & Gulf running from Guthrie, Okla., to Belvidere, Kan.; St. Louis, Brownsville & Mexico, constructed from Brownsville, Texas, toward San Antonio, Texas; St. Louis, El Reno & Western, extending from Guthrie west, and Missouri & Arkansas, running from Eureka Springs, Arkansas, east.

The Mexican Central, running from El Paso through the Republic of Mexico, while not in the territory called the southwest in this article, still is in territory tributary, and should be mentioned, for St. Louis loaned quite a good deal of money to help its completion.

Along the lines of railway made possible by St. Louis capital, sites became villages, villages towns and towns cities almost before the echo of the first locomotive's whistle had died out across the plains. Indian reservations became things of the past, and fruit was grown which rivaled the products of Florida and California. The new cities, so overgrown as to be backward in the frontier dress, needed help. Water works, gas and electric lights, street railways, telephones and other such conveniences were necessary but the communities were not strong enough to stand the inaugural expense. St. Louis had faith in their future, and readily gave her assistance, taking pleasure in playing the part of an elder sister intensely interested in the welfare of the younger children.

As an indication of the volume of business St. Louis has with the southwest, the following figures are instructive: The total number of tons of freight shipped out of St. Louis in 1907 was 18,374,916; of this, 10,537,291 tons, or 57 per cent was for the southwest. The total number of tons of freight shipped into St. Louis the same year was 29,445,669; of this, 15,146,725 tons, or 51 per cent, was from the southwest.

This section has always looked to the financial institutions of St. Louis, and has never found them unwilling to do all in their power. Every bank in Arkansas keeps an account with some St. Louis bank or trust company, and this can also be said of nearly every bank in the other southwestern states. The great service that St. Louis performs with out-of-town banks, mostly located in the southwest, is shown by the fact that between January 2 and October 31 of this year, a period of ten months, the St. Louis banks and trust companies shipped \$104,412,729 in currency, gold and silver to their correspondents for the purpose of handling and moving crops and for other industrial and commercial purposes. During this same period they received \$67,681,979 in cash, making a total of \$172,094,704, which represents what St. Louis is doing as a financial center.



JEFFERSON
MEMORIAL
WASHINGTON
D. C.

In 1910 the St. Louis wholesale dry goods houses sold goods to the value of more than \$70,000,000. They received and distributed the output of ninety-two factories, most of them in St. Louis or in the immediate vicinity. The marked feature in the evolution of the dry goods business of St. Louis was the increasing dependence of St. Louis houses upon the products of St. Louis factories making shirts, hose, underwear and other kinds of wearing apparel. Through this combination of productive and distributive commerce St. Louis merchants were able to obtain large government contracts in competitive bids in the New York market.

The sales of St. Louis manufacturers and jobbers of drugs in 1910 were \$28,000,000, of which amount more than one-half was of local manufacture, including chemicals, patent medicines, ammonia, soaps, perfumes and toilet articles.

In distributive commerce St. Louis has higher rank than the fourth city when certain lines are considered. This is the largest dry goods market west of the Alleghanies; the largest hardwood lumber market in America; the largest horse and mule market in the world; the second largest millinery market in this country; the largest inland coffee distributing point; the largest distributor of shoes. St. Louis has the largest hardware house, the largest woodenware house, the largest drug house in the United States.

CHAPTER XX.

THE RELIGIOUS LIFE

Pastors and Citizens—Long and Notable Careers of Truman M. Post and James H. Brookes—How Montgomery Schuyler Faced the War Issue—Archbishop Kenrick's Busy Days—Thomas Morrison's Sixty Years of Religious Heroism—The First Mass Under the Trees—The First Church—Civic Proclamations on the Door—Church and State Under the Spanish Governors—The First Protestant Preacher—How Trudeau Winked at Baptist Meetings—The Pioneer of Presbyterianism—Rev. Salmon Giddings' Ride of 1,200 Miles—Contributors to the First Presbyterian Meeting House—Coming of Bishop Dubourg—Cathedral Treasures of 1821—Rosati, First Bishop of St. Louis—When Rev. Mr. Potts was "the Rage"—Mormons in St. Louis—Hero of the Cholera of 1835—Baptism of Sixteen Hollanders—The Religious Life as Charles Dickens Saw It—Close Association of Kenrick and Ryan—The Walthers and the Lutherans—Religious Journalism—Bishop Tuttle's Missionary Experience—New Churches of 1900-10—The New Cathedral—An Imposing Ceremonial—The Issue of Sabbath Observance—Father Matthew's Visit to St. Louis—"The Great Controversy"—Rise of the Y. M. C. A.—Evolution of the Provident Association—The Character of St. Louis Philanthropy.

Seventy years is a long time in the life of an individual. It marks the scriptural limit of our earthly pilgrimage. Men say of one who reaches it, "He has passed his prime; his best days are over." For him, morning with its hopes and noontide with its labors are gone. For him, there remain the sunset and the gloom and the pensive memories of bygone days. The earthly hopes that come to him are as passing birds that light on the trees of autumn to sing their songs among the sere and falling leaves, and then fly away. But while the individual dies, the race lives on, ever renewing itself. Generation succeeds generation; instead of the fathers are the children, made wiser and enriched by the dowry of the past. Upon this church seventy years have not left any marks of decrepitude, or weakness of any kind. We cross the line with undiminished numbers, with unbroken harmony among us, with our organizations for Christian work multiplied, with our material resources enlarged, and, above all, still steadfast in the faith that gave such vitality in the past. The onward movement of the church of the living God is the mid-current of human history. The eternal purpose of God is in it, and it is not limited by time. Age and decay can never destroy it.—*Rev. Dr. Samuel J. Niccolls, Second Presbyterian Anniversary, 1908.*

Pastors for life St. Louis has had in numbers and in characters extraordinary. Church leaders and teachers who are permanently located, who acquire personal interest in all that concerns other citizens, who have home ties, who thrill with local pride, contribute far more to the religious life of the community than is implied in pulpit ministrations. St. Louis has had the benefit of clergy of the lifelong kind.

Strong personalities have been developed in the religious as well as in the professional, in the business and in the political life of St. Louis. Truman M. Post was the son of a Middlebury, Vermont, lawyer. Highly educated, he came to St. Louis in 1833 to enter the law office of Hamilton R. Gamble. A visit to Jacksonville led to a connection, as instructor, with Illinois college. At the same time Mr. Post occupied the pulpit of a new Congregational church in Jacksonville. He declined to be "licensed" to preach because that implied some spiritual authority over both preacher and people. He went into the ministry on a "recommendation." The Third Presbyterian church heard of the eloquent young professor of Illinois college and sent for him. This congregation was an offshoot of the First Presbyterian, formed in 1842. It worshipped on Sixth

street between Franklin avenue and Wash street. Mr. Post replied to the invitation that he considered the holding of human beings as property to be in violation of the foundation principles of the Christian religion; that he must be guaranteed liberty of opinion and freedom of speech on the subject of slavery. Ten years before that time a Presbyterian minister, Elijah P. Lovejoy, had been threatened for what he printed about slavery in the St. Louis Observer, had removed to Alton and had been slain by a mob.

Mr. Post asked that his views on slavery be read to the Third Presbyterian church and that another vote be taken on the call extended to him. The church listened to the letter and unanimously renewed the invitation. Mr. Post came to St. Louis under an arrangement to remain four years. In 1852, by a formal vote of sixty-seven members, the Third Presbyterian became a Congregational church. In this manner the seal of approval was put upon the principles of personal liberty and of personal responsibility advocated by the pastor. Mr. Post became Dr. Post through the action of Middlebury college. From that year the First Congregational church was a center of anti-slavery sentiment on moral grounds. The society moved from Sixth street to Tenth and Locust streets before the war and in 1879 to Delmar near Grand avenue. Dr. Post's active pulpit career in St. Louis was thirty-four years. During the fourteen years from 1847 to 1861, this man of profound historical study, of philosophic mind, of sturdy sense of duty, of captivating speech, was influential far beyond the doors of his church for the abolition of slavery and for the maintenance of the Union.

A pulpit career remarkable for length and steadfastness was the period of thirty-nine years through which James H. Brookes preached. This career began with the Second Presbyterian church when it was on Broadway and Locust in 1855, and ended in the Compton avenue church. Year after year Dr. Brookes ministered to the same congregation with unflinching vigor and freshness. He preached from the Bible, of which he was a devoted student. He edited for twenty-three years a monthly publication called "The Truth," and found time to write half a dozen books, the results of his Bible study.

Forty-two years Montgomery Schuyler was a well-doing citizen of St. Louis as well as a conspicuous, constructive clergyman. He was preeminently one of the St. Louis clergymen whose activities were not limited to their churches. His influence was marked upon public morals and upon public spirit. The list of good works of these men is long and varied. No history of the city could omit some mention of the profession in its relation to the better development of St. Louis, apart from the growth of the church. When Montgomery Schuyler died the diocese recorded that he was "a typical priest of the church and a faithful member of the Gospel of Jesus Christ." Giving up the practice of law because he had acquitted a man he felt sure was guilty of murder, Montgomery Schuyler speculated in a Michigan real estate boom; he operated a saw mill; he interested himself in a stage line between Detroit and the village of Chicago; he was a successful merchant. None of these occupations brought satisfaction. Montgomery Schuyler turned to the Episcopal priesthood when he was well toward thirty years of age. The supreme test of this man's character came with the outbreak of the Civil war. Christ church, on Fifth and Chestnut, had been

sold. The congregation was worshipping in Mercantile Library hall. Included in the membership were many, perhaps a majority, who sympathized with the south. Of the old Schuyler stock of New York, with Revolutionary traditions of the family binding him, the rector was a Union man. When the hostilities began Dr. Schuyler talked of resigning. He made no concealment of his political sentiments, although he preached no political sermons. His southern members would not listen to any change of rectors. Montgomery Schuyler stayed on. His patriotism found expression in association with Yeatman, Eliot and the rest of that noble band which became glorious as the Western Sanitary commission. The rector of Christ church was made chaplain to all of the army hospitals at St. Louis. To the inherited Dutch courage and determination which yielded nothing of principle, he joined a wealth of sympathy, ways that were winning and gentleness of manner. It was Montgomery Schuyler's ambition to establish a downtown church. Old Trinity of New York was his ideal. With this in view the location at Thirteenth and Locust was chosen. It was part of his life plan to found a mission which should remain in the business section. Montgomery Schuyler ministered to rich and poor. His monument is Schuyler Memorial house.

Notwithstanding the rule of the Methodist church requiring frequent pulpit changes, several ministers of that denomination became identified with St. Louis by long residence and exercised much influence upon the life and development of the city. A thorough St. Louisan was Rev. Dr. Joseph Boyle, born in Baltimore. He came to this city in 1842 in charge of the First Methodist church. St. Louis was practically his home for thirty years, until his death. He was a delegate to the general conference at Louisville in 1844 when the Methodists divided into the Methodist Episcopal church and the Methodist Episcopal Church South. Dr. Boyle labored to bring about reconciliation of the wings. The immediate cause of the division was the proposition advanced that Bishop Andrew of Georgia be asked to suspend the exercise of his duties so long as a certain impediment existed. The impediment was the fact that his wife owned slaves. Dr. Boyle was presiding elder of the St. Louis district in 1860, 1868 and 1869. He preached in the First church three periods; in Centenary, two.

For many years Archbishop Kenrick lived at the residence attached to the old Cathedral on Walnut street. One of the priests, Father O'Hanlon, who was there in the late forties, left this pen picture:

"I well recollect, the archbishop was the earliest riser in the house, he was satisfied with a few hours' rest; and especially during the summer mornings, he was often up at four and rarely, if ever, in bed after five o'clock. Soon afterwards he was systematically out on the veranda, pacing noiselessly in slippers, that he might not disturb others who were sleeping, while he was engaged devoutly reciting the greater part of the divine office, so that he might be prepared for the multiplied daily duties and labors, which were sure to occupy his attention afterwards; he went each morning into the confessional about six o'clock, and at half past six he commenced his celebration of mass in the cathedral. But nothing could be more admirable than his punctuality in the distribution of time, and the priests all noticed his early morning duties succeeded each other regularly as the clock told the hour. The only difference observable was during the cold and short winter days, when he was obliged to keep his room and read by the lighted lamp until the day had nearly dawned, and when he was ready to enter the cathedral. He breakfasted at an early hour and then he usually withdrew to the library which was

retired from a parlor and reception room. Some snatches of time he managed to take for reading and writing; but soon a succession of visitors began to arrive, and while he specially desired to see those who had real business to transact, he received others with a patience and courtesy which often must have been greatly tested if not strained. 'O Dear!' he would sometimes pleasantly remark to his priests at the table, 'how some people can never learn to shorten their unnecessary visits?' While he often observed that the more he found persons disposed to indulge in talk, the less was he prepared to receive either correct information or practical suggestions on those affairs which interested and engaged his attention. The most distinguished citizens and strangers, Catholic or Protestant, were often to be seen in his ante-room waiting their turn for an interview, and always more than delighted when the opportunity was afforded them.

"It was a truly pleasant reunion to have our archbishop present at our early dinner and at our evening meal. Notwithstanding his habitual reserve, regarding matters of confidential secrecy, and of business transactions which were under consideration, he was communicative enough on other topics, always giving a tone to and leading conversation on subjects of public interest and importance, or relating anecdotes which were novel and instructive, while he promoted hilarity and good humor by the introduction of sly jokes, and a refinement of wit, which the French and German priests could not always well understand in the English idiom until they had time for reflection and explanation. Sometimes he conversed with them in their respective languages, which he spoke with remarkable fluency and correctness. He often preached both in French and German, as circumstances of church congregation required. I heard from himself that the celebrated and gifted Irish poet, James Clarence Mangan, gave him the first German lessons in Dublin; and he always had the most unbounded admiration for the genius, and also compassion and consideration for the weakness of his former tutor, whose latter years were clouded with timorousness or melancholy, and who, notwithstanding his occasional inebriety, was a most gentle and lovable character. The extent of the archbishop's charities could never be known from himself; however, I suspect the unfortunate poet knew well where to find a benefactor in his former distinguished pupil, nor would aid be refused if prudence did not suggest the propriety of not ministering to gratifications which tend to make some men their greatest enemies."

The quality of religious heroism came out strong and not infrequently among the laymen of the city. Thomas F. Webb opened a little Sunday school with twenty scholars in a small frame house at Sixth and Carr streets in 1840. After half a dozen years the owner of the land wanted it. The frame building was lifted on trucks and hauled to Fourteenth and Carr streets, where Judge Carr offered a temporary location. As the school grew the building was enlarged to accommodate 350. In 1848 Thomas Morrison became the superintendent. For sixty years thereafter this man carried on a work peculiarly his own with a degree of devotion which made his personality of more than local interest. To get additional room he moved the school to a hall in the Biddle market, and the Biddle market mission was cited a model for mission work in other cities. The number of scholars increased to over 1,000. A church, "the First Independent church of St. Louis," was started in 1864. Mr. Morrison sold his home and added to it all of the money he could spare to build on Sixteenth and Carr streets. After \$37,000 had been spent the place was sold under a mortgage. Carlos S. Greeley took the property, completed the church and presented it to the trustees of the mission. At that time, in 1880, the Memorial Tabernacle, for that was the name Rev. Dr. Niccolls bestowed upon it, was pronounced the largest and finest building in the United States for Sunday school purposes.



Signers of the agreement to build the first church in St. Louis, 1770, six years after the founding. Autographs of Laclède and the Spanish Governor, Piernas, at the bottom.
 (Courtesy Missouri Historical Society)

When Thomas Morrison died, in 1908, the scenes and the testimonies at his bier, told eloquently what a place he had occupied in the life of the city. Barefooted boys and bankers, men with dinner buckets and men who manage great industries came. A laboring man said:

"I went to school to him in 1863. It was in the old mission over the Biddle Market. I haven't made such a great success as the world goes, but I've lived a Christian life and reared my children Christians, all on account of him."

James W. Bell, the banker, told of the esteem in which Thomas Morrison was held:

"In 1898, upon the fiftieth anniversary of the organization of this mission, Mr. Morrison gave away 3,000 bibles, each with his autograph and a small American flag of silk pasted inside. I have one of those bibles now at home upon my center table and prize it highly. There will never be another Thomas Morrison in St. Louis. He was unique. He was the means of saving thousands of men and women. I was a steady contributor to his mission for fifty years. We all loved to help him. When we saw him come in we threw up our hands and said: 'How much, Tom?'"

In the newspaper accounts of the funeral of Thomas Morrison were described these scenes:

In the procession of mourners were three generations of one family, a grandmother, her daughter and little grandson. The grandmother was a pupil in the Biddle Mission Sunday School sixty years ago. Her daughter was a pupil there thirty years ago, and her little boy is a member of the same Sunday School now, all reared in the love of God through the influence of this one man. The three generations went into the mission together and stopped at the coffin. The mother lifted her little boy up so he could see the face they all loved so much. As they went out the grandmother said:

"I wanted the child to carry in his memory the face of the man who did so much for us. He was the means of our salvation."

In the crowd was an old Irish woman, a devout member of the Catholic church. After she had looked at the face in the coffin, she said:

"He was a great and good man. I knew of his good works for forty years in this district, and though he didn't die in the church I'd like to have seen him die in, he must surely be in heaven."

A woman in a magnificent motor car rode up to the mission door at one o'clock and alone climbed the dingy stairway to the mission room. Her tears fell upon the glass plate covering the face and without speaking to anyone she walked out, got into her car and went away.

"Some woman he saved. There are many of them," said a mourner.

Frederick Diebel, president of the National Storage and Warehouse company, told that he had in his safe a large number of chattel mortgages upon furniture of poor families which were given him by Mr. Morrison. When a family of Mr. Morrison's acquaintance had its furniture mortgaged and was about to lose it he would pay the mortgage and have it transferred to him and lock it in the safe so the family would be out of debt and could not again mortgage its furniture. In this way he saved many a family from its own improvidence.

John H. Roth, secretary of the Adam Roth Grocery company, told of the times when he was in the mission.

"It was a mighty tough neighborhood here in the early days, and Mr. Morrison had lots of trouble with gangs who broke up his benches, threw stones through the windows and did other mischievous things. Once a gang of bad boys planned to break up the Sunday school by starting a fight. Mr. Morrison learned of it, and he got a stout rattan cane and hid it in the lobby. Then he instructed his teachers that when he gave a certain signal they were all to start singing and keep on until he gave a signal to stop. At the appointed time the disturbance started and Mr. Morrison sprang into the midst of it, grabbed the ringleader by the collar, dragged him out into the lobby and flogged him into submission with the rattan cane. Then he set the young man down and talked to him and he and his gang were loyal members of the Sunday school from that time."

A big fellow who had listened to this story grinned when it was ended and said: "I'm that fellow, I'm the ringleader he whipped and it was the making of me."

One of the ushers at the funeral was Joseph B. Farmer, vice president of the Blanke-Wenneker Candy company. He was a member of the mission Sunday school and was married in the mission. Once when Mr. Farmer went with his wife and daughter to visit the mission Mr. Morrison met him with:

"Ah, here's another one of my boys."

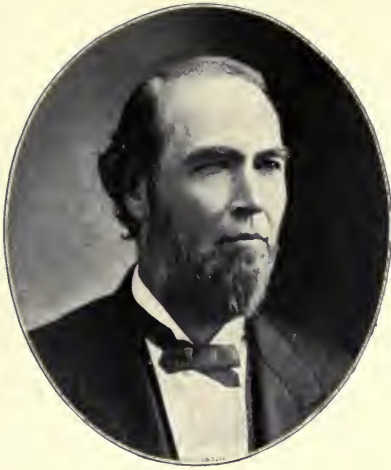
A block away from the mission in the midst of the congested district there is a saloon, the keeper of it said:

"I'd like to go to the funeral myself for if ever there was a good man it was Mr. Morrison. I was in his Sunday school myself and I've given him many a dollar since to help the poor. He was a good man. It didn't make a bit of difference who you were, Mr. Morrison would never turn you down if you were in need."

The founder of St. Louis did not neglect religious ceremony in the early days of the settlement. Across the river, at Cahokia, was Father Sebastian L. Meurin, a man of zeal and courage, who had been a missionary at Vincennes, and in the country of the Illinois, five years, when Laclède arrived. Father Meurin was absent when Auguste Chouteau and the first thirty were clearing ground and cutting trees for the cabins at Main and Walnut streets. When he returned to Cahokia he took his canoe and crossed the river. He called the settlers together, improvised an altar among the trees, celebrated mass and blessed the site. Until St. Louis had attained the importance which encouraged the coming of a priest to make his residence here, Father Meurin visited the settlement as often as he could and held religious services, either out-of-doors or in tent. Many years later the bones of the good missionary who had stood church sponsor for the village were brought to St. Louis, grown to be a great city, and given honored burial.

Father Pierre Gibault, the patriot priest who espoused the cause of the American colonies against England, came to St. Louis from Kaskaskia and remained some time, perhaps eighteen months. But there were periods of weeks and months when the villagers of St. Louis had no priest. Deaths occurred. Rene Kiersereau, the "chantre," or singer of the church, performed the last rites and recited the prayers.

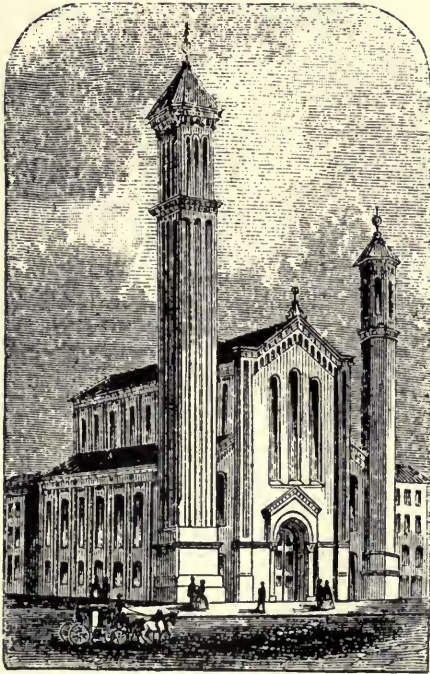
The old cathedral register of St. Louis begins with 1766, when it is stated Father Meurin administered baptism in a tent. After that the register records the coming of Father Meurin from Cahokia twice a year or oftener to hold services and perform the rites. That went on for six years. Then Father Gibault occasionally came up from Kaskaskia and administered the sacraments. Father Gibault was the patriot who espoused the American cause. About 1772 a priest came to St. Louis to live. He was Father Valentin, a Capuchin friar. The book which he opened for a record was, to translate the original, "to inscribe the baptisms of the parish of St. Louis, country of the Illinois, Province of Louisiana, Bishopric of St. James of Cuba." Thus St. Louis, religiously speaking was put on the map in 1772. Two years after he came the parish had prospered to the extent that, in 1774, Father Valentin blessed a bell for church purposes. The first church was built a little later. The families who participated in the building of the church numbered seventy-eight. In 1776, about the middle of summer, the records show that the church was completed. It stood a few feet east of the present site of the old cathedral. It was of posts.



REV. DR. THOMAS M. FINNEY



THOMAS MORRISON



UNION PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
Eleventh and Locust streets, in 1857



SECOND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
Fifth and Walnut streets, before the war

planted upright, with overhanging roof, sixty feet long and thirty feet wide with a porch five feet wide.

Father Valentin referred to himself in his documents as "priest of the parish of St. Louis and its dependencies." There had not been much formality about the coming of Father Valentin. But in 1776, in May, a couple of months before the American Declaration of Independence, Father Bernard arrived with elaborate credentials to take charge. He was designated as "cure of the parochial church of St. Louis of the Illinois, post of Paincourt, with all rights and dependencies." Up to this time St. Louis had been recognized only as a missionary field. Now it was to become a regularly constituted parish. Father Bernard presented these credentials to Governor Cruzat, who witnessed them and filed them in the government archives of St. Louis. The front door of the church became the public place for proclamations of various kinds, for sales of property under official decree and for a variety of formal acts. At the church door were carried out certain sentences. There Baptiste Menard was compelled to stand at the close of devotions one Sunday and ask pardon of God, the king and Mrs. Petit for what he had "said of Mrs. Petit, maliciously and wrongfully, while under the influence of drink." Church and state were closely united while St. Louis was a colony. Father Bernard gave place to Father Ledru in 1789, and Father Didier came in 1793, planting an orchard which became one of the institutions of St. Louis a decade later. Father Janin succeeded Father Didier in 1800. The year before that the bishop at New Orleans wrote to St. Louis of the steps which were to be taken to reach the English and American settlers, to convert all immigrants to the Catholic religion. The register from 1800 shows that besides the regularly stationed priests at St. Louis mentioned, missionary priests were coming from time to time and officiating in St. Louis. From the time of the American occupation, the records of the cathedral show entries by several priests. In 1811 Father Savine came and for half a dozen years was an influential member of the community.

The log church gave place to brick, a large structure located on Second and Walnut streets. The building of this brick church was begun in 1818 and the first service was held in it Christmas, 1819. It was time, for Father de Andreis left the record that the log church "was falling into ruins." At that time, in all of Upper Louisiana, the territory of Missouri, there were four priests and seven chapels. The brick church preceded the cathedral.

Church and state were closely united in the days of the Spanish governors of St. Louis. When it became necessary to fill a vacancy the bishop at New Orleans wrote to Governor Delassus, in November, 1799.

"Don Pedro Janin, priest of this parish, has been appointed rector in San Luis de Illinois on account of the death of Don Pedro Didier. I request you to kindly give him all the attention and assistance possible so that he can discharge the duties of this position to the best advantage and service of the Lord and King. He is a very good person and deserves the attention of everybody in public office as well as of yourself as commander. I hope you will attend to my request, praying that the Lord will keep you many years."

Governor Delassus received the priest and in due time replied to the bishop:

“To his Grace, the Bishop: The Father Don Pedro Janin has arrived here. And due to your recommendation I will do all in my power to favor him and I shall be pleased to serve him all I can, and I am sure I shall enjoy his company. I remain, asking your blessing and praying the Lord to keep you many years.”

Liberality of the Spanish authority at St. Louis extended to religion as well as to government. When Americans came to settle in the village or in the surrounding country the Spanish governor informed them officially that the law required every resident to be “un bon Catholique.” Then he proceeded to put some very general questions as to spiritual opinions. He concluded by declaring the answers were satisfactory, and that the newcomers were evidently good Catholics and could remain. It is not of record that otherwise desirable Americans were turned back from St. Louis because of their religious convictions. John Clark, a Scotchman, was the first Baptist preacher and probably the first Protestant preacher to hold services in the vicinity of St. Louis. He and a man named Talbot started the denomination in St. Louis county by immersing each other. Clark, for some years, lived on the Illinois side, crossed over by night near St. Louis and held his meetings. The Spanish governor waited until he thought the Baptist preacher had about completed his round of visits among the American Protestant families and then sent him word he must leave within three days or he would be imprisoned as the teaching of the Protestant faith was in violation of the Spanish laws. The Rev. John Clark would smile, hold a farewell service and go back to the Illinois side, to repeat his missionary trip a little later. The liberality of Governor Trudeau was put to a rather severe test when Abraham Musick called at government house and boldly asked for a permit to hold Baptist meetings in his house out in the county. The governor denied the petition and quoted the law. Then looking significantly at the sturdy Kentuckian, he added:

I mean you must not put a bell on your house and call it a church or suffer anybody to christen your children except the parish priest, but if your friends choose to meet in your house to sing, pray and talk about religion, you will not be molested, provided you continue, as of course you are, a good Catholic.

The pioneer of Presbyterianism in St. Louis was a Connecticut man, Rev. Salmon Giddings. Appointed a missionary, he rode horseback 1,200 miles, in winter, arriving here in April, 1816. He organized the First Presbyterian church in St. Louis with nine members. As his chief means of support Mr. Giddings conducted a school for girls on Market street opposite the courthouse. The missionary spirit prompted him to go among the newcomers in the vicinity of St. Louis and to gather them into congregations. In this way he organized twelve Presbyterian churches. He got together in his school room a number of St. Louisans and organized a society to distribute Bibles. It is told of one of the churches Salmon Giddings organized that the pastor who was installed over it, Charles S. Robinson, a Massachusetts man, was at one time “entirely out of money and out of food for his family, but just when his need was greatest he found a silver dollar imbedded in the earth, which sufficed for all his wants until a more permanent supply came.”

The First Presbyterian church, on Fourteenth and Lucas place was dedicated in 1855, a funeral hymn was sung just after the sermon. In the midst of the singing the body of Rev. Salmon Giddings, who had died twenty-seven

years previously, was carried in and deposited in a vault below the pulpit. The men who officiated as pallbearers were among the wealthiest and best known men of St. Louis. John O'Fallon and Jesse Lindell, were two of them.

When the nine pioneers organized the First Presbyterian church in November, 1817, they drew up and signed an agreement or covenant to watch over each other and to regulate their lives in a "spirit of Christian meekness," and to maintain the worship of God in their homes. Stephen Hempstead, Sr., and Thomas Osborne were chosen leaders. Church building has always been linked with good citizenship in St. Louis. Business men have aided such enterprises on the broad principle that a city cannot have too many or too fine churches. The congregation worshipped in the room where Mr. Giddings carried on the school to support himself. When the time seemed favorable, financially, for the building of the First Presbyterian church in St. Louis, the little congregation had the substantial sympathy of the whole community. A public meeting was held to start the subscription paper. Alexander McNair, who became the first governor of Missouri, was the chairman of that meeting. Thomas H. Benton, afterwards the thirty years senator, was the secretary. When the paper was passed around Catholic business men put down their subscriptions freely. The largest contribution was \$200, given by Matthew Kerr. In the class of \$50 subscribers were three of the most prominent members of the old Cathedral parish. John Quincy Adams, who became President, sent a subscription of \$25. The site for the church, the west side of Fourth street, near Washington avenue, was purchased for \$327. When Salmon Giddings died 2,000 people, half of the population of St. Louis, attended the funeral.

The Second Baptist church became that number because the First Baptist church, after a struggle of fourteen years, disbanded. The first church organized in 1818, but assumed a financial burden too heavy for the membership. When John Mason Peck, from Connecticut, and James Eby Welch, from Kentucky, the missionaries, came to St. Louis in 1817, they could find only seven Baptists. They organized a church with eleven members. That year, 1818, this little Baptist flock began to build the first Protestant church in St. Louis, at Market and Third streets, about two blocks from the Catholic church, now the old Cathedral. The Baptists planned a building which should serve for worship, and bring in revenue. They called it a meeting house. The structure was of brick, was forty feet wide, sixty feet long and three stories high. It was never fully completed. About \$6,000 was expended. Mr. Welch, the missionary, advanced \$1,200 and John Jacoby, the treasurer, \$600. St. Louis became a city, and widened Market street, cutting a slice of twelve feet off the side of the church. The Baptists claimed damages. The city replied that a church was not known in law, and that church trustees could not recover damages. About that time a hail storm broke all of the windows on the north side. The mayor wouldn't permit repairs because that side of the church had been condemned as public property. The church was sold for \$1,200, and the money was divided between Rev. Mr. Welch and the widow of Trustee Jacoby. The first church disbanded, and the members went into a new organization, which they called "the Second Baptist church of St. Louis," frankly saying that they wanted to make a fresh start without carrying the debts of the other organization.

George W. Ogden, a Quaker merchant of New Bedford, Massachusetts, visited St. Louis in 1821. He was greatly impressed with the site and its surroundings. He wrote: "For its beauty in point of location and healthfulness, it can scarcely be surpassed by any place in the world, and may justly be called 'the Great City of the West.' At this place they have five large, elegant new brick meeting houses of public worship, comprising the different denominations."

The existence of the diocese of St. Louis dates from July, 1826. But St. Louis was the residence of a bishop many years earlier. Louis William Valentine Dubourg was consecrated bishop of New Orleans in 1815. The ceremony took place in Rome. Almost immediately Bishop Dubourg asked to have the diocese divided and a new see of St. Louis created. The church documents of that day refer to St. Louis as situated variously in Upper Louisiana, Louisiana Superior and Alta Louisiana. Before action was taken on Bishop Dubourg's petition, the proposition was withdrawn. From New Orleans came the information, through church channels, that such a rebellious spirit prevailed among those in control of the cathedral of New Orleans, it would not be safe for Bishop Dubourg to take up his residence there. Investigation showed threats were being made "that the bishop would be shot in the streets of New Orleans if he dared set foot on its soil." In the church correspondence of that day New Orleans was referred to as "Vera Nova Babilonia"—a new Babylon. In order that Bishop Dubourg might reside within his diocese, the proposition to make a see of St. Louis was withdrawn.

At Bordeaux, late in the fall of 1815, assembled the little party to accompany Bishop Dubourg to St. Louis. At the head of it was Rev. Joseph Rosati, who was chosen for the head of the seminary to be established. The authority to make Joseph Rosati vicar general was carried by Bishop Dubourg. Father Rosati was a native of Sora in Naples. He was educated in Rome, and when the time came for his ordination, the ceremony took place in secret, because Napoleon, who had invaded Italy, had forbidden ordinations by the Congregation of the Missions. In the party which set out from Bordeaux were four students preparing for the priesthood, three of whom became prominent in the Catholic life of St. Louis. They were Leo Deys, a Belgian; Francis Dahmen, a German; Castuc Gonzales, a Spaniard, and John Tichitoli, an Italian. Among other members of the party were French, Italians and Poles. At that early day the polyglot character of the population of the new religious field was recognized and provided for.

The party came by way of Baltimore. It was not deemed wise or safe to enter the Mississippi Valley by way of New Orleans. Crossing the mountains and coming down the Ohio, the party stopped at Bardstown. Bishop Dubourg arrived in the United States by way of Annapolis some months after the rest of the party had come west. As soon as it was known the bishop was in the country, Father Rosati came to St. Louis to prepare for the reception of the first Catholic bishop who was to take up his residence here. Bishop Flaget, of Bardstown, accompanied Father Rosati. Bishop Dubourg was no stranger to New Orleans. He had gone from that city to Rome to be made a bishop. He had brothers who were business men in New Orleans. But the extensive prop-



RT. REV. L. W. V. DUBOURG



RT. REV. JOSEPH ROSATI



REV. P. T. DE SMET, S. J.



BISHOP P. J. RYAN



ARCHBISHOP KENRICK

erty of the cathedral there had passed into the hands of a corporation, three priests in charge of the cathedral had been suspended, and the excitement was very great. Not knowing how far the feeling might have spread, Bishop Dubourg did not come to the United States until inquiry had shown how he would be received in St. Louis. And when he did come, Rosati and Bishop Flaget came over in advance to be assured of a friendly reception for Bishop Dubourg. They found some opposition to the reception of the bishop, but it melted away quickly. Rosati was a man of wonderful tact and diplomacy.

Bishop Dubourg was a man of high culture. He brought to St. Louis, before the town organization had given place to the city, a library of 8,000 volumes. This collection was described "as the most complete, scientific and literary repertory of the western country, if not of the western world."

There is most excellent non-Catholic authority for the description of this first Catholic bishop to take residence in St. Louis, as "a man endowed at once with the elegance and politeness of the courtier; the piety and zeal of the Apostle and the learning of a Father of the Church."

In the first St. Louis directory, issued in 1821, was given this description of the Catholic church as the result of Bishop Dubourg's efforts:

The cathedral of St. Louis can boast of having no rival in the United States for the magnificence, the value and elegance of her sacred vases, ornaments and paintings, and indeed few churches in Europe possess anything superior to it. It is a truly delightful sight to an American of taste to find in one of the remotest towns of the Union a church decorated with the original paintings of Rubens, Raphael, Guido, Paul Veronese, and a number of others by the first modern masters of the Italian, French and Flemish schools. The ancient and precious gold embroideries which the St. Louis cathedral possesses would certainly decorate any museum in the world. All this is due to the liberality of the Catholics of Europe, who presented these rich articles to Bishop Dubourg on his last visit through France, Italy, Sicily and the Netherlands. Among the liberal benefactors could be named many princes and princesses, but we will only insert the names of Louis XVIII, the present king of France, and that of Baroness La Candale de Ghysegham, a Flemish lady, to whose munificence the cathedral is particularly indebted.

A record of great activity in the Catholic church began with the coming of Bishop Rosati to St. Louis. Here was a diocese with one bishop, three secular priests, five Lazarist fathers, one Jesuit, fourteen ecclesiastical students, five Jesuit scholastics and from 11,000 to 12,000 laity. Before the first year was out Bishop Rosati at the Cathedral in St. Louis consecrated a bishop, Michael Portier, for Alabama and the Floridas. For assistants he had no neighboring bishops. He called in the chancellor of the little college of Jesuits, Father Quick-embedne, and the venerable and lovable Father Donatianus Olivier. About this time Bishop Rosati ordained the first priest born in Missouri, Rev. Joseph Paquin. In March, 1827, Rosati was formally constituted first bishop of St. Louis. The next year he ordained the first priest, who was a native St. Louisan, Francis Regis Loisel.

There were no bishops in Mexico who could give ordination. In 1829, Bishop Rosati began the ordination of priests for the dioceses of that country. Mexican candidates by the score for the priesthood visited Bishop Rosati. Ordination ceremonies in the cathedral were very frequent, beginning in 1829.

In his first report to Rome, on conditions as he found them on taking charge of the new diocese, in 1825, Bishop Rosati described St. Louis as "an important city, the most considerable of the whole state." He added:

French is spoken here by the old inhabitants; and English by the Americans and Irish who have established themselves here of late years. There is only one priest and there ought to be at least two more. There are some difficulties. During the time that Mgr. Dubourg resided here a subscription was made to build a church. The expenses were very great, and the funds were found wanting as soon as they were counted together. This was occasioned by various circumstances, which debilitated commerce, and diminished the number of new inhabitants who had subscribed. Four of the principal citizens, who had been elected as administrators of the building, were obliged to pay a debt of from \$5,000 to \$6,000 for which they had passed their bonds to the workmen. In order to reimburse themselves they have obtained from the legislature the authorization to sell the ground next to the church, together with the house which served for habitation of the bishop and priest. The bondsmen threaten to proceed to the sale if the money they have laid out is not paid back to them.

Those were pioneer days of things religious. In his report on the new diocese, Bishop Rosati spoke of "Viede Poche, Carondelet, having about 100 French families, all very poor. When there were more priests than one in St. Louis, one of them went to the village Saturdays and Sundays to hear confessions, to preach and to say mass. At the present it is vacant."

The see of St. Louis extended across the river and took in a number of parishes. One of these was Prairie du Rocher, of which Bishop Rosati reported: "There is a church and a priest. This is Rev. Father Olivier, a respectable old man of seventy-five years, almost blind, and unable to render any service to the parish. To him I have offered a room in the seminary. He is a saint, who has labored for many years in the service of all the Catholics in these regions."

Five years after he had been elected bishop and three years after his consecration Bishop Rosati became by transfer the first bishop of the diocese of St. Louis. Not until 1827 did this occur. Even when the country west of the Mississippi was divided into two dioceses it was the plan of His Holiness Pope Leo XII that Rosati should be bishop of New Orleans and that he should administer both dioceses for the time being. "Bishop Rosati did all in his power to be excused from accepting the diocese of New Orleans, and succeeded in having the decree rescinded." So reads the church record in manuscript. The church in St. Louis has reason to be grateful that Rosati stood so firmly by his attachment to this city. Dubourg had become oppressed and discouraged with conditions at New Orleans. He went to Europe in the summer of 1826, presented his resignation of the see of New Orleans, and it was accepted. Then Bishop Rosati was given the see of St. Louis, but he was commanded to continue to serve the diocese of New Orleans as administrator until the Holy See could provide otherwise. "Bishop of Teagre and Administrator of St. Louis and New Orleans" was the title borne at first by Bishop Rosati.

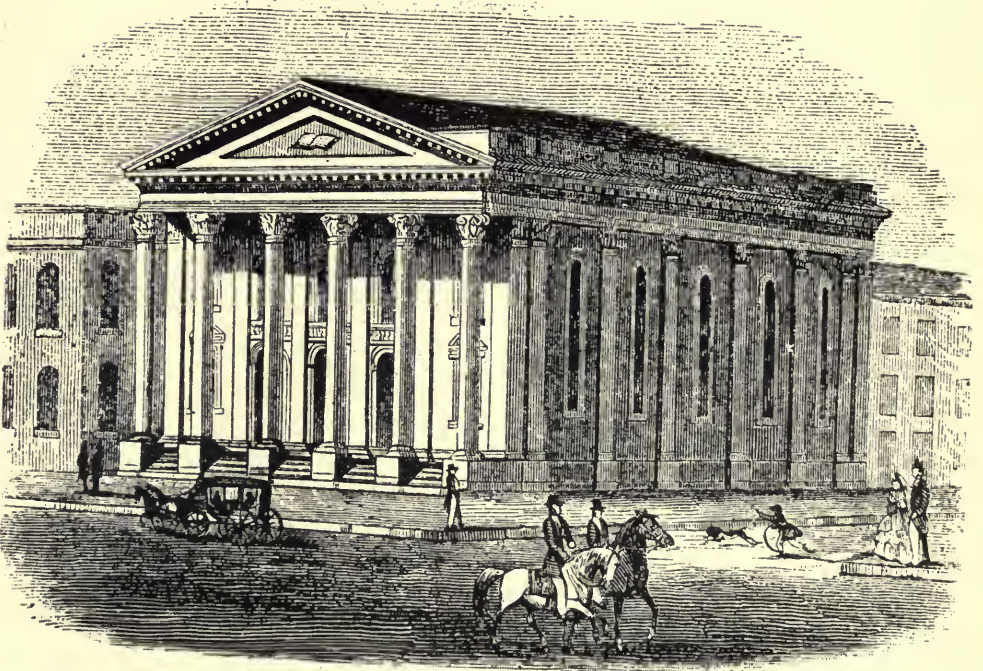
On the first of August, 1831, occurred an event which told of the work Rosati was doing. The corner stone of the new cathedral was laid on Walnut street between Main and Second streets. This was the fourth Catholic church built on the lot, beginning with the house of posts erected in 1776. In 1833 Bishop Rosati gave their first resident priests to Chicago and Kansas City. The twenty-sixth of October, 1834, brought the consecration of the new cathedral



REV. DR. M. McANALLY



REV. S. B. McPHEETERS



FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH
Tenth and Locust streets, 1860

THE RELIGIOUS LIFE

of St. Louis. Two bishops came to participate in the ceremonies—Flaget from Bardstown and Purcell from Cincinnati. The second day afterwards occurred the consecration of the bishop of Vincennes, Simon Brute. The laying of corner stones for new Catholic churches was becoming frequent. Bishop Rosati that year laid the corner stone for Our Lady of Mt. Carmel in Carondelet. That same year of 1834 was memorable for another church event in St. Louis. Bishop Rosati recorded: "Rev. Lutz said mass in St. Mary's chapel for the Germans and preached in German to them, which in future will be done every Sunday."

The next year, 1835, Rosati began to keep the annual counts of the congregations. He sent to all of the priests instructions to prepare and forward at the end of the year a census of their congregations. The first census of the Catholic church in St. Louis showed 8,601 souls, 293 baptisms, 100 marriages, 97 funerals, 54 converts. Notable is the column of converts in these annual census reports of Bishop Rosati. There went on among the residents of St. Louis year after year the conversion of non-Catholics to Catholicism.

In 1829 the Episcopal people completed a neat building. They called it Christ church. The location was the corner of Third and Chestnut streets, where the Chamber of Commerce stands. This Christ church was the predecessor of Christ church cathedral on Thirteenth and Locust streets.

James Stuart, a Scotchman, who visited St. Louis in 1830, and who wrote a book after his return to his own country, said of the religious conditions at that time:

I attended divine worship in the Presbyterian church on the day I reached St. Louis. Having asked the landlord of the inn which was the best church to go to, he at once replied, 'I go to no church but the Presbyterian minister is the rage.' The Presbyterian minister, Mr. Potts, delivered a very good sermon upon this text, 'The sting of sin is death,' in a very neatly seated church in the upper part of the town. It was a funeral sermon, in consequence of the death of Mr. Woods, an English gentleman from London, one of the elders or deacons of the church. In the afternoon I went into the meeting-house of people of color. They had one of themselves preaching sensibly, though it appeared he was not a man of much education. The sermon was, in great measure, composed of scriptural quotations, and was delivered impressively; but there was far less manifestation of excitement than in a church of people of color, which I afterward attended in New York.

Looking for the promised land, the Mormons came to St. Louis in 1831. Joseph Smith had founded the church in New York state and had moved to Kirtland, in Ohio. There he had a revelation that his apostles must go "speedily to the place which is called St. Louis." Traveling in long trains of "mover wagons" the Mormons crossed by ferry to the foot of Market street. Other bodies came by boat down the Ohio and up the Mississippi, landing at St. Louis. Some found homes in St. Louis and established a church. The others, after resting, moved on to the western part of Missouri to try Independence, and Far West and later Nauvoo, in Illinois, before they found rest in Salt Lake City. Latter Day Saints these St. Louis Mormons called themselves. They parted from the Salt Lake body, never accepting or practicing polygamy. They were hard working, honest people, worshipping according to the dictates of their consciences. For a living their elder dug coal in and near what is now Forest Park. For a time after settling in St. Louis the Saints held service in a church

on Third street; then they rented a church on Fourth street. The organization grew slowly in St. Louis as the years went by, until it numbered about 300. It built a church on Elliott avenue.

"Tell my brethren of the Pittsburg conference that I died at my post," is chiseled in the stone which marks a grave in the Wesleyan cemetery on the Olive street road. Three times the stone has been put in place. It quotes the dying message of Rev. Thomas Drummond, an Englishman, who came to St. Louis to take charge of the Methodist church on Fourth street and Washington avenue. A year after his coming Mr. Drummond faced the cholera epidemic of 1835. He was advised to leave the city, but refused and was stricken. From his death-bed he sent the message to the conference with which he had been first associated in this country. His body has been buried in three cemeteries, being moved as the city grew. From Twenty-third and Franklin avenue, it was taken to Grand and Laclede, and later to the cemetery on Olive street road.

Robert B. Fife, who was not a preacher but a student of the Bible and a religious man with a short and simple creed, brought together in Shepard's school opposite the court house, in 1837, a few people and started services for Christians. The meetings did not become regular until five years later. These Christians or Disciples of Christ grew strong in St. Louis. They formed a dozen churches, established an orphans' home and built up a vigorous publishing concern.

In the Second Baptist church of 1833 were represented the Cozzens, Stout, Orme, Kerr and other prominent families of St. Louis. The new organization proceeded slowly in the matter of another church structure. Meetings were held in the school house of Elihu H. Shepard on Fourth street opposite the court house. A lot on Morgan and Sixth was bought, but sold after a foundation had been laid. The Episcopal church on Third and Chestnut was for sale at \$12,000, and the Baptists bought it. As early as 1839 the choir of the Second Baptist church had become so well known that it ventured upon "a grand sacred concert." The church had many pastors, Rev. John Mason Peck came over from his seminary at Rock Spring to preach during several periods. The congregation overflowed the edifice on Third street and built a \$40,000 church at Sixth and Locust. An incident which was the talk of the whole city was the baptism of sixteen Hollanders by Dr. Peck, in 1849. These Hollanders had been Presbyterians. Foreign immigration to St. Louis was at its height when the Baptists received the Hollanders. J. B. Jeter, Galusha Anderson and A. H. Burlingham were among the divines of national reputation who held the pastorate of this church. In 1877 came to the Second Baptist church a pastor who was to remain and to enter into the life of the city—Rev. W. W. Boyd. A New Yorker by birth, he had gone into business life as superintendent of a cotton manufacturing plant in Maine. To do something for his operatives on Sunday, Superintendent Boyd reopened a little abandoned Baptist church in the village, carried on a Sunday school for the children and read Spurgeon's sermons to the grown-ups. The effect upon the superintendent was more startling than upon the mill people. Mr. Boyd began to preach, went to Harvard to get more education, took special honors in philosophy, studied theology and was ordained to the ministry. Four years later he came to St. Louis to enter upon a pastorate of

nearly one-third of a century. When Dr. Boyd came to St. Louis the Second Baptist church had moved westward to the site on Beaumont and Locust streets, selected by William M. McPherson, E. G. Obear, D. B. Gale, Thomas Pratt and Nathan Cole. Only the chapel had been completed. Under the inspiration of Dr. Boyd's eloquence, the main structure was completed at a cost of more than \$250,000. That remained the home of the congregation until the removal to the new church on Kings Highway and Washington avenue in 1908.

In the decades between 1840 and 1860, one of the most popular authors with young folks was the Rev. Cicero Stephens Hawks, D. D., bishop of Missouri. He came of English and Irish ancestors and was born at Newbern, North Carolina. He entered the ministry after a university education, and after the study of law in New York city. He came to St. Louis in 1843 to become rector of Christ church, and the next year was elected unanimously as bishop. Possibly that which most endeared the bishop to the St. Louis people of his generation was his heroic conduct during the Asiatic cholera epidemic. When others left the city for places of refuge Bishop Hawks remained and devoted himself to the care and consolation of the sick. His writings included several volumes of a series called "Uncle Phelps Conversations for the Young." He also wrote "Friday Christian." He was the editor of "The Boys' and Girls' Library," and of the "Library for Our Young Country Women." Two brothers of the bishop became very prominent ministers in the Episcopal church, one of them in New York city, the other in Georgia.

The beginning of St. George's Episcopal church was a sermon preached by Rev. Dr. E. Carter Hutchinson in the Benton school on Sixth street, near Locust.

Among the most entertaining and vigorous of St. Louis preachers was Rev. E. C. Hutchinson. He took for his text one Sunday morning: "David was a man after God's own heart." He described the career of David, his duel with Goliath and his other exploits wholly to his credit. It seemed as if the eloquent rector did not mean to refer to the discreditable event in his hero's career, but he did. Just before the close of the sermon the preacher said: "In the matter of Uriah, the Hittite, David must stand on the same platform with other sinners."

The Rev. S. S. Gassaway, while rector of St. George's, was killed by the explosion of a boiler on the Alton packet, Kate Kearney, just as the boat was leaving the St. Louis levee.

The impressions which the religious life of St. Louis made upon Charles Dickens during his visit in 1842, he described in these notes:

The Roman Catholic religion, introduced here by the early French settlers, prevails extensively. Among the public institutions are a Jesuit college, a convent for "the ladies of the Sacred Heart," and a large church attached to the college, which was in course of erection at the time of my visit, and was intended to be consecrated on the 2nd of December in the present year. The organ will be sent from Belgium. In addition to these establishments there is a Roman Catholic cathedral, dedicated to St. Francis Xavier, and a hospital founded by the munificence of a deceased resident, who was a member of that church. It also sends missionaries from hence among the Indian tribes.

The Unitarian church is represented in this remote place, as in most other parts of America, by a gentleman of great worth and excellence. There are three free schools already erected and in full operation in this city. A fourth is building and will soon be opened.

The reference of Mr. Dickens in the second note was to Rev. William G. Eliot, who had a few years previously settled in St. Louis and was even then giving vigorous attention to the subject of education.

The comprehensive character of the population of St. Louis found illustrations in the religious life of the community. Near Park avenue, in 1842, the Lazarists had an ecclesiastical seminary. At the head of it was Vicar General Joseph Paquin, born at Florissant, 1799, practically a native of St. Louis. The professors were two Spanish, one Italian and one German father. The teacher of Greek and Latin was an Irishman. The students were Irish, French, Italian and Americans. They received instruction in the modern languages from teachers familiar with those languages from early youth. In the recreation hour, after supper, Father Paquin encouraged the professors and students to tell their recollections of their respective countries and to sing the songs of the various nationalities, he leading with the French chansons of early St. Louis, taught him in his boyhood.

In April, 1840, a large proportion of the population went out into the suburbs to witness the laying of the corner stone of St. Xavier's Catholic church on Ninth and Green streets, now Lucas avenue.

Of kindest character were the relations between Bishop Rosati and the clergy of the diocese of St. Louis. In 1840 the bishop went to Rome, expecting to return shortly. He was asked by the Holy Father, Pope Gregory XVI., if he would not take the charge of Apostolic Delegate to Hayti to conclude a concordat between the Holy See and that country.

Bishop Rosati replied that he would not like to leave his diocese without the services of a bishop for so long a time, but that if His Holiness would give him a coadjutor to govern during the absence he would undertake the Haytian charge.

Thereupon the Pope said: "Well! My dear Lord, if you know any good priest whom you would wish for your coadjutor, just name him, and I will appoint him right away."

"Most Holy Father," said Bishop Rosati, "if I could get the Very Reverend Peter Richard Kenrick, the vicar general of the Right Reverend Francis Patrick Kenrick, coadjutor of the bishop of Philadelphia, I would be satisfied."

"Very well," said His Holiness, "you shall have him."

One less thorough going in his mental method than Bishop Rosati would perhaps have stopped with that. But the bishop of St. Louis was a man who left nothing uncertain. He said to the Pope: "Your Holiness! You had the kindness some time ago to appoint the Very Reverend John Timon, C. M., as my coadjutor, but he refused the office, and if Very Reverend Peter Richard Kenrick would do the same thing, I would be frustrated, therefore I beg of you to oblige him under obedience to take the office."

That the Pope acted on the suggestion was evident from a letter which Right Reverend Francis Patrick Kenrick wrote from Philadelphia to Bishop Rosati. "The positive wishes of His Holiness have, I believe, secured my brother's full acquiescence."

Right Reverend Peter Richard Kenrick was consecrated Bishop in Philadelphia in 1841 by Bishop Rosati and came to St. Louis as coadjutor. Bishop



REV. WILLIAM POTTS

From a Daguerreotype taken in the '50s.

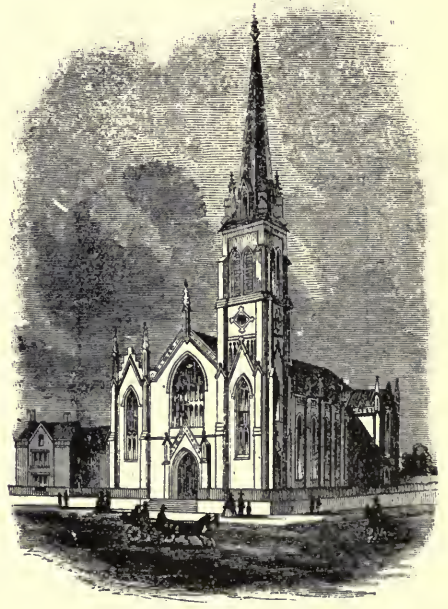


REV. ARTEMAS BULLARD

Pastor of First Presbyterian Church, who was killed in the Gasconade disaster



CHURCH OF THE MESSIAH
Olive and Ninth streets, before the war



FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
Fourteenth and Lucas place, in 1860

Rosati went to Hayti, completed the diplomatic work, for which he was sent, with his usual painstaking care, went to Rome, was taken ill and died.

Many years afterward, when he had become the head of the church, Leo XIII. said to a high representative of the Catholic church in St. Louis:

I have known the first bishop of St. Louis. I traveled with him from Rome to Paris. When he was on his way to Hayti to conclude the concordat, I was on my way to Brussels as nuncio. I must say that I have never in my life met with a bishop whom I considered such a holy man and whom I found so full of respect towards the Holy Father.

When Rev. Artemas Bullard came to St. Louis to be pastor of the First Presbyterian church in 1838 he thought the place of worship was too far from the center of the city. The location was near Fourth street and Washington avenue, but most of the worshippers lived east or south of the church. When the new church was built, Dr. Bullard found conditions so changed that he advised a location at Fourteenth street and Lucas place. There was much opposition to the new site, many members claiming that this was a removal too far to the west. In its day the First Presbyterian church, on Fourteenth street and Lucas place, was regarded as having a very handsome exterior, and it was commented upon favorably by many travelers. At that time there were few buildings in the vicinity and the church edifice stood out bold and strong in all of its architectural impressiveness. The First Presbyterian church regarded as colonies or offshoots, the Second Presbyterian church, and the Third Presbyterian church and the Pine street church, with which became identified for many years Dr. Niccolls, Dr. Post, Dr. Brookes and Dr. Rutherford.

The First Presbyterian church, the most costly up to that time, was completed about the middle of the decade, 1850-1860. It was commonly called "Dr. Bullard's church," long after the beloved pastor met his death in the Gasconade disaster. Competition in church architecture, in those days, ran somewhat to spires. The First church had "the tallest steeple in St. Louis"—225 feet. When the western city limits was extended from Seventh to Eighteenth street, in 1841, there was strong opposition. The argument was that the population did not justify the enlargement; that streets were not opened. Thirteen years later, while people were still speaking of "the new limits," this, most costly of the churches, was built almost on the outer edge of the city.

Centenary Methodist church had a basement story wholly above ground. It was on Fifth and Pine streets, the southwest corner. Beside it was a parsonage.

Rev. Dr. D. R. McAnally came from Tennessee. He had preached in the south and had conducted a seminary a number of years before he came to St. Louis to be editor of the St. Louis Christian Advocate and to conduct the Methodist publishing house. Organizing a Methodist church in Carondelet, Dr. McAnally preached there seventeen years. No appointment was made by the conference, the church being left "to be supplied." In that way the rule of itineracy was avoided. There was a militant strain in Dr. McAnally. The editor sympathized with the south. He was arrested early in the Civil war and his paper was suppressed. In July, 1861, he was tried by court martial, but the verdict was never returned from Washington. The good doctor was put on parole, forbidden to leave St. Louis county. As a vigorous writer he was

known and greatly admired by two generations of St. Louis Methodists. The office of the Christian Advocate was on Pine street next to the church. Dr. McAnally was the son of Charles McAnally, a Methodist minister. He began his life work in the pulpit when he was nineteen years old. The Methodist Book Concern of St. Louis was started with a capital of \$1,800. Dr. McAnally built up the establishment until the books issued were in the hundreds of thousands. The business was equal to some of the larger establishments in the east.

John Hogan of the County Cork was favored with so few educational opportunities that when, an immigrant boy, he went to work for a shoemaker in Baltimore as an apprentice, the journeymen in the office taught him his letters. Self educated, this boy became a Methodist minister of reputation through the western country. He published a book called "Thoughts of St. Louis," which was so well appreciated by the business interests of the city that a service of silver was given to the author as a testimonial. Subsequently he was the author of a "History of Methodism in the West" and "The Resources of Missouri." There was a clearness of style and a freshness about his writings which made him very popular with readers in 1850-1860. The Dollar savings institution, on which was built the Exchange bank, was presided over for some time by John Hogan. In 1858 Mr. Hogan became, by appointment of President Buchanan, the postmaster of St. Louis. The wife of John Hogan was the daughter of Joseph B. Garnier of St. Louis.

Union Presbyterian church on Locust street was unlike any other church edifice in St. Louis. Architects of that period called it the "Lombardio style." There were two towers at the corners, one was 104 feet, the other 160 feet in height. This church was built by Henry D. Bacon, the banker. It cost him \$70,000. The finest organ in the west was installed. When the building was ready for dedication, Mr. Bacon offered to deed the property to the trustees for \$30,000, making his contribution \$40,000. The offer was accepted. The \$30,000 was subscribed in three days. The Union Presbyterian church was organized in 1850. The pastor was Rev. William Holmes, who became an editorial writer on the Missouri Democrat.

The church architecture of St. Louis, before the Civil war, was something of which the city could boast. The church of the Messiah, Dr. Eliot's, on Ninth and Olive, where the Century building stands, cost \$100,000. It was of massive masonry. Seventy tons of iron were used in the metallic parts. The construction was not given out by contract, but was done under the direction of a committee. The spire, 167 feet high, was a model in proportions. The church itself was considered one of the most beautiful in the country.

St. Louis churches kept pace with the population, rapid as the growth was before the war. In 1830 the average number of residents, young and old, to the churches was 2,000. In 1854 there were sixty-five churches. The population was estimated to average 1,900 to the church, although the government census did not give that number of residents. The city was famed not only for the congregations but for the costly character of the church architecture. Business men responded with great liberality to all church calls. When Rev. Dr. William G. Eliot was fairly settled in his church he went among the members of his congregation and raised \$60,000 for educational purposes.

The missionary activities first of Bishop Rosati and second of Archbishop Kenrick, from 1830 to 1860, are part of the history of St. Louis. See after see was created and the bishop to take charge was consecrated at St. Louis for the new field. Diocese after diocese was cut off from what had been the original diocese of St. Louis. From St. Louis priests went to the Indians far in advance of settlement. They were assigned to the posts of the fur traders. They camped with the lead miners. They traveled through the west finding and binding anew to the church the families of scattered Catholics. They went with the armies of railroad builders. And all of the time that the work went on in the field, parish after parish was organized, and church after church was blessed in the growing city of St. Louis. Rosati was a man of unlimited capacity for detail. Kenrick was as methodical as a clock. He had time for everything. Year in and year out he walked westward from the archbishop's house, taking his exercise so regularly that people on the route had a saying that it was safe to set the family clock by the archbishop's daily constitutional.

Out from the old Cathedral of St. Louis to become bishops or archbishops went Neckere (New Orleans), Timon (Buffalo), Lefevre (Detroit), Odin (New Orleans), Feehan (Chicago), Hennessy (Dubuque), Duggan (Chicago), Hogan (St. Joseph), Ryan (Philadelphia).

Italy and France had been represented in the bishop resident at St. Louis. Right Reverend Peter Richard Kenrick, who arrived in the winter of 1841-2, was of Dublin birth and education. In Maynooth Seminary he went through his higher studies. He was only thirty-six years old when he came to St. Louis as Bishop Kenrick. One year he had given to the priesthood in his native Dublin, and nine years he had passed in Philadelphia as president of the seminary, rector of the cathedral and vicar general to his brother, Bishop Francis Patrick Kenrick.

The year after his arrival Bishop Kenrick established and opened three parish churches in St. Louis. These were St. Francis Xavier's, St. Mary's and St. Aloysius. That year Chicago was made a see with Illinois for the diocese and at the same time Little Rock became a see. In 1845 Bishop Kenrick opened three more parish churches in St. Louis. These were St. Patrick's, St. Joseph's and St. Vincent's.

In July, 1847, by papal bull the diocese of St. Louis became an archdiocese, and Bishop Kenrick was appointed Archbishop of St. Louis. The spread of the Catholic church, under the management of the head at St. Louis, justified the recognition. The census of that year showed 50,000 souls, notwithstanding the dioceses of Illinois and Arkansas had been created out of the diocese of St. Louis. The missions and stations of that year were forty-two. In 1848, Pius IX. decreed that Archbishop Kenrick should be invested with the pallium. The ceremony was performed at Philadelphia by the elder brother, the archbishop of Philadelphia, who just fifteen years previously had sent to Dublin the money to pay the passage of the younger to this country.

Three more St. Louis parishes were added in 1849. They were Sts. Peter and Paul, Holy Trinity and St. Michael's.

Two years later another diocese was created and another bishop was consecrated at St. Louis—John Baptist Miege. The jurisdiction of the archdiocese

of St. Louis was thereby confined to the state of Missouri. But the census showed 58,135 Catholics in the state. Of these 27,215 were in St. Louis.

In 1854 the Bohemians of St. Louis began to build a church. When this building, St. John of Nepomuk, was ready for occupancy the following year, the pastor, Rev. Henry Lipowski was able to say this was the first Catholic church for Bohemians built anywhere on earth outside of the kingdom of Bohemia.

In 1859, Archbishop Kenrick laid the corner stone for the Church of the Annunciation at Sixth and Lasalle streets. The parish priest was Patrick John Ryan, who, three years later was to become the spiritual adviser of the Confederate prisoners confined in Gratiot street prison; to become bishop and coadjutor to the archbishop in 1872, and to become, in 1884, archbishop of Philadelphia. St. Louis thus returned to the Quaker City the favor extended in the gift of Kenrick nearly forty years before. The year that Kenrick came as bishop to St. Louis, Ryan entered St. Patrick's College at Carlow in Ireland as an affiliated subject of the St. Louis bishop. When his education was completed he came direct to St. Louis, was ordained here to the priesthood and became rector of the Cathedral.

The association of Kenrick and Ryan for thirty years in St. Louis was extraordinary. Kenrick had marvelous capacity for organization and management. Ryan was philosophical and eloquent. One was the complement of the other. The relations were more than harmonious. Upon his bishop the archbishop leaned more and more. The Catholic church in the archdiocese of St. Louis prospered beyond comparison. The fame of Ryan, as a preacher and a lecturer, became national. Both of these men maintained the friendliest relations with and commanded the highest respect of the non-Catholics of St. Louis. When Archbishop Ryan was called to Philadelphia, St. Louisans, without regard to religious affiliations, tendered him a most notable farewell reception.

The spirit of church extension which prevailed among the Catholic clergy was exemplified in the case of Rev. James Henry, who became one of the best known and most respected clergymen of St. Louis. As a young man Father Henry was given authority to establish St. Lawrence O'Toole's parish and to build a church at O'Fallon and Fourteenth streets. He made a beginning. While the parish was growing and before it could afford a residence Father Henry slept in a nook of the basement. His bed was just below the bell tower. The bell rope was within reach of small boys. Many nights Father Henry got up to discover that the alarms of fire were false. In St. Lawrence O'Toole's church an altar was built to the memory of Thomas B. Hudson, who marched to Mexico with the St. Louis troops.

A city of refuge for all creeds of religion as well as for all shades of political opinion St. Louis became early in its evolution the typical American community. Here was freedom of political opinion. Here men worshipped according to the dictates of their conscience. One Sunday morning in March of 1839, good Bishop Kemper read in Christ church, then on Fifth and Chestnut streets this notice:

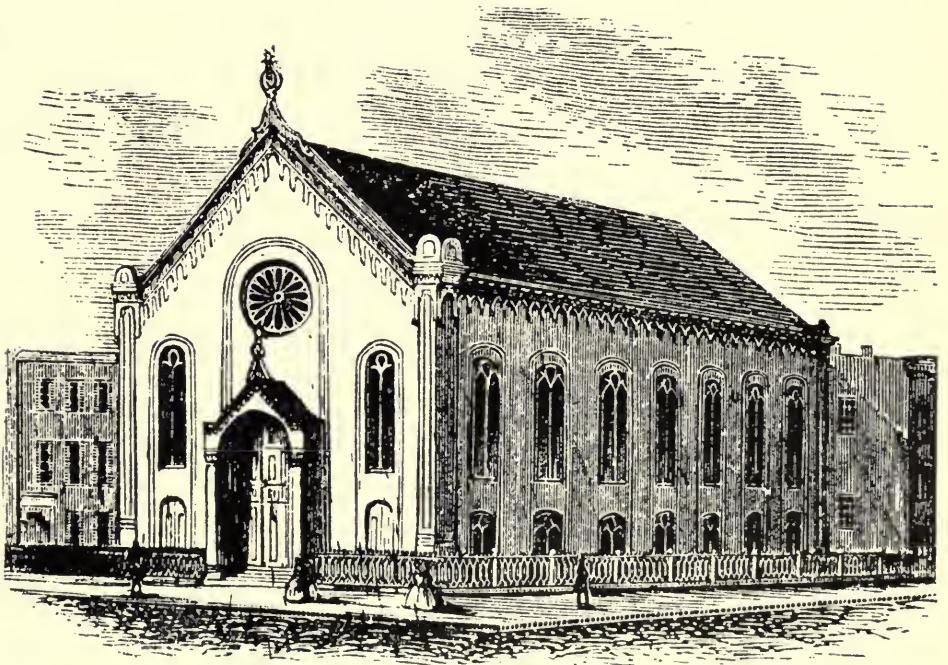
A body of Lutherans, having been persecuted by the Saxon government because they believed it their duty to adhere to the doctrines inculcated by their great leader



REV. JOHN HOGAN



BISHOP CICERO STEPHEN HAWKS



FIRST METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
South Eighth street and Washington avenue, in 1859

THE RELIGIOUS LIFE

and contained in the Augsburg Confession of Faith, have arrived here with the intention of settling in this or one of the neighboring states, and having been deprived of the privilege of public worship for three months, they have earnestly and most respectfully requested the use of our church that they may again unite in all the ordinances of our holy religion. I have, therefore, with the entire approbation of the vestry, granted the use of our church for this day from 2 p. m. until sunset to a denomination whose early members were highly esteemed by the English reformers, and with whom our glorious martyrs, Cranmer, Ridley and others, had much early intercourse.

That act of church hospitality was fraught with great consequences, material as well as spiritual, to St. Louis. It added to St. Louis one of the most desirable elements of population. It made this city not only nationally but internationally the capital of a powerful religious organization. A college, a theological seminary, a publishing house, a hospital were established.

The steamboats Rienzi, Clyde, Knickerbocker and Selma on their first trips up from New Orleans that spring of 1839 brought 700 Lutherans. The head of the party was Martin Stephan, who had been a preacher at Dresden. On the journey these Lutherans, who held tenaciously to the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, named Stephan as their bishop. They had, under his leadership, gone back to Lutheranism as Martin Luther taught it. These people brought with them personal effects and \$120,000. They intended to buy land and to found colonies of their own. Part of them went on to Perry county, purchased nearly 5,000 acres and established settlements. The others, who remained in St. Louis, continued to worship for three years in Christ church, the vestrymen of which extended the privilege.

Bishop Martin Stephan had not the self control to withstand the temptation of his position. He fell into evil ways, was tried and expelled from the church. For a time it seemed as if the movement would end in disorganization.

Among those who had come out to establish this old faith in a new country were two young preachers—Otto Hermann Walther and Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm Walther. They were sons of a Lutheran pastor in Saxony, highly educated. They had studied and prayed their way to what they believed to be sound Lutheranism. Otto Hermann Walther was the pastor of the congregation which worshipped in Christ church and which became Trinity, the first German Lutheran church in St. Louis.

In their distress and demoralization following the downfall of Bishop Stephan, the Lutherans turned to Ferdinand Walther. The young preacher was less than thirty years of age. He accepted the leadership. He restored material order, but more than that he led the sorely tried colonists back to their spiritual ideals. Hermann Walther died. Ferdinand Walther succeeded him here as pastor of Trinity. St. Louis became the center of Lutheran teaching and Lutheran influence. For forty-eight years Ferdinand Walther was the dominant figure in the movement. He had been ordained only the year before he joined the colony and left Saxony. When the end of his work came in 1887, he was seventy-six years of age. Church after church of the Lutheran faith was organized in St. Louis, until they numbered nearly a score. Concordia college grew from its humble beginning in 1850 into one of the great educational institutions of the city.

As early as 1844 the St. Louis Lutherans supported Walther in making their movement more than local. The *Lutheraner* was published semi-monthly. It called upon Lutherans everywhere in the United States to come back to the old faith. Lutherans had been coming to this country long before the colony reached St. Louis. They were numerous in New York and Pennsylvania and North Carolina. They had spread into Ohio and Tennessee, Indiana and Illinois. But they had adopted much doctrine which, in the opinion of Walther and his St. Louis following, was not sound. *Die Lutheraner's* appeals aroused great interest east of the Mississippi. Much correspondence followed. There were meetings and conferences. In 1847, at Chicago was organized a Lutheran synod with a constitution drafted by Walther and with the St. Louis theologian as president. It embraced many of the eastern Lutherans. Walther came back to St. Louis and entered upon his great career as a teacher of pure Lutheran theology. He prepared hundreds of pastors for churches. His theology went direct to the Bible for substantiation. The leader of orthodox Lutheranism had many controversies with other Lutherans. He courted these discussions. Upon his suggestion, the Lutheran bodies of the United States held free conferences to discuss their doctrinal differences. And after every one of these conferences Lutherans got nearer together and Ferdinand Walther was more a leader of Lutheran thought than before. He went to Europe to present his views. He edited Lutheran periodicals which obtained wide circulation. The Lutheran publishing house in St. Louis became a far famed institution.

Ferdinand Walther was an ardent lover of music all of his life. He was a man of humor, which he masked with a serious face. He wrote his sermons and committed them to memory so that he spoke without manuscript before him. He was an orator of national fame. Lutheran churches of St. Louis with but few exceptions have attached to them parochial schools, in which the children of Lutherans are educated. Square miles of South St. Louis and North St. Louis are occupied almost exclusively by these Lutherans. As a class they are home owners and well to do people.

An English Evangelical Lutheran church was organized in 1867 with Rev. Dr. M. Rhodes as pastor, developing into one of the strong religious organizations of St. Louis.

When Daniel Sylvester Tuttle was, in 1866, elected bishop of Montana, with jurisdiction over Idaho and Utah, he was compelled to confess to the committee sent to notify him that he was only twenty-nine years old. The church law required a candidate to be thirty years old. Bishops Potter and Whitehouse were the committee. They had picked out Mr. Tuttle, a man of stalwart frame, as peculiarly well fitted for such missionary field as the three frontier territories offered at that day. They were not willing to relinquish their plan. So they said to Mr. Tuttle, "My brother, go home to Morris to your work, continue in it quietly and steadily till after January 26, 1867, when you will be thirty years old. After that you will doubtless receive from the presiding bishop information to guide you in your next step." Thus it came about that in 1867, with a little missionary band, Bishop Tuttle started for Montana, within the bounds of which no Episcopal clergyman had set foot up to that time. The bishop rode across the plains on a stage coach, every man carrying

a rifle and a revolver for protection against Indians. The first thing he did on reaching Salt Lake was to call upon Brigham Young, telling him for what he had come. Ten days afterwards, the bishop confirmed eleven persons. He went on to Montana and lived in a log cabin in the mining town of Virginia City. That year a telegram came to the bishop in his cabin from Rev. Montgomery Schuyler of St. Louis, reading: "Elected bishop of Missouri at Kirkwood, May 29th, on first ballot." Bishop Tuttle sent back his declination. His sole companion in the cabin at Virginia City was his cat "Dick." Nineteen years later a second telegram from Dr. Schuyler found Bishop Tuttle in a mining camp of Utah and notified him that for the second time he had been elected bishop of Missouri. This time acceptance was sent. Bishop Tuttle came to St. Louis in 1886.

Religious journalism in the west owed a great deal to Rev. John W. Allen, of Ohio birth, who came to St. Louis in 1873. Mr. Allen founded the St. Louis Evangelist, which became the Mid-Continent. He was in charge of the missionary work of the Presbyterians many years.

John Calvin Learned, a scholarly man, a student all of his life, served the Church of the Unity a quarter of a century. He was born in Dublin, New Hampshire. His influence was not confined to the pulpit. He taught ethics and political economy in Washington University and developed one of the strong literary organizations of St. Louis—the Unity Club.

Rev. Dr. James Wilderman Lee was born on a Georgia farm and educated in a Methodist college of his native state. His "Footprints of the Man of Galilee" and his "Romance of Palestine" gave him high standing in religious literature.

Three of the greatest of American sees have drawn archbishops from the clergy of St. Louis. At the Vatican they sometimes speak of St. Louis as "the Rome of America." Not less to priests than to bishops and archbishops does the city owe. Priests like Henry, McCaffery, Walsh stood for education and for morality in great sections of the city as well as for religious teaching. The crusade of Coffey against the wine-room was an act of best citizenship. Ziegler's sturdy and unyielding battle to save his parish from invasion by the red light won the admiration of all good people. When the high prelates came from other cities and counties to attend the corner stone laying of the new cathedral in 1908, they marveled at the work of Father Dunne among newsboys and of Father Dempsey among homeless men.

These are the years of our Lord, in St. Louis. Along Lindell, Kings Highway, Delmar and Union, the citizen walks and marvels. Dome, tower, column and chimes give continuous impression. Such a period of church building the city has never before known. Possibly the first decade of the century will show greater expenditure for church construction in St. Louis than all of the 136 years preceding. This interesting and notable part of the building of St. Louis is not confined to any creed. Every denomination can point to a new house of worship, admirable in architecture, modern in appointments, a credit to the city.

In 1906-08 the Catholics of St. Louis completed or started construction on twelve new churches in St. Louis. In 1908 they had four large churches under construction—Visitation, Holy Ghost, St. Henry and St. Bernard. But

the great contribution to the church architecture of the city, that in which the whole community had an interest, was the cathedral, with its foundation walls above ground and awaiting the corner stone of Missouri granite. It is no deduction from the reverence and religious fervor of the Catholic, that the St. Louisan forecasts with civic pride the completion of a cathedral which will surpass any other in the country. And by the same sign it is none the less a fitting subject for civic pride that this monumental creation of the architect and the artist had as its inspiration the religious motive.

The sun sent slanting rays through banks of clouds into the faces of an army with banners marching out Lindell avenue on Sunday, the 18th of October, 1908. Pageants of different kinds St. Louis had seen, but never before one like that. Of military and of civic demonstrations there had been many. But now moved with the precision and array of an army the men of the Catholic churches. This mighty host gave new meaning to the 79 parishes of the city.

East and west of Newstead avenue spread a mass of humanity which crowded sidewalks and lawns and encroached upon the broad asphalt until only by strenuous effort of the police was a pathway kept open for the moving column. Above the heads of the marchers and spectators hung from the long arm of a great crane a massive block of granite with the words "Christo Victori." Over the foundations of the new cathedral, tier above tier, sat the hundreds of frocked priests and seminarians. In front were grouped about the Apostolic Delegate, Diomedo Falconio, most reverend archbishops and the right reverend bishops, in their purple robes. A full head above the other dignitaries, erect of figure, his face alight with the spirit of the event, stood the young metropolitan of St. Louis, John J. Glennon.

A striking feature in the celebration of the laying of the corner stone was the interest shown by the entire community. Lindell boulevard, the great residence, church and club avenue of the city of St. Louis, from Grand avenue to Kings Highway, a distance of nearly two miles, was filled with waving colors. In response to the invitation of the central committee having charge of the celebration the residents and the institutions on the avenue almost without exception hung out the American flag. The request of the committee was that the colors of the country be displayed. Directly opposite the scene of the ceremony, American flags festooned the windows of the Lindell Avenue Methodist church.

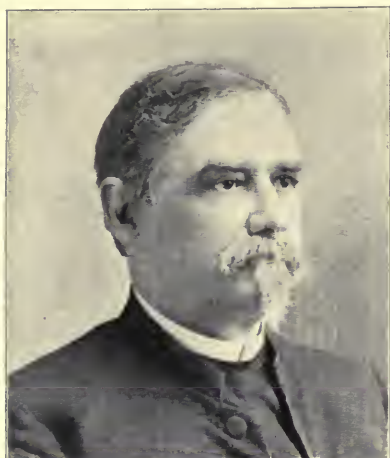
Among the seated guests upon the stand overlooking the corner stone were men of all religious beliefs, responsive by their presence to the general sentiment that the whole city had a living sympathetic interest and pride in the ceremony.

Nearly, if not quite one-half of the population of the city of St. Louis is Roman Catholic. This population is divided into seventy-nine parishes, all of which participated as units in the parade of the 18th of October, making the largest demonstration in number ever seen in the city of St. Louis and one of the largest in the history of the country. Besides numbers the procession was of extraordinary character in the nationalities represented. There were:

Forty-four American parishes.

Twenty-one German parishes.

Four Polish parishes.



REV. P. G. ROBERT

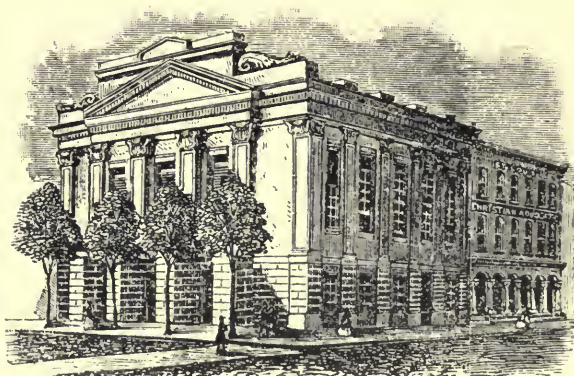


REV. DR. JOSEPH BOYLE



SECOND BAPTIST CHURCH

Sixth and Locust streets, before the war



CENTENARY METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

Fifth and Pine streets, in 1859. Dr. McAnally's Christian Advocate Office on Pine street

- One Slavak parish.
- One colored parish.
- One Croatian parish.
- One Syro-Maronite parish.
- Three Italian parishes.
- Two Bohemian parishes.
- One Greek-Ruthenien parish.

The rule adopted for the order of the procession in honor of the laying of the corner stone of the cathedral gave the parishes position according to the dates of the original formation. This brought to the head of the column the first Catholic parish organization in St. Louis in 1770. The Old Cathedral parish, as it is known, had been in continuous existence 138 years. It was organized six years after Laclede founded the settlement of St. Louis.

The Latin, cut deep into the geological formation which is the foundation of all terrestrial, dedicates the building to the Saviour and in the same sentence honors the city. The sentiment is reverent and patriotic. It is happily framed. When the archbishop approached the matter of the inscription, he thought much about what sentiment should be embraced in it. To well known Latin scholars he sent out his request for counsel. He told them that the words should be few, that they should impress primarily the religious character of the edifice, the consecration to the Catholic faith. And then he added that recognition of the patron and of the city should be included. And finally the archbishop desired that the participation of the entire diocese in the building of this cathedral should be given imperishable tribute.

The Benedictines are famous for their learning and skill in the cryptogram. They were asked to suggest a form of inscription. The archbishop did not stop with the Latinists of the United States. He gave some of the scholars of Europe opportunity to compete. A St. Louis priest supplied the text which, with slight alteration, was decided to express best the sentiments. He used fewer than forty words, most of them very short. In the Latin, St. Louis becomes "S. Ludovici."

The translation, following closely the concise Latin, is:

"To Christ the victor, and in honor of St. Louis, King of France, patron of the bounteous city and archdiocese, this stone, inaugural of the metropolitan church, erected by the bounty of the faithful of the whole diocese, was placed on October 18, by the Most Reverend Delegate of the Holy See."

The inscription was the composition of Rev. F. G. Holweck, rector of St. Francis de Sales church on the Gravois road in the southern part of the city. Father Holweck is one of the foremost classical scholars in the country. He is the censor librorum of this archdiocese. Catholic books intended for publication here are submitted in manuscript to him because of his ability to detect errors. Out of all of the forms suggested for this corner stone, Rector Holweck's expressed most perfectly the sentiments the archbishop desired.

The parade of the parishes preceded the laying of the corner stone. When the head of the column led by the grand marshal, Amedee Valle Reyburn, a descendant of one of the oldest families of St. Louis, reached the site of the new cathedral, it was met by a procession of prelates and priests, the most

notable ever seen in the Mississippi valley. The Apostolic Delegate, Most Reverend Diomedeo Falconio, was escorted by the seven archbishops, thirty bishops and seven hundred priests from the Sacred Heart convent, on Maryland avenue, to the site of the cathedral, arriving there just as the procession of the parishes came marching up from the other direction.

The procession of the parishes was three hours in passing the reviewing stand upon which the distinguished prelates took their positions. When the procession of the parishes had filed by, the laying and blessing of the corner stone took place in accordance with the usual forms of the Catholic church. It was preceded by the blessing of a great cross which had been erected for the occasion. After the blessing of the cross came the blessing of the foundation of the new structure, and then the procession of prelates and priests marched back to the stone which was first blessed and then placed by the Apostolic Delegate. The ceremony concluded with the drawing of the cross by the trowel upon the side of the corner stone.

The Catholics of St. Louis had been preparing for this work of building a grand cathedral a generation or more. Archbishop Kenrick, during his lifetime, conceived and made some preliminary plans looking to a cathedral. The late Archbishop Kain, who succeeded Archbishop Kenrick, also devoted attention to the project and started the fund for it. It remained, however, for the present archbishop of St. Louis, Most Rev. John J. Glennon, to take up preliminaries and to bring the project to the actual construction. Archbishop Glennon was made coadjutor bishop of St. Louis under Archbishop Kain's administration during 1903, and the same year, on the death of Archbishop Kain, Bishop Glennon became archbishop of St. Louis, being the youngest prelate of that rank in the country.

It was well that the movement progressed slowly. An earlier beginning might have been a mistake as to location. On the 28th of April, 1871, was taken the formal step for the cathedral, the corner stone of which was laid October 18, 1908. Archbishop Kenrick, Bishop Ryan and Vicar-General Muehl-siepen were at the head of the movement. The men of means of that day who participated in the incorporation of the St. Louis Cathedral Building association were James H. Lucas, Henry S. Turner, Joseph O'Neil, John Withnell, Nicholas Schaeffer, H. J. Spaunhorst, J. B. Ghio, Bernhard Crick-hard, Julius S. Walsh, John Byrne, Jr., Bernard Slevin, Charles P. Chouteau, Charles Slevin, James Maguire, Joseph Garneau. The site tentatively selected was the block bounded by Twenty-second and Twenty-third streets, Pine and Chestnut streets, now largely occupied by light manufacturing establishments.

The cathedral of St. Louis will be longer, wider and higher than the Westminster of London. Definite time for the completion of this cathedral has not been set. The archbishop of St. Louis, Most Rev. John J. Glennon, lifted the first spade of soil on the first day of May, 1907. Eighteen months brought the builders to the ceremony of corner stone laying. Not before 1915, probably, will the cathedral be ready for occupancy.

For the cathedral of St. Louis has been chosen the Byzantine style of architecture. This means an exterior impressive for its magnitude, its strength, its simplicity. It also means an interior of almost limitless opportunity for

sacred art, for mosaics, for statuary. The interior is so planned that the preacher delivering a sermon can look into three thousand faces.

Sunday observance has been repeatedly an issue to which St. Louis newspapers have given attention. The Whig party in St. Louis went to pieces and the Native American idea became popular about 1846. A Sunday law was passed by the common council. The city government was under control of the Native American party. The new law prohibited the running of omnibuses "on Sunday after the hour of 2 o'clock in the afternoon for the purpose of carrying passengers from point to point." This ordinance applied to any "omnibus or vehicle capable of containing more than four persons." The ordinance upon omnibus service was denounced editorially.

Mayor O. D. Filley was elected by the Free Soil party shortly before the war. In August, 1859, the people of St. Louis voted, 7,544 to 5,543, against the sale of intoxicating liquors on Sunday. The Missouri Republican, commenting on the result said:

The triumphant vote by which the people of St. Louis declared their opposition to the sale of intoxicating liquors on Sunday is a matter of sincere congratulation to all our best citizens. It was not a party vote; it had nothing to do with party, but was the free declaration of mind of all parties and nationalities against the excesses which have been superinduced by a special law of the legislature passed two years ago in effect giving unlimited license in the absence of a proper police to these houses being kept open on Sunday * * * * Not only the beer gardens in the suburbs, to which men retire as a place of pleasure and relaxation—on Sunday, but all the beer saloons and dancehouses and five or six theaters have been opened on Sunday night on every prominent street in the city. This is the evil that is mainly complained of by our citizens.

In defiance of the vote against the sale of intoxicating liquors on Sunday, the common council passed an ordinance legalizing the keeping open of saloons on Sunday until 9 o'clock in the morning and after 3 o'clock in the afternoon. This action was severely condemned by the newspapers. It was rebuked in a ringing message by Mayor Filley.

The nearest approach to a religious riot in St. Louis occurred in 1844, at Ninth street and Washington avenue. The Native American movement had reached large proportions. It had in some parts of the country taken the form of mob violence against Catholic institutions. It gained considerable strength in St. Louis, but did not assume the phase of religious intolerance, being directed against foreign immigration on political grounds mainly. Philadelphia was disgraced by the sacking of churches and by bloodshed. Several other American cities passed through periods of serious disturbance. What occurred in this city is given upon high Catholic authority, the language being that of a member of the clergy who was in St. Louis at the time:

It so happened that the Jesuits had already built a fine church of St. Xavier, and near it was their house of residence and a splendid college then chartered as a state university, to which a college of medicine had been annexed. To the latter was attached a dissecting house, and owing to some shameful neglect on the part of the professors or students of medicine, human remains were left exposed in the yard adjoining and seen through interstices of the wooden partition separating it from the public street. Soon a crowd collected, and then imaginations or passions became strongly excited. Wild rumors spread abroad that all the horrors of the Spanish Inquisition were being renewed in St. Louis by the Jesuits, that men and women had been tortured and put to death. Cries were raised in the streets and the mob began to arm for an onslaught on the college.

At this moment the brave Judge Bryan Mullanphy, and another brave Irishman named John Conran collected a posse of Catholics and friendly Protestant citizens armed with rifles. The American, Irish and German Catholics assembled in great force around the Jesuits' college, prepared to defend it if necessary, even to the last extremity. The opposing bands met and determined upon a desperate struggle. However, Judge Mullanphy went boldly forward and asked to be heard by the opposing mob, then sending forth wild yells and imprecations. Having obtained a hearing with great difficulty, and speaking with the coolness and deliberation his true courage and sense of duty inspired, the judge gave a correct and brief explanation of the case, and he declared that every effort should be made to detect and punish the delinquents, who had offered such an outrage to public decency and to common humanity. The mob finally dispersed, and with them the party of defenders. Terrible rumors prevailed all that day in St. Louis, that our Catholic churches and houses would be burned or wrecked. Some faithful and brave Irishmen had armed for defense of our seminary, and contrived to let us know through the chinks of our planked enclosure that we were in some danger of attack. It was only on the day following, we learned all of the particulars of excitement that had taken place in the city. When the daily papers had published the details, popular indignation was quelled. Only the natural expression of wounded feeling found vent in the various journals.

In the fall of 1850 came Father Matthew, the Irish apostle of temperance. There had already been organized in St. Louis a Catholic Total Abstinence society. The zealous president of it was Rev. John T. Higgenbotham, to whom Father Matthew had administered the pledge in St. John's college, Waterford. Father Matthew was made a guest of Archbishop Kenrick and began his work in St. Louis. He preached in the principal churches. He delivered addresses from platforms in public places. Following his sermons and his speeches, Father Matthew administered personally the pledge to all who came forward to take it. The occasion was made as impressive as possible. Every day the Apostle as he was commonly called received in the parlor at the archbishop's house. He had two secretaries. His callers included all classes from merchants to roustabouts. One day a gigantic riverman staggered into the reception room, stretched himself out on the archbishop's sofa and dropped into a drunken slumber. One of the priests suggested to Father Matthew that the visitor was hardly a promising subject for his effort.

"My dear," replied the Apostle, in his mild serious manner, "I am quite sure he will take the pledge so soon as he awakes and comes to consciousness, for he will then be sober and ashamed of his past course of life when I speak to him."

He would not permit the drunken man to be disturbed. Father Matthew continued his temperance work in St. Louis until the beginning of winter. His doings were reported at length in the papers. When the Apostle left St. Louis he was escorted to the boat by thousands of "total abstainers."

Two notable events of philanthropic character distinguished the year 1847.

From across the water came reports that Ireland and Scotland had sustained almost total failure of crops. It was said that hundreds had died for want of proper nourishment and that thousands more would perish unless relief reached them. St. Louis acted promptly. The friends of Ireland met, with Colonel John O'Fallon presiding. They chose a citizens' committee and obtained contributions in money and food. About the same time citizens of St. Louis who were of Scottish descent, organized under the leadership of



BISHOP C. F. ROBERTSON



THE CATHOLIC CATHEDRAL



CHRIST CHURCH

Thirteenth and Locust streets, as it
appeared in 1860



ST. PAUL'S EPISCOPAL CHURCH

Seventeenth and Olive streets,
before the war

Kenneth McKenzie, the fur trader. They raised a considerable sum of money, which was forwarded to Scotland.

From conversions of non-Catholics, the Catholic church gained strength in St. Louis before the war. As early as 1848 Archbishop Kenrick began a notable undertaking. He had public announcement made that during Lent he would deliver evening lectures. His subjects were such as Evidences of Christianity, Divine Revelation, Mysteries of Religion, Doctrines of the Church, Ritual Observances and so on through an elaborate course of information on the Catholic faith. About the same time that the archbishop announced his lectures, a Catholic newspaper called the St. Louis Newsletter was started. Father O'Hanlon was made the editor. The Newsletter was published weekly and it made a feature of the archbishop's lectures. Not only was the public given to understand that the lecture course would be open to anybody who chose to come but a special effort was made to show non-Catholics that they were welcome. Owners of pews threw them open to all comers. It soon became apparent that a considerable proportion of the attendants upon these lectures were non-Catholics. The cathedral was thronged, the attendance including some of the most prominent people in the city. The editor of the Newsletter of 1848 has left a record of this religious awakening in St. Louis:

It was scarcely possible to understand how the archbishop could find a moment's time to prepare and arrange the heads of these discourses, much less to deliver them in that orderly and logical manner in which they were molded; but they were indeed most instructive to the priests, as to the laity present, for while each lecture evinced a profound knowledge of the subject, it was enforced by reasoning and illustrations which carried conviction to the minds of all dispassionate hearers. I found that the archbishop was accustomed to jot down on a small sheet of paper the divisions of his sermon for each evening, while he trusted to a well stored memory for the abundant matter his theological erudition had gleaned, and a measured fluency and accuracy of language came to his aid without any apparent effort. I was fortunate to procure these notes after they had been used, and soon the archbishop undertook to revise my reports, before they were sent to the printer. I have reason to know these resumes served a very useful purpose and they formed a feature of the Newsletter which was particularly interesting to all its readers. The result of this course of instruction was to bring an additional number of non-Catholic visitors to the cathedral. As their interest and spirit of inquiry grew, many of them desired interviews with the archbishop to receive further explanations and instruction. Several well-disposed and distinguished persons were thus prepared for admission to the church. Whether conditionally or unconditionally administered, baptism was received by many, and afterwards these became practical and fervent Catholics. Not alone the archbishop but several of his priests engaged in the duty of catechising and receiving converts of the greatest respectability and of a thoughtful intelligent class. As in the Apostolic time, the Lord daily added to His church those who were to be saved. So St. Louis began to acquire a distinction for Catholicity.

Archbishop Kenrick gave a great deal of attention to the Newsletter. He not only contributed articles but advised as to editorial policy. He counseled that while in its main feature it should be distinctively a Catholic newspaper, yet it should maintain a high literary character through essays, reviews and especially in well selected reprint. He used to recommend the use of scissors and paste pot, saying to the editor, "Selected sense is much better than original nonsense."

Thirty years after Archbishop Kenrick had inaugurated and carried out a policy, if that word may be used, of interesting and impressing non-Catholics,

another great preacher with remarkable power for awakening religious thought came forward in the Catholic church of St. Louis. It is told of Patrick John Ryan that when he was thirteen years old, in Naughton's school in the parish of Rathmines, he was chosen as the spokesman to deliver a special address to Daniel O'Connell, imprisoned in 1844 at Richmond, Bridewell. The boy was the born orator. He had a taste for literary effort. His schoolmates selected him to prepare the address and read it to the patriot.

Father Ryan was only a deacon when with a determination to become a missionary priest in America, he reached St. Louis toward the close of 1852 and was sent to Carondelet. With him came Patrick A. Feehan, who became bishop of Nashville and afterwards archbishop of Chicago. The two young deacons were sent to the seminary to remain until of age for ordination to the priesthood. Father Ryan became a bishop in 1872 but long before that he was famed for his eloquence. After his ordination in 1854, he was attached to the cathedral. He became best known as pastor of St. John's, where for twenty years he preached regularly, his sermons drawing non-Catholics in large numbers. It became the custom with strangers in the city over Sunday to attend St. John's on Sixteenth and Chestnut to hear a sermon by Father Ryan.

Father Tom Burke, the Dominican of international fame as an orator, came to St. Louis between 1870 and 1880 and remained some time. He was on a lecture tour of the United States. While he was here Father Tom, for that everybody called him, heard Bishop Ryan then but recently consecrated. There was no jealousy of Father Ryan; the humility of the man forbade it, but intense admiration for his power as a speaker. The St. Louis priests asked Father Tom what he thought of their pulpit orator.

"Well, in good truth," replied Father Burke, "when I heard Lacordaire in Paris, I thought the whole church could not produce his equal, but now that I have heard your good and great assistant bishop, I do not hesitate to say that as a pulpit orator he immeasurably surpasses that celebrated preacher of our order."

After the manifold duties of bishop made it impossible to preach weekly at St. John's, Father Ryan adopted the custom of occupying the pulpit on the first Sunday of the month, unless he was too far away to get home. "Bishop Ryan's Sunday" obtained a fixed place on the religious calendar of St. Louis. On those Sundays St. John's was uncomfortably crowded.

The outside calls upon Bishop Ryan grew numerous and pressing. By invitation, the eloquent prelate preached twice before the Missouri legislature. He was very obliging. Twice he went to Columbia to address the students of the University of Missouri. The Sanctity of the Church and Modern Skepticism were two subjects upon which Bishop Ryan preached or lectured in the leading cities of the country. The last traced popular opinion through various phases with deductions in favor of Catholicism. In 1882, Bishop Ryan delivered one of the most notable of his many lectures before an audience which filled Mercantile Library hall. It was explanatory and conciliatory, calculated to win consideration of the principles of Catholicism. The audience included several pastors of Protestant churches.

From the days of his student life, Father Ryan had a liking for the press. He wrote much for periodicals when other duties permitted. Out of Father Ryan's eloquent preaching and the interest it aroused in Catholicism developed one of the most notable features in the history of St. Louis journalism. Joseph B. McCullagh, editor of the *Globe-Democrat*, printed in full one of the bishop's addresses. Bishop Ryan had two kinds of sermons, the dogmatic and the moral. Mr. McCullagh selected a dogmatic discourse, one that brought out the salient and distinctive qualities of the Catholic faith. Then he opened the columns of the paper to all creeds. For months "The Great Controversy" was carried on in the *Globe-Democrat*, filling in the aggregate some hundreds of columns.

Archbishop Kenrick rarely spoke of the experiences he had in the missionary work which made Catholicism so strong in St. Louis and vicinity during the period of great immigration ten years before the Civil war. He had a free colored servant, "William." In a vehicle, accompanied by William, the archbishop drove through the country without regard to seasons or weather. One day he insisted on fording a swollen creek in St. Charles county and went under, having a narrow escape. But of these incidents he was reticent.

The archbishop's advice to young priests, probably, revealed the lesson of his own experience. He was accustomed to say that when a profession is embraced the first duty is to acquire all the knowledge necessary to discharge it fully and conscientiously. Until that is done extraneous duty should be avoided. "Therefore," he said, to young priests, "lose no day that you shall not apply some part of it to the learning of dogmatic and moral theology as also to the reading of commentaries on the Scriptures." The history of the church and the lives of the saints, he recommended also, and he deemed it highly important to have a favorite book of devotion to "nourish piety within the soul." Careful preparation for preaching was recommended.

The extraordinary growth of Catholicism in St. Louis, the theological strength of the clergy, the thousands of conversions of residents, not so much from other churches as from the mass of the indifferent, are better understood when the example and precepts of Peter Richard Kenrick are known.

"The archbishop's bank" was a financial institution of St. Louis for many years, beginning about 1850. A German priest, Rev. Father Heim, originated the idea. To accommodate the working people of his parish, Father Heim received their savings on deposit and took care of the money. There was distrust of banks by these people to such a degree as to discourage savings. John Byrne, Jr., looked into the plan of Father Heim and advised Archbishop Kenrick to extend it. An office was opened near the cathedral, books were prepared and accounts were opened. Laboring people, especially those new in the country, flocked in numbers to the bank and made their deposits, on which interest was allowed. The money was loaned to priests and religious orders to build and mortgages were taken, revenues being pledged for the payment of interest on the mortgages and for their final redemption. The city was growing. New parishes were being established. There was demand for the money and the security was good. Archbishop Kenrick conducted his banking business in no perfunctory manner. He was an actual manager. He

supervised all of the departments. He looked closely after the balancing of the accounts with an expedition and accuracy which amazed those who had known him previously as a wonderfully successful preacher. For a long time the archbishop held title deeds to property given for new churches, schools and institutions. He was charged with almost countless obligations. He called to his assistance when the business became too burdensome the help of Joseph O'Neil. Gradually the business of the archbishop was wound up in a most satisfactory manner and modern methods took the place of "the archbishop's bank."

Three times the Young Men's Christian association was started before it secured a permanent and flourishing hold in St. Louis. In 1853, nine years after the original Young Men's Christian association was founded in London, a St. Louis association was started. Samuel Cupples and Henry Hitchcock were officers. The Civil war caused this association to disband. After several years another beginning was made by Rev. Shepard Wells and General Clinton B. Fisk. This movement failed. In 1875 twelve young men met at the Union Methodist church, then on Eleventh and Locust streets, and organized the Y. M. C. A., which has grown to the present impressive strength. The officers were H. C. Wright, Frank L. Johnson, Dr. L. H. Laidley, Charles C. Nichols, and E. Anson More. The association occupied one rented room after another down town, until in 1879 Mr. Moody conducted one of his revivals. The evangelist appealed to the business men of St. Louis to provide the Young Men's Christian association with a building. Stephen M. Edgell, Carlos S. Greeley and John R. Lionberger headed a subscription which reached \$40,000. The Union Methodist church was bought for \$37,500. In 1885 the association occupied the former residence of John D. Perry on Pine and Twenty-ninth streets and built a gymnasium. In 1892 the property on Eleventh and Locust was sold for \$125,000. A lot on Grand and Franklin avenues was bought for \$51,250 in 1894. On this a building which cost \$200,000 was erected. The business management of the association has been excelled only by its Christian influence. In its third of a century the St. Louis Young Men's Christian Association has had two general secretaries—Walter C. Douglas and George T. Coxhead. The latter has held the position twenty-three years. For many years the association had one presiding head—Thomas S. McPheeters. It has added branch after branch to the central until the whole city is its field of operation. In the northern and southern parts of the city the branches occupy their own buildings and grounds. The railroad branch occupies a model Y. M. C. A. building erected at a cost of \$80,000, to which Miss Helen Gould was the chief contributor. This branch was dedicated in October, 1907, with Miss Gould in attendance. Queen Victoria knighted the man who first thought of the Y. M. C. A. and put his thought into action. The honor roll of most useful citizens contains the names of the men who have made the St. Louis Young Men's Christian association.

In fifty years the St. Louis Provident Association has expended for the relief of the poor of St. Louis \$1,450,000, has investigated 175,000 cases. About 1860 the most charitable man in St. Louis, by common consent, was James E. Yeatman. He lived on Olive street in what was called Yeatman's



THE SECOND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
Type of church architecture, 1909

row. The poor, Mr. Yeatman had always with him. One very bad night he was called to the door and was told a tale of distress by a woman who represented that her child was desperately ill and that she had no means to buy food or medicine. Mr. Yeatman took the address, gave some temporary help and went back to his fire. He couldn't rest. He got his overcoat and started out. Around the corner at Tenth and Locust streets lived Dr. Pope, the eminent surgeon. He was just leaving the house to take his buggy for a visit to a patient. Mr. Yeatman insisted that Dr. Pope go with him to see the sick child. The doctor demurred and then yielded. The two good Samaritans made their way to an alley above Franklin avenue and found the house. But the supposed abode of distress was lighted and a sound of revelry came through the cracks of door and window. Mr. Yeatman knocked. The door was opened. There stood the woman holding a child. Behind her surrounding a table upon which stood the beer bought with Mr. Yeatman's charity were three or four lusty fellows.

"Where is that sick child?" asked Mr. Yeatman.

"Here she is," said the woman, indicating the one in her arms.

Dr. Pope looked at the little sleeper closely and said with some emphasis, "I prescribe soap and water. Good night."

The next day Mr. Yeatman invited a few business men to meet him. That was the genesis of the St. Louis Provident Association, which handles from \$35,000 to \$50,000 a year, helping the poor to help themselves and protecting charity from abuse.

Once in its history the St. Louis Provident Association faced a crisis which threatened to close its doors. Philanthropy knows what a panic means. The winter of 1893-4 drained the resources of the charity organizations. One day Mr. Scruggs and Mr. Cupples found themselves facing an empty treasury and the demands for relief almost without precedent. They sent for Adolphus Busch and on a Sunday afternoon the three men sat in the parlor of Mr. Cupples' home and discussed ways and means to keep the institution open. The next day Mr. Busch came back. He brought \$10,000. Half of it was his individual gift. The remainder was from Mr. Lemp and other brewers. The Provident Association did not suspend.

More than one hundred philanthropic organizations occupy the St. Louis field. With very few exceptions they are conducted upon the cardinal principle of helping the unfortunate to help themselves. The heart of St. Louis is charitable but in the exercise of charity practical judgment goes with the humane sentiment. That, in large measure, explains why St. Louis has no slums, like the plague spots of the other large cities of the country. As he rode about St. Louis in the fall of 1908, Archbishop Farley of New York commented:

"In St. Louis the workingmen and poorer classes are much better taken care of in their homes than similar classes in New York. This results in contentment and prevents social troubles. I have seen no districts in St. Louis that I could call squalid. In fact, there seems to be no real squalor in the city."



CHAPTER XXI.

THE GROWING OF ST. LOUIS

Laclede's Landing Place—Market Street the Dividing Line—Law of the City's Development—Francis P. Blair's Prophecy in 1872—Earliest Land Titles—Improvement Within a Year and a Day the Condition—Deed of Mill Creek Valley—Auction Sales at the Church Door on Sunday—The Livre Terrien—St. Ange's Land System Accepted by Spanish Governors—Inchoate Titles in 1804—Rights of Settlers Confirmed by Congress—Houses of Posts—Southern Exposure vs. East Piazza—The Universal Gallery of Colonial Times—American Mistakes in Architecture—"Laclede's House"—Stone Mansions—Wooden Pegs for Nails—Suburban Estates Below Chouteau Avenue—The Founder's Plan of Streets—A Place Public on the River Front—The Towpath Custom—After the Fire of 1849—Sales Based on Laclede's Assignments—The First Addition—"The Hill"—Enterprise of James H. Lucas—Jeremiah Conner's Plan for Washington Avenue—St. Louis as Flagg Saw it in 1836—George K. Taylor's Skyscraper—Yeatman's Row—The American Street—Newman's Folly—Quality Row—Henry Clay's St. Louis Speculation—Stoddard Addition—Conception of Grand Avenue—The Lindells—Henry Shaw's Garden—Growth of the Park System—The Financial Street—Separation of City and County—Local Nomenclature.

I believe, my fellow citizens, that this project will be fully completed; that this enterprise will be realized; that there will be a great park here; that in a short space of time it will be surrounded by elegant private residences, and that the talk about a narrow gauge railway to reach it will be superseded by the actual fact of street railways reaching it. All of the great cities of this country have outgrown anticipation. This has been the case with our own city, and, in my judgment, and indeed in the judgment of others who have given this matter critical attention, St. Louis will continue increasing in population and developing in size until it will outgrow all the other cities in the country.—*Francis P. Blair, Opening of Forest Park, 1872.*

Laclede's hardy colonists, "the first thirty," poling their bateau along the western bank of the Mississippi, made their landing and later their permanent settlement about the foot of Market street. In 1911 Market street is still the dividing line with half of the city north and half of the city south of it. Business has spread naturally north and south. The residence section has moved westward. This has been the law of the evolution of St. Louis through the generations.

The river frontage of the city for twenty miles is given up to railroad yards and heavy manufacturing plants. The overflow of manufacturing and the crowding of traffic find relief either by crossing the river to the great American bottom or by following certain natural valley routes north and south of the main residence district. As the city grows the business district expands. Year by year it encroaches upon the residence sections. To accommodate those residents who must move and those who come to St. Louis to make new homes, the succession of rising ridges and plateaus to the westward must be occupied.

The growth in population of the United States from 1890 to 1900 was 21 per cent. The growth of St. Louis in the same period was 27 per cent. The growth of one western residence section of St. Louis between those years was 239 per cent. This section is from Vandeventer avenue westward to and along the north side of Forest Park. It is bounded on the north by Page avenue. Within this residence section there were 14,286 people in 1890; there were 48,492 in 1900; there were 55,843 in 1903. Since the World's Fair in

1904, the development of this section has been even more astonishing than before. Could he see Forest Park and its surroundings in 1909, Francis P. Blair would marvel at the fulfillment of his own prophecy.

The first land titles were issued from Laclède's house. Two years since the founding had barely passed before settlers were seeking deeds. The land was Spain's, given away by Louis XV to his "dear cousin," Charles. But Spain was having trouble to reconcile the republican Frenchmen of New Orleans to the new authority. No Spanish officer had come to establish the new sovereignty over St. Louis. St. Ange de Bellerive was here. After delivering Fort Chartres down the river on the east side to the English captain, Sterling, St. Ange and his French soldiers had come over to St. Louis. In January, 1766, he began to exercise functions of government. Up to that time the word of Laclède had been law. But Laclède had fur trading business to look after. There were forms of authority, details of government, with which the founder could not concern himself. St. Ange became de facto governor. Four years the French officer maintained order, issued the deeds which confirmed the verbal grants of land and acted as military commander of the post. Then on the 20th of May, 1770, came Don Pedro Piernas, the first Spanish lieutenant-governor. St. Ange retired. His acts were confirmed. In recognition of his services he was offered a commission as captain in the Spanish army.

The first title to land in St. Louis was issued in April, 1766. It was for a lot upon which to build a house. Several other titles, or concessions as they were called, were granted. Then, in August of that year, the St. Ange government enlarged its activities and deeded to Laclède a large tract in what is now Mill Creek valley. The deed was in French. Translated it read:

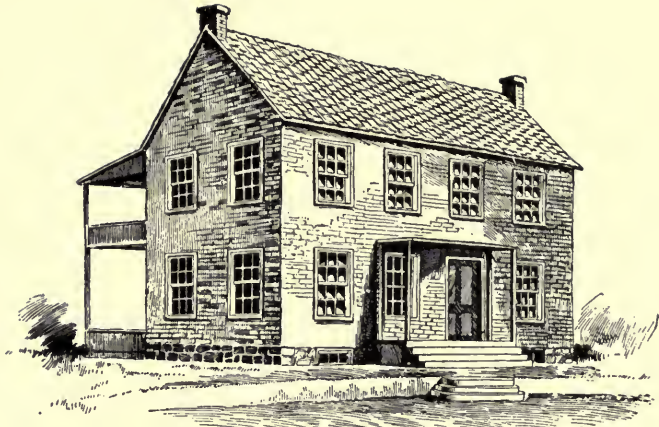
We, Louis St. Ange de Bellerive, captain commanding for the King at the post of St. Louis, upon the Spanish part of Illinois, and Joseph Lefebvre de Inglebert, sub-delegate of the Intendant of Louisiana, and justice of the peace, in virtue of the power to us given by the governor and intendant of Louisiana, and, upon the demand of Mr. Laclède Ligest, a settler of the post of St. Louis, have conceded and hereby do concede to him, in fee simple, a tract of land situated on the prairie of the village of St. Louis, of eight arpens, adjoining on one side the land taken by the settler named Tayon, and the frontage extending upon the Little River, with a depth of eighty arpens, according to lines which shall be given by the person detailed to survey the land, which tract of eight arpens and more if any is found towards Little River the said Mr. Laclède, or his assigns shall enjoy in fee simple, under the condition that this land shall be improved within one year and a day, provided also the same shall remain liable to the public and other charges that it may please his majesty to place thereon.

Given in St. Louis the 11th of August, 1766.

(Signed)

ST. ANGE,
LEFEBVRE,
LABUXIERE.

Lefebvre, who joined in the making of the deed, had come from the east side of the Mississippi with St. Ange a few months previously. He was a lawyer, one of two in the settlement. The other was Labuxiere, who had moved to St. Louis from the English side of the river. In April, 1766, a deed was given to Labuxiere, or as sometimes written, Labusciere. The Labuxiere deed was signed by St. Ange. It established title to a lot fronting 300 feet on Rue Royale, now Main street and extending eastward 150 feet to the river front.



RESIDENCE OF THOMAS F. RIDDICK, 1818



GREEN ERSKINE



GEORGE R. TAYLOR

THE CITY'S EVOLUTION

Quite naturally Labuxiere and Lefebvre, having taken up residence in the new settlement, set about the practice of their profession. They found the settlers occupying the ground which Laclède had allotted them. There were no deeds. Transactions in realty were out of the question. As soon as St. Ange was ready to act, Lefebvre and Labuxiere were prepared with the legal forms. Laclède as founder of the settlement was entitled to early consideration. He asked to have formally confirmed to him—what? His home on the square between the Place d'Armes and the church lot? Not at all. Laclède's engineering bent of mind had, immediately after locating St. Louis, grasped the advantage of the mill site. The Little river, La Petite Riviere, the settlers had named it, meandered more than three miles through what is now the network of railroad tracks, the Mill Creek valley. It was a constant stream of considerable head. Its source was Rock Spring. Two other great springs fed it. Near what is now Seventh street, the topography favored a dam. At small cost of labor a fall of ten or twelve feet could be created. Laclède located on Little river a mill site. Soon after the land office of 1766 was ready to do business, he secured the formal title to his property. Nowhere near the settlement was there another water power.

The dam was built. The mill was running very early in the history of St. Louis. It formed a considerable part of the estate which Laclède left at his death in 1778. Auguste Chouteau was administrator of his stepfather's property. In conformity with the custom of those days the mill was offered to the highest bidder. Not once but three times, upon different dates, the mill was publicly offered. The final report of the constable, or huissier, as he was called, is an interesting document. It is a revelation of the methodical official procedure which was observed at a time when St. Louis, in the view of some historical writers, was only a temporary trading post. De Mers was the constable. His report of the sale of the mill opens:

In the year 1779, on Sunday, the 20th of June, in virtue of the decree of Don Fernando de Leyba, captain in the regiment of infantry of Louisiana, commander-in-chief and lieutenant-governor of the western part of Illinois, dated the 19th day of the current month, annexed at the bottom of the petition of Mr. Auguste Chouteau, who is the administrator of the estate of the late Mr. Laclède, dated on the same day, I, Francis De Mers, constable (huissier), in the jurisdiction of Illinois, residing in St. Louis, purposely went before the main door of ingress and egress of the parochial church of the said post of St. Louis, at the end of the great mass, from which church people went out in great number. There I have, with high and intelligible voice, declared and made known to the public that I was to proceed forthwith (for the first adjudication) to the sale of a water flour mill, moving and turning with two sets of stones with its building in wood and machinery and tools, as the same exists at this day, situated near the village of St. Louis, upon the creek called the Little river, belonging to the estate of the said late Mr. Laclède, where all persons shall be admitted to bid, provided they give good and sufficient securities who reside in this post, which persons shall pay the amount of the adjudication in deer or beaver skins in good order at the St. Louis price, one-half within one year from this day and one-half within one year later which will be the month of June, 1781. By my repeated clamor, the public being assembled, the said mill and dependencies were bidden for by the person named Moreau in the sum of 1,500 livres in peltries. After many announcements often repeated, no person presenting himself to bid over, I have declared that the second auction of the mill shall take place the next Sunday, the 27th day of the current month, at the same time and place, when and where all persons shall be admitted

to bid under the conditions explained. I left with my witnesses who signed with me, the undersigned constable in the year and day as above.

DE MERS,
DIEGO BLANCO,
L. RICHART.

In the same form the huissier reported the procedure of the 27th of June when Moreau again bid 1500 livres and a person named Cambas bid 1501 livres. The third and closing sale was on the next Sunday the 4th day of July. The huissier's report announced the result:

The said mill and its dependencies were bidden for by Cambas to 1,500 livres, by the person named Deschapine to 1,600 livres, by the said Moreau to 1,700 livres, by Cambas to 1,800 livres, by Deschapine to 1,900 livres, and by Auguste Chouteau to 2,000 livres, in peltries. After I had made many announcements, no person bidding any more, and after I had waited until noon, the public going away, the Mr. Auguste Chouteau asked for the deed of his bidding which was granted him. The said mill and dependencies were adjudged to Mr. Chouteau by Mr. Fernando de Leyba, the aforesaid lieutenant-governor, for the sum of 2,000 livres in deerskins which the said Mr. Chouteau has promised to pay to the said estate, in conformity with the terms before explained, under the special and general mortgage of all of his movable and immovable goods present and future. Mr. Chouteau has offered as his security Mr. Sylvester Labbadie, merchant in this post, who has voluntarily accepted the said security, and binds himself to pay the sum when it becomes due in default of the said Mr. Chouteau, under the obligation of a mortgage of all of his movable and immovable goods, a schedule of which he has submitted to this jurisdiction. The following persons have signed the original with us. Don Fernando de Leyba, lieutenant-governor, the constable De Mers and the assisting witnesses, Diego Blanco, a sergeant in the troops of this garrison, and Louis Richart, a soldier of said garrison.

(Signed)

CHOUTEAU,
LABBADIE,
DE MERS,
DON FERNANDO DE LEYBA.

LOUIS RICHART,
DIEGO BLANCO.

A copy conformable to the original at St. Louis, the said year and day.

(Signed)

FERNANDO DE LEYBA.

The arpen, or arpent as it was spelled in later times, was French measurement of land. An arpent was the equivalent of three-fourths of an acre. The original plot acquired by Laclede for his mill site was 640 arpents, or 480 acres. But this was increased by Laclede to 1100 acres. The founder of St. Louis owned in Mill Creek valley a body of land nearly as large as Forest Park. Back to this sale by De Mers at the church; back of that to the St. Ange deed of August, 1766, is the chain of title to millions of dollars worth of realty now occupied by Cupples station and the terminal tracks.

While he awaited the coming of the Spanish, St. Ange did a land office business. In the four years that he performed the duties of commandant he issued the titles of many grants to settlers. The record of these grants was kept in the "Livre Terrien." Real estate men of later generations knew these as the "provincial land books." When Piernas, the first Spanish lieutenant-governor, came in 1770, he accepted in a general way the forms that St. Ange had used and issued similar titles to grants. A little more elaboration of official

signatures was about the only modification. Successors to Piernas perpetuated the system of real estate record devised by Labuscieri, notary, and approved by St. Ange. This went on for thirty years until the time of Delassus. Six books of the "Livre Terrien" series, each bound in leather, contained the records of the grants. It does not appear that St. Ange, or the Spanish governors, required any payment to the government for these grants. The smaller concessions of land were homesteads. They confirmed to the settler the right to the soil he had occupied and improved. The larger grants were in consideration of some service rendered to the royal government.

But while St. Ange exercised authority to issue the titles to grants at St. Louis, and while the successive governors continued to do the same, these titles were not complete. Survey of the land granted was an essential step. And furthermore it was a provision of Spanish law that the grant made by the lieutenant-governor at St. Louis must go to the governor-general at New Orleans for final confirmation.

The land-holding settlers at St. Louis were not wise in their generation. They secured their forms of title from the lieutenant-governors. As soon as Piernas came a "surveyor of the colony of Illinois" in the person of Martin Duralde was named. The grants were surveyed. The property included in the grants was definitely described. So far the provincial land books were in order. The transfer of sovereignty to the United States found the great majority of the St. Louis landholders napping. Only eleven of them had completed their titles. During thirty-four years the habitants of St. Louis had held their lands or had traded them without regard to final confirmation, save in the few exceptions mentioned. The treaty of San Ildefonso in 1800 conveyed back to France the Province of Louisiana. It made no provision to cover rights of property. It was a secret treaty. The habitants of St. Louis went on trading in realty of defective title. Not until 1802 was the treaty announced at Barcelona by proclamation. And then the King said he hoped the French Republic "would protect the inhabitants in the peaceful possession of their property, and that all grants of property, of whatever denomination, made by my government, may be confirmed, though not confirmed by me." Six months later, April 30, 1803, France, in ceding the Louisiana Territory to the United States put into the treaty this clause:

The inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated in the union of the United States and admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of the Federal Constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages, immunities of citizens of the United States, and in the meantime they shall be protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and the religion which they profess.

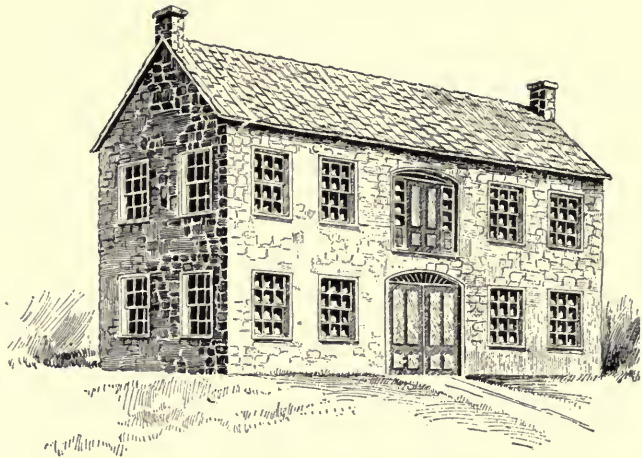
"Inchoate" was the term which applied to the title of almost every piece of property in the settlement when the American captain raised the flag over St. Louis, March 10, 1804. The landholders awoke. Before the month was out Congress had acted. The first legislation for the Louisiana Territory was upon this chaos of property rights. The initial law for St. Louis and all of the rest of the Purchase was approved by President Jefferson on March 26, 1804. It recognized the strength of the rudimentary titles. It sought to quiet the fears of the habitants who were in actual possession of land without complete titles. It was of general character, laying the basis for investigation and

adjustment of all claims: Before every Congress, for a quarter of a century, were measures relating to land titles in St. Louis. Not until 1866 did the legislation cease. Congress finally sent to the United States District court for adjudication the few claims remaining unsettled.

So far as the earlier land records of St. Louis went, they seemed to have been kept well. The trouble with them was in part indefiniteness of survey, but more the general failure to complete the titles. Settlers occupied and claimed their land. They recorded their holdings. Communication with New Orleans where the governor-general lived was a matter of months of travel. There were no mails. It is not difficult to understand why the grants were not presented for final confirmation.

To the credit of the United States is the fact that the rights of the settlers under the inchoate titles were respected scrupulously. To confirm all claims that could be established was the policy prompting Congress. The first act, passed in March, 1804, confirmed the grants made to actual settlers before December 20, 1803. This act limited holdings to one square mile. The next act of Congress confirmed grants made prior to March 20, 1804. The next year Congress provided that habitants having duly registered warrants from French or Spanish authority for land upon which they were living should have their titles confirmed to them. Congress went still farther. An act confirmed their holdings to persons who had settled on land before December 20, 1803, and were still in possession. Congress appointed a recorder of titles and associated with him two commissioners. This commission took up the investigation of claims and proceeded to apply the laws which Congress had passed. The commission issued 1,342 confirmation certificates. Many claims were not approved because the provisions of the laws did not meet the cases. The commissioners advised that the government be more liberal in its treatment of claimants. Another law was enacted. This was in 1812, a few months after the first commission had finished a three years' investigation. The second examination conducted under the more liberal provisions resulted in 1,746 confirmations additional to the first lot. On 801 claims rejection was recommended. In 1832 Congress provided for another commission to report upon claims still existing. This commission reported and the report was confirmed. But dissatisfied claimants continued to agitate. They importuned at Washington. Their assertions affected values at St. Louis. In 1866 Congress made a finality of legislation on land titles in St. Louis by sending all remaining claims to the Federal court. These claims were not numerous, but they echoed in the court for many years.

Some mistakes were made in the earlier legislation by Congress. These were corrected in subsequent acts. Honest intention of the American government to give the founders and original landholders of St. Louis their property rights was evident. In some cases these rights were but little more definite than squatters might acquire. Congress after Congress took action. Commission after commission investigated and reported. Some cases were in the courts through generations. Justice at times seemed blind and slow. In the end the equity of the first comers won out almost invariably. The title of possession and occupancy proved more potent than technicality. The sanctity



RESIDENCE OF MAJOR WILLIAM CHRISTY

Built of stone, 1818



JOSEPH K. BENT



ROBERT W. POWELL

THE CITY'S EVOLUTION

of the inchoate titles of the French and Spanish periods was upheld with all the power of the United States authority. The realty of St. Louis rests upon record as firm as the physical foundations of the city.

The St. Louisan of the first decade did not go far for his building material. Upon his quarter or half or whole block of ground was growing the wood. Laclede noted that fact when he marked the trees for Auguste Chouteau in December, 1763. Along the river front and outcropping in many places elsewhere was a ledge of limestone easily quarried. Architecture varied much, according to means and taste. The post house was most popular. Early settlers in St. Louis did not build many log houses after the plan of American pioneers on the Atlantic seaboard. They chose trees of less diameter and set them on end. For the better of this class of houses the post was hewed about nine inches square. The cheaper houses were built, sides and ends, of round, undressed posts set as closely as possible three feet deep in the ground. When the house builder went to the trouble of hewing his posts, he sometimes set them on a stone foundation above the earth. This preserved the post longer. The flooring was of slabs. The ceiling was seldom over ten feet from the floor. Almost every house in St. Louis had some kind of a porch, or gallery as it was called, in front. The size of the gallery indicated the circumstances of the habitant. Wooden houses were from twenty to thirty feet in length and were divided into two or three rooms. The chimneys were of stone, built often in the center of the house in such manner as to give fireplaces on both sides.

Brackenridge, after close observation of the early architecture of St. Louis, concluded that the French settlers were wise. He said:

In the building of these houses the logs instead of being laid horizontally, as ours, are placed in a perpendicular position. The interstices are closed with earth or stone, as with us. This constitutes a more durable dwelling, and it retains its shape much longer. The roof is extremely broad, extending out with a gradual slope for the purpose of affording a covering for the gallery. The houses are built in a very singular form, and, it is said, copied from the West Indies. They do not exceed one story in height and those of the more wealthy are surrounded with spacious galleries; some only on one or two sides. These galleries are extremely useful; they render the house cool and agreeable in summer, and afford a pleasant promenade in the heat of the day.

The case of S. E. vs. E. P. has been on trial with seven generations of St. Louisans. The first house built in St. Louis had an E. P. In those days the east piazza was not mentioned. But nearly every house erected in St. Louis for forty years had a gallery. And, if possible, the gallery was on the east side. Where the house did not front to the east, the house owner felt that he lived at a disadvantage unless he had a gallery on the east side. The gallery was the almost universal feature of home architecture. If the house was of a single story and space was scant within the four walls, the roof projected forward and made a covering for the gallery. If the house was the mansion of a fur trader grown opulent, it might have a gallery for the second as well as for the first story. Be it ever so humble, there was no real home without a gallery in St. Louis until after 1800. And nowhere in the archives or the correspondence of the first two generations of St. Louis is there a reference to a hot summer. "The year of the hard winter,"—*l'annee du grand*

hiver—is recorded. That was in 1799. It was intensely cold. “The year of the smallpox”—*l’annee de la picotte*—was in 1801. It left its mark on the community and was duly recorded. “The year of the flood”—*l’annee des grandes eaux*—was 1785. The great waters covered the American bottom on the east side and extended to the bluffs. But there was no summer in the forty so hot that the habitants thought to chronicle it. Suppose the temperature rose higher than the average, the St. Louisan of 1764-99 lengthened his stay on the gallery. If the night was sultry he sat late on the gallery until the southern breeze crept up the river and swept along the gallery. Facing east, open to the north and south, the gallery invited, coaxed a draft, if there was a breath of air stirring.

Then came the American with his imitation of Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore residential architecture. He built flush to the street; often in rows; with southern exposure if possible. Southern exposure was the American’s substitute for the gallery or the east piazza. It was the only concession the newcomer made to the climate. The American sweltered for his high-priced front foot and the St. Louis summer gained an evil reputation.

Writing from St. Louis about 1811, John Bradbury, the English naturalist, described the climate as he had found it from experience extending through several seasons:

The climate is very fine. The spring commences about the middle of March in the neighborhood of St. Louis, at which time the willow, the elm, and maples are in flower. The spring rains usually occur in May, after which month the weather continues fine, almost without interruption, until September, when rain again occurs about the equinox, after which it remains again fine, serene weather until near Christmas, when the winter commences. About the beginning or middle of October the Indian summer begins, which is immediately known by the change that takes place in the atmosphere, as it now becomes hazy, or what they term smoky. This gives to the sun a red appearance, and takes away the glare of light, so that all the day, except a few hours about noon it may be looked at with the naked eye without pain; the air is perfectly quiescent and all is stillness, as if nature, after her exertions during the summer, was now at rest. The winters are sharp, but it may be remarked that less snow falls, and they are much more moderate on the west than on the east side of the Alleghanies in similar latitudes.

St. Louis owed in some part its widespread reputation as a fiery furnace in summer time to the newspaper treatment of the heated periods forty years ago. One of the morning papers of Tuesday, August 27, 1872, thus opened its account of the conditions of the preceding day:

The heat yesterday was terrific; it was fearful and its results absolutely appalling to the sick and the infirm. The blazing atmosphere smote them and scorched them like an avenging Nemesis. Even the strong man whose imprudence led him to invest himself in physical exertion was stricken down and compelled to pay the debt of nature. There were seventy deaths in the city that were reported, of which twenty-seven were from the direct effects of prostration by heat or through the effects of heat and whisky. There were thirteen cases of sunstroke reported in which the patients were not dead.

This account of the visitation was headed “A Terrible Scourge.” The newspapers impressed the dangers of the heated term in this language:

We warn all readers during this intensely hot weather to beware of whiskey and beware of exertion. We advise everybody as they value their lives to seek a shade and do just as little work as possible. We verily hope that the terrible scourge which is upon us may speedily pass by.

The gallery, under the modern name of piazza, has come back to St. Louis home architecture. And it is placed upon the east side of the house wherever practicable. The passing of the monotonous row is evident. The lungs of the St. Louis before the American occupation are being restored in the parks and playgrounds of 1909. In the case of E. P. vs. S. E. the verdict is for the plaintiff.

Two stone buildings Laclede erected on his block. One was fifty feet front by thirty feet deep. This was the business and store house of Maxent, Laclede & Co. The other was sixty feet front by twenty-three feet deep. It had a gallery across the front which faced east upon the Plaza. This was familiarly known as "Laclede's House." It was the seat of government. The ground surrounding was three hundred feet square.

"Laclede's House" had one principal story above a high basement. When St. Ange marched in from Fort Chartres the soldiers were quartered temporarily in the basement. This ground floor was used also for storage purposes. The main floor was divided into a central room and side rooms. There Laclede had his office. There St. Ange ruled and after him the Spanish governors until the roof began to leak and the wood work to show need of extensive repair.

Laclede planned this house and selected the material for it. The other stone houses, some smaller, followed closely the type Laclede had fashioned. They had the basement story and the high gallery. They divided the main floor into central and end rooms, making five or four or three according to individual preference.

One of the most imposing stone residences was built in what was at the time the extreme southwestern part of the settlement, about Elm street and Broadway, for Rene Buet, who moved over from Cahokia. The house had a frontage of forty feet; it stood on half a block of ground, one of Laclede's early land grants. Buet was a single man of means. Michael Lami bought the house and, with the Duchouquette family, lived there until his death in 1784. The Duchouquette family lived in the house until 1800, when the place was sold to Dr. Saugrain. The Saugrain family occupied the house nearly sixty years. In Dr. Saugrain's time a botanical garden was maintained.

The habitants builded well with the material at hand. Among the antiquities preserved in the Desloge family is a shingle from the old Pratte homestead in the lead country south of St. Louis. The cedar wood seems as sound as the day it was roughly fashioned. It served its purpose in the roof "more than a hundred years to the day." There wasn't a metallic nail in the old mansion. The shingle was fastened in its place with a wooden pin. When the house was demolished it was found to be so well put together that a charge of dynamite under one corner was the most economical form of wrecking. In this house lived a family of twenty-six children. Perhaps this was the largest family of the colonial period of St. Louis and vicinity. Families of ten children were not extraordinary during the first and second generations in St. Louis. Charles Gratiot had that number; so did Gregoire Sarpy; so did Joseph Robidou, whose son founded the present city of St. Joseph. Joseph Marie Papin had fourteen children and Hyacinthe St. Cyr had fifteen.

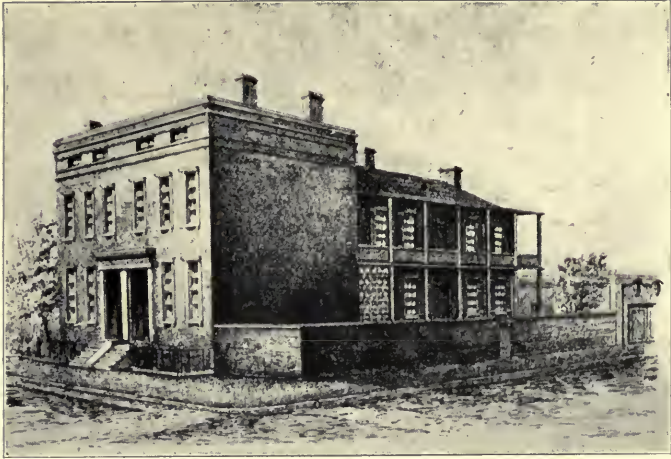
Dr. Robert Simpson, the second postmaster, who became an authority on fishing for bass and croppie in Chouteau's Pond, described St. Louis as it appeared to him when he came, an assistant surgeon of the army in 1809:

The town was all under the hill, and laid out in squares, and these squares were divided into four lots so that each owner had room for a garden and some fruit trees. There were no brick houses, but many of stone, some few frame, but mostly log buildings, some cabin fashion and others in French style, large logs dressed on two sides set some eight feet in the ground with shingle roofs. Just such a house was the one I purchased in the fall of 1811 and in which I lived for a number of years. The shingles were thick, and instead of nails were hung with pegs or straps across the rafters and made a very good roof, but was rather musical in windy weather.

In the colonial period St. Louis grew southward much faster than northward. South of Chouteau avenue, along the river front, were the country seats, the choice residence section of St. Louis, between 1780 and 1800. Shortly after Gabriel Cerre moved over from Kaskaskia, he obtained a concession of about sixty-four acres. His north line was Park avenue. Cerre was of Canadian birth. He had been in business at Kaskaskia a quarter of a century before he came to St. Louis. Here he continued as a merchant another quarter of a century. In the winter he lived in his town house. When summer came he moved to this country place, which was highly improved. Gabriel Cerre's youngest daughter married Antoine Soulard, the civil engineer who had been in the French navy and who was highly educated. Soulard became the official surveyor under appointment by the Spanish governor of St. Louis soon after his arrival. In the division of Gabriel Cerre's estate, the country place went to the Soularde. When the city expanded below Chouteau avenue this country seat of Gabriel Cerre, in part, was known as Soulard's addition.

Joseph Brazeau obtained a concession of eighty-five acres adjoining Gabriel Cerre on the south. He built his residence near the river front and farmed the land. There were no children in the family; the condition of the Brazeaus was exceptional for that period in the growing of St. Louis. When Joseph Brazeau died, his widow, following his wishes, transferred this and other property to John B. Duchouquette. The consideration was that she should receive an annuity of \$350 as long as she lived. Duchouquette had married Marie Brazeau, a niece of Joseph Brazeau. Marie Brazeau had three brothers and four sisters, all of whom married. She bore six children, among whom the Duchouquette place, as it had become known, was divided. Out of the Brazeau or Duchouquette country place were made the Lesperance, Picotte, Papin and Duchouquette additions to the city. Barton street was the southern boundary.

Benito Vasquez, who decided to retire from Spanish army life and spend the rest of his days in St. Louis, was given the next place on the river front. His concession was not so large. It was two arpents front on the river and ran back to what is now Broadway. The place passed through several hands and became the home of ex-Governor Delassus after his return to St. Louis in 1816. In 1831 the buildings were remodeled into a powder mill. Benito Vasquez received a second concession of forty-two acres adjoining his grant. This property in time passed to the possession of Dr. William Carr Lane. With the growth of the city along the river front, the years came when the owners of the estates having water frontage saw the business advantage of



RESIDENCE OF PIERRE CHOUTEAU, JR., BEFORE
THE CIVIL WAR



JAMES STEWART



THÉOPHILE PAPIN



RESIDENCE OF MRS. JULIA MAFFITT
Type of mansions on Lucas place in 1870-90
THE GROWING OF ST. LOUIS

turning their acres of orchard and garden into lots. As early as 1836, Dr. Lane, the first mayor, established the town of St. George, a community independent of St. Louis. St. George was between Lynch and Victor streets. It had a river frontage and was bounded on the west by Carondelet avenue, now Broadway. To-day St. George is a part of the manufacturing district along the river south of Chouteau avenue.

The next of these river front country seats belonged to Eugene Poure, who was better known from New Orleans to Prairie du Chien as Beausoleil. His head reminded those who saw it of a "bright sun." Poure's widow sold the place for \$200. The ground was fenced. There was a house of posts. John J. Matoid added a barn and sold for \$600. John Rice Jones of Kaskaskia greatly fancied the place and agreed to give Hubert Lacroix, the owner in 1796, the price of \$1,000 cash, \$1,000 in three years, 1,000 pounds of flour and 500 pounds of bacon. The place had been improved with three houses, a barn, a lime kiln, a bake house. After the cash payment Jones defaulted. Lacroix asked to have the property appraised. Charles Gratiot and Charles Sanguinet, two of the most prominent men of St. Louis in that day, were appointed. They concluded that "they could not conscientiously appraise the property at more than \$200." The next step was to sell at auction. The place brought \$201. Manuel Lisa bought on speculation. He sold his bargain to Pat Cullen and Joseph Berry for 800 silver dollars or 800 pounds of good powder. That was the year the Americans took possession. Cullen and Berry held the place three years and sold to Silas Bent. The tract of fifty-six acres was improved with a fine stone house and other buildings. It was the home of the judge for twenty years, and was known to two generations as "the Bent place." It adjoined the arsenal on the north.

On what are now the arsenal grounds and Lyon Park was for some years in the early history of St. Louis an Indian village. Some Delawares and Shawnees who wished to travel the white man's road lived there. Part of this ground, fifty-seven acres, was embraced in a concession to Joseph Marie Papin in 1787. It remained in the possession of the Papin family until the government bought land and established the arsenal. Just below the arsenal stood for nearly a century a small stone house. It was put there to perfect the title of John Mullanphy, who bought forty acres for \$500. The tract was in the vicinity of President street. In early days the landing of the Cahokia ferry was located there. Still further south was the Dubreuil place of twenty-seven acres, originally a concession by the Spanish governor to Sylvestre Sarpy. This tract changed hands in 1838 for \$680.

These country seats, with their white limestone, wide galleried mansions, their gardens and orchards and well tilled fields along the river front from Chouteau avenue to where the city workhouse is now gashing the palisades, were the glory of St. Louis one hundred years ago. Almost from Chouteau avenue to the arsenal the land along the river was originally "covered with heavy timber," according to both Auguste and Pierre Chouteau. About where the Anheuser-Busch brewery is the timber line gave way to an open space called by the first settlers "Petite Prairie." The Peoria Indians under their chief, Petit Dinde or Little Turkey, were allowed to build a village at the lower edge of this forest, near the Little Prairie.

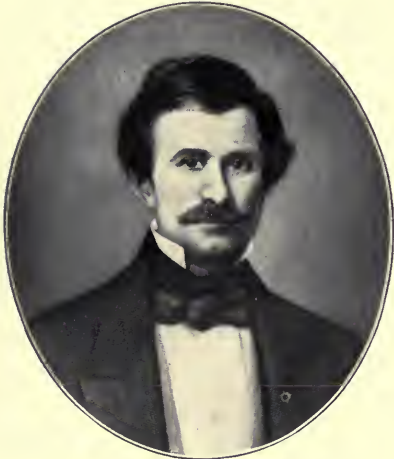
Laclede's plan of St. Louis located three streets parallel with the river, but on the plateau above it. There was no street immediately upon the river front. The first of the streets was Rue Royale. As the reverence for royalty diminished with the habitants, they called this street Rue Principale. Quite naturally, with the Americanizing of St. Louis, the name was changed to Main street. Houses fronted on the east side of Rue Royale and their back yards extended to the edge of the limestone cliff, thirty-five feet above the sandy shore of the river. The second parallel street was Rue de l'Englise. It took its name from the church. The first Americans called this Church street. Pennsylvanians were strong in numbers and influence during the formative period following the acquisition. They gave to the city the first mayor. They introduced the system of numbering streets. Church street became Second street. Laclede's third parallel street was Rue des Granges,—the street of the barns. The Americans called it Barn street. This name was appropriate, for the barns of many of the early settlers were on this street, convenient to the pasture and common fields which stretched away to the westward. Laclede did not lay off the settlement beyond Barn street. When the Americans came, with their ideas of real estate speculation, they turned Barn street into Third street and added Fourth, Fifth and other streets as rapidly as the market would absorb the supply of town lots. In the talk of the town Fourth street for years was called "American street."

When the time came to make up the official history of this early surveying and platting and naming, Auguste Chouteau and others told interesting facts bearing upon the colonial period of St. Louis. They testified before Theodore Hunt, who had been appointed by the United States government to gather this important evidence before the witnesses passed away. Auguste Chouteau, describing the plan of the settlement as Laclede gave it to him and as it was carried out, said: "The main streets were laid out to be thirty-six feet wide and all the cross streets were laid out to be thirty feet wide. The blocks were generally laid out to be 240 feet fronting on main streets and running back 300 feet to other main streets." This was the French measure. The French foot was nearly thirteen English inches.

The Civic League of 1911 regretted the utilitarianism which turned the public square on the river front to commercial account. In his testimony of 1825 before Commissioner Hunt, Auguste Chouteau told that the first intention had been to lay out a street on the edge of the limestone cliff overlooking the river. This would have given St. Louis the esplanade which the Civic League, 145 years afterwards, thought would be an ideal water front. The question at issue was whether the market square was inherited by the municipality, or was to be considered government property, and as such to be classed as school land under the Act of Congress. Auguste Chouteau stoutly maintained that this square belonged to the inhabitants of St. Louis, not to the Spanish or any other government. He gave a deposition on the subject. He said that "when he first came and laid out the town under the direction of Laclede they established the warehouse where the market house now stands. They intended then to have a street fronting the Mississippi with lots running back 300 feet. After that the plan was altered and a main street was laid out, leaving lots of about 150 feet deep between it and the river. The town was laid out and surveyed by this



THE COUNTRY HOME OF PIERRE CHOUTEAU, SR.,
IN HIS OLD AGE



JOSIAH H. OBEAR



CHARLES H. PECK



RESIDENCE OF CHARLES P. CHOUTEAU
About 1880, on the bluffs overlooking the Mississippi river
THE GROWING OF ST. LOUIS

deponent upon this plan. After this the warehouse was removed to the square where he at present resides." (The west side of Main between Market and Walnut.) "When the Spanish authorities came to this town, Piernas and Perez, the lieutenant-governors, they granted the south part of the square to Benito Vasquez and Bonaventure Collel. The balance was reserved for a Place Public. To the knowledge of this deponent, Madame Loisel, the midwife of the place, applied to Perez for a lot in this square. Mr. Perez told her it should not be granted, but should be reserved for the use of the inhabitants. And it has so remained from that time to this day. The deponent does hereby declare that this square belongs to the inhabitants of the town of St. Louis for their use as a public place. And if any persons should contend that it does not, but that it belongs to the school lands, that he having been the first in possession of the same will contend to his right for the same, he only relinquishing it for the benefit of the mayor, aldermen and citizens of the town of St. Louis as a Place Public."

Charles DeHault Delassus, the last of the Spanish governors, testified before Commissioner Hunt in substantiation of Auguste Chouteau, that this square "was considered a public place of rendezvous, and so much so that while acting as lieutenant-governor under the Spanish government, although he had power to grant lots or land, he would not and could not have granted that place which was used as the Place of Arms of the inhabitants of the town of St. Louis."

John Baptist Trudeau stated that when he came to St. Louis in 1774 he was told the whole square had been reserved for the use of the inhabitants. In 1825 he said he could say that to his knowledge this square of right belonged to the inhabitants of the town of St. Louis.

As early as 1810, Henry N. Brackenridge expressed the regret which this generation feels over the treatment of the river front:

It is to be lamented that no space has been left between the town and the river; for the sake of the pleasure of the promenade, as well as for business and health, there should have been no encroachment on the margin of the noble stream.

Edmund Flagg, coming a quarter of a century later, was impressed in the same way:

Water street is well built up with a series of lofty limestone warehouses; but an irretrievable error has been committed in arranging them at so short distance from the water. On some accounts this proximity to the river may be convenient; but for the sake of a broad arena for commerce; for the sake of a fresh and salubrious circulation of air from the water; for the sake of scenic beauty, or a noble promenade for pleasure, there should have been no encroachment upon the precincts of the "eternal river."

In the great fire of 1849 St. Louis had an experience similar to those of other American cities visited in the same manner. The fire destroyed twenty-three steamboats. It swept Front street from Locust to Market, with the exception of two or three houses. It burned over some fifteen blocks in the business district. The loss of the boats and their cargoes was \$439,000. The total value of property destroyed was over \$3,000,000. Instead of paralyzing the community or retarding its progress the great fire proved, to quote the words of one who suffered temporarily from it, "a benefit and a blessing like the tree that gathers more vigor when cropped of its luxuriance." Not only was St. Louis rebuilt with a better class of structures, but property holders

on Main street secured the widening of that principal business thoroughfare. They met immediately after the fire and petitioned the Council to set back the building lines at their own expense. This was done and the street was widened to the limits it now has. St. Louis went ahead at a pace more rapid than it had ever known before the fire. This has since been the experience of Chicago and of Baltimore.

Unfortunately, one of the movements inaugurated to take advantage of the fire and to improve the business front of the city was not carried out. It was proposed that the city should buy the property between the levee and Commercial street, from Vine street to Market street, and leave the space open for future treatment as a part of the levee. It was argued that this would prevent any fire that might start among the steamboats from spreading to the business district. It was urged that the restriction of business buildings to the west line of Commercial street, or Commercial alley, as it was afterwards more commonly called, would avert the occasional damage caused by unusual rise of the river. In brief, this movement to leave open the long strip of the city front has been renewed several times since the fire, and in 1908 took the form of a proposed riverside park. The movement failed just sixty years ago because the city, crippled somewhat by the losses of the fire, did not feel able to purchase the blocks which it was proposed should not be rebuilt. When the steamboat business was at its height in that period, this levee property was held at \$1,000 a front foot. Luther M. Kennett, one of the most enterprising of St. Louis mayors before the war, advocated earnestly the purchase by the city of the strip from Locust to Walnut street east of Commercial alley. It was found that the cost to the city would be between \$1,500,000 and \$2,000,000. Afterwards this property declined to a fraction of the value of the flush steamboat times.

Baptiste Riviere came to St. Louis "in the first boat" with Auguste Chouteau. He was about twelve years old. His father drove the cart which brought Madame Chouteau and the children a few weeks later from Kaskaskia to Cahokia. When he was eighty years old Baptiste Riviere gave before Commissioner Hunt his recollections of the site and the suburbs of St. Louis. "Immediately where the town stands," he said, "was heavy timber. But back of the town it was generally prairie with some timber growing. But where the timber did grow, it was entirely free of undergrowth. The grass grew in great abundance everywhere and of the best quality." Riviere was one of the principal witnesses before Theodore Hunt. His recollections were stated in clear and positive terms. Auguste Chouteau gave this sworn certificate of Riviere's character: "He has known Baptiste Riviere au Baccane for sixty years, and said Baptiste Riviere has always sustained the character of an honest man and a man of truth."

The settlement as Laclède drew the plan and Auguste Chouteau laid it out was between the river and Third street. Franklin avenue, first called Cherry street, on the north and Poplar street on the south were the other boundaries. It was divided into forty-nine squares, of which fifteen were along the river front, nineteen between Main and Second, and fifteen between Second and Third streets.

Pierre Chouteau, Sr., described to Theodore Hunt the custom of granting barn lots. He said he was well acquainted with the grants made for barn lots by the Spanish authorities and likewise with the grants made for barn lots by the French authorities. The French granted many more barn lots than the Spanish. It never was the custom to give more for a barn lot than 60 to 80 feet square.

Francis Duchouquette was one of the pioneer settlers whose testimony helped to establish the fact that the government reserved the rights to the river frontage. He told Theodore Hunt that "in the grants for town lots by the Spanish authorities there was always understood to be a reservation between the lots fronting the river for a tow for the boats. He said he had known that when a fence or fences were put up so as to interfere with the tow or road such fence or fences were pulled down by persons who found themselves obstructed. This was always considered the custom of the country."

Auguste Chouteau testified that he was well acquainted with what was the custom as to the grants for the lots fronting the Mississippi river in this town. There was always left a space between the lots so situated and the river for a tow or road. He never did know during the time the French or Spanish governed this country of any lot being fenced to the river either to high or low water mark.

Former Governor Delassus said: "No concession could be granted to obstruct or impede the public ways. Concessions on navigable waters could not extend farther near the edge of high water than 20 or 30 feet, which space was reserved for the public use as a tow road or path."

Laclede crossed his three parallel streets with two or three east and west thoroughfares and with several lanes. One of the streets was Rue de la Place. It led from the river westward past La Place, the public square, past Laclede's house, past the church and the graveyard and up to "the Hill." The plaza, or public square, gave the street its name. When the Pennsylvanians applied the Philadelphia plan, they bestowed upon Laclede's cross streets and lanes the names of trees. Rue de la Place became Walnut street. On the north fronts of La Place, of Laclede block, of the church and graveyard block, was another principal east and west street—Rue de la Tour. It led up the hill to Fort San Carlos, or St. Charles, the principal feature of which was the round tower. The street of the tower—Rue de la Tour—was appropriate in its time. But the Americans turned La Place to utility. They could not be content with their practical minds to see an open square on the valuable river front where the keel boats unloaded and where commerce centralized. They built a market house on La Place. The tower at the fort was doomed. Rue de la Tour became Market street.

Transactions in St. Louis realty did not wait on written titles. Laclede's verbal grants, or assignments, were good enough for some investors. James Denis was a joiner. He was given a lot on the southeast corner of Second and Walnut streets. On the lot he built a house of posts. In January, 1766, which was before the first written deed passed, Denis sold the house and lot to Antoine Hubert, the merchant. The consideration was \$220. This was probably the first real estate transaction in the history of St. Louis. Denis estimated the

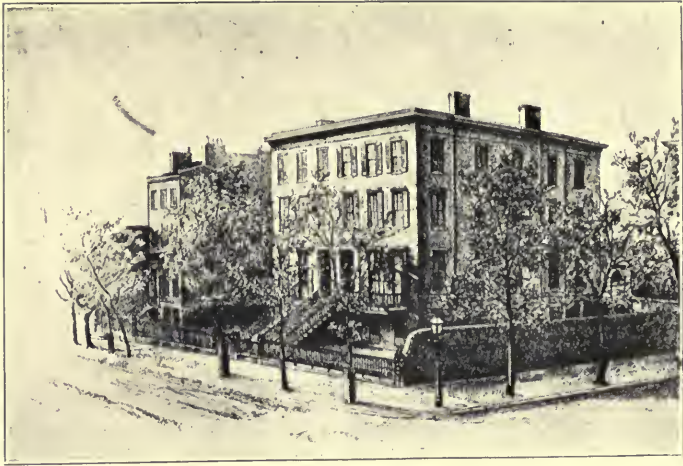
value of the house at \$200. The lot, which he had held about eighteen months under Laclede's verbal assignment to him, was valued at \$20. This transfer of real estate in the new settlement was recorded with care by Labuscieri, who that very month began to keep the records of St. Louis. It is the first transfer on the record. Denis was evidently a born real estate man. In March, 1766, which was also before the issue of written titles by the St. Ange government, Denis made another sale. This second transaction was the transfer of a lot sixty feet front. It joined the first one, fronting on Second street. Hubert was again the investor. The lot was not improved. Hubert gave for it \$20 and six quarts of rum. This was a notable advance in real estate values of St. Louis.

Pierre Berger gave Francois Latour a mortgage in September, 1766. This was the first instrument of the kind in St. Louis. It covered all that Pierre had. It called for the delivery of a certain number of bundles of deerskin to Francois within a specified time. If Pierre failed to make delivery his property was to go to Francois. There were some financial transactions of those times wherein the number of skins was given as the consideration. They were between individuals usually. In trade and commerce the rule was to give the skins a fixed value by the pound and thus establish their value as currency. When Judge J. B. C. Lucas bought his first piece of real estate in St. Louis the price was "six hundred dollars in deerskins."

The thoroughgoing, business character of Auguste Chouteau was shown in the prompt action he took to get the title to the mill tract of nearly 1,200 acres confirmed by the United States government after 1804. He was so successful that it is said "there has never been a single suit instituted about lands derived from Auguste Chouteau or his legal representatives." The Laclede grant, after the purchase at the church door, became known as the Auguste Chouteau tract. It was confirmed by Spanish authority and was accepted by the United States as binding. It escaped all disputes and controversies of title. No land commission ever raised question as to the legality of the grant. In 1832 most of the property still remained in the possession of the Auguste Chouteau estate. It was divided among seven children. The subdivision was in parcels of five acres as far west as Seventeenth street. Beyond Seventeenth street the parcels were from ten to twenty acres. The extreme western part of the tract was divided into parcels of sixty-five acres. Some sales of property in the Auguste Chouteau tract were in considerable tracts. About 1840 Robert Ranken purchased from Henri Chouteau sixty-four acres for \$7,000. Later Mr. Ranken secured another tract of sixty-four acres from Edward Chouteau for \$6,500. The land thus acquired remained in the possession of Mr. Ranken and his heirs until it was valued at millions of dollars.

The Missouri Pacific Railroad company bought of the Auguste Chouteau tract eleven acres, where the railroad shops stand, for \$11,000. The company also bought four blocks which are now covered with tracks between Seventh and Eleventh streets, for \$120,000.

The first addition to the town of St. Louis was made jointly by Auguste Chouteau and J. B. C. Lucas about 1815. The Chouteau tract, acquired in the settlement of the Laclede estate, came almost to Chestnut street on the



DOUBLE RESIDENCE AT SIXTH AND OLIVE STREETS
About 1869, occupied by Mrs. Maffitt and C. P. Chouteau



C. G. GERHART



W. A. RUTLEDGE



ONE OF THE EARLY ROWS BUILT IN ST. LOUIS
Presented by Pierre Chouteau, Jr., to his daughter and son

north. North of the Auguste Chouteau tract lay a long strip of land from Fourth street westward and from St. Charles street southward, which J. B. C. Lucas had acquired by purchase. Auguste Chouteau and J. B. C. Lucas donated to the city of St. Louis the square on which the court house stands, bounded by Fourth, Fifth, Market and Chestnut streets. They then laid out their property to the westward as an addition to the city.

"The Hill" where the court house and the Planters House are was more of an elevation than now appears. When Fourth street was graded, between 1830 and 1840, it was cut down four feet. Francois Gunell, the tradition is, had the contract to grade. In the block on which the Planters stands was a depression or a gully, thirty feet deep. J. B. C. Lucas, who owned the ground, offered Gunell three cents a cubic yard to dump the dirt he was taking from Fourth street into the hole. At the conclusion of the job the contractor brought in a bill for \$60 against Judge Lucas. At this point the story becomes almost incredible. Judge Lucas offered to deed Gunell one-half of the ground to pay the bill of \$60. The contractor declined, saying he needed the money. In 1911, a lot twenty-seven feet front on Olive street, between Sixth and Seventh streets, having a depth of 105 feet, was sold for \$300,000, which was more than \$11,000 a front foot or \$106 a square foot.

When James H. Lucas and Mrs. Anne Lucas Hunt came into their inheritance on the death of Judge J. B. C. Lucas, the estate was in land. It amounted in the values of that day to \$45,000 or \$50,000. The land was unimproved, but it was burdened with no debts. James H. Lucas began to build. His first improvement was on the Fourth street block opposite the Planters. Borrowing \$20,000 in Philadelphia, he erected a building on the northeast corner of Fourth and Chestnut. Then he put two buildings about midway of the Fourth street block. As he could command the means Mr. Lucas covered the Fourth street front from Chestnut to Pine with renting property. That ground was cleared and built over a second time after the death of Mr. Lucas. It is occupied now by the third improvement—the Pierce building.

Mr. Lucas increased his estate by steadily improving the ground until he was worth \$7,000,000. Determination and patience were his marked characteristics.

When James H. Lucas was supposed to be worth at least \$2,000,000 he told a friend in conversation at the Planters one day that he frequently found himself without enough ready money to go to market with. Mr. Lucas was a quiet, self-contained man except in the presence of a few intimates. When this reserve was thrown aside he could be very entertaining. Although he accumulated a great fortune, he was much of the time a borrower. When he had money he was ready to invest it in public enterprises. Most of the gifts of Mr. Lucas for public purposes took the form of real estate. Mr. Lucas gave to the city the lot at Sixth and Chestnut on which the stone jail stood until the Four Courts was occupied. He gave the space known as Twelfth street, building a long, narrow market house for public convenience in the center of it, from Olive to Chestnut. The hay market was in the wide space at one end and the coal market was at the other end. Mr. Lucas gave the site on which the Planters was built. He gave the Historical society its

location. He gave Missouri park. He subscribed to every public enterprise that was started. For a time the Planters bore the name of Lucas. Missouri park was at first known as Lucas park. The select residence section west of the park was called Lucas place. The market was known as Lucas market, and the spacious Twelfth street was long known as Lucas Market place. In 1908 a member of the family with a tinge of bitterness in manner called attention to the fact that the name of "Lucas" had disappeared from all of these.

With what estimation his fellow citizens held James H. Lucas was seen in the presentation of a marble bust to Mrs. Lucas by a voluntary association of business men of the city. This bust was the work of J. Wilson McDonald, and was given to Mrs. Lucas with some ceremony in May, 1870. In the address of presentation this tribute was paid:

He has liberally contributed toward the erection of churches and charitable institutions all over the city. He has donated property for public uses, laid out streets and avenues, and improved, built up and adorned many portions of the city with elegant and costly edifices. He has made the market which bears his name, and Lucas Place monuments of his liberal, public spirit, enterprise and good taste. His name is inseparable with the history of St. Louis. He has literally grown with her growth and in strength with her strength.

In 1872, when he was 72 years of age, James H. Lucas made partial distribution of his estate. He gave to his wife and eight children property valued at \$2,000,000. The year before the distribution the taxes on the estate amounted to \$126,000. At that time Mr. Lucas owned 225 stores and dwellings and had over 300 tenants. His income was \$40,000 a month.

To an Irish bachelor, St. Louis is indebted for the artery of the wholesale district. Jeremiah Connor was the second sheriff, succeeding James Rankin. He lived in a one-story stone house on the west side of Second street about midway between Pine and Olive. The house had two rooms and a porch; the lot ran back to Price's orchard, which was on Third street. Connor lived alone. The front room was his office. In the back room the sheriff slept. When the common fields lying over "the Hill" were divided into long strips, an arpent front and forty arpents deep, Connor secured two of the strips. This gave him a piece of land 380 front on Fourth street and a mile and a half deep, to Jefferson avenue. He laid it out with an east and west avenue eighty feet wide through the center, with lots 150 feet deep on either side. In those days a street of that width seemed extravagant. There was no other subdivision to compare with this in liberality of street dedication. Connor had his own way. He gave nearly twenty-five per cent of his real estate to public use. Lucas and Chouteau had laid off the first addition to St. Louis on the south of Connor, and Christy had laid off a strip on the north. The Irishman outdid them in the magnificence of his real estate plan. He didn't live to see houses built on the first avenue of St. Louis. He died in 1823.

The site of St. Louis University on Washington avenue between Ninth and Eleventh streets was the gift of Jeremiah Connor. The early St. Louis sheriff presented this ground through Bishop Dubourg. The time was 1820. In placing the property in the hands of the Jesuit Fathers for educational purposes, the bishop wrote a letter. He demonstrated, even at that early day, when St. Louis had about 2,500 inhabitants, the remarkable judgment which the Catholic clergy

of St. Louis have shown in forecasting the future of the city. The letter was to Father Van Quickenborne at the head of the institution. The bishop wrote:

And it may well be, that if the town increases and spreads, as it now promises to do, these two blocks will advance in value to the degree that in the end they will furnish you the means wherewith to establish yourself more permanently and with larger and better buildings at some other site, which in that future day becomes more desirable.

In 1886 the ground was sold by the university for \$462,000. It is now the heart of the wholesale district and worth several times that amount.

How much is a city block in St. Louis? That depends. Auguste Chouteau, to whom Laclede gave the plan of the settlement, said the settlers who moved over from the east side of the river in the spring of 1764, "commenced building their cabins and entered their lines agreeably to the lines of the lots which I had drawn following the plan which Monsieur Laclede had left with me." The ideal of Laclede was a block 240 feet front on the streets parallel with the river and running back 300 feet. He made the north and south streets 36 feet wide and the cross streets 30 feet wide.

When the first Spanish governor, in 1770, yielded to the petition of the residents for a survey of their lots, he appointed Martin Duralde "surveyor of the colony of Illinois." Duralde said the way he surveyed the property holdings in this settlement, then six years old, was as follows: "I caused to accompany me the proprietor and his nearest neighbors, to serve as witnesses and to point out to me precisely the true situation of the concessions. I attained my object and caused the land to be bounded in my presence, with stones at the four corners."

Sixty years later errors in boundaries were corrected by corner stones which Duralde set. Twenty years after that, Henry W. Williams, a marvelously painstaking and accurate investigator of titles, found chains of titles going back to Laclede's verbal assignments and Duralde's stone corners without concession by French or Spanish government and without confirmation by the United States. They rested on possession for eighty-four years and were good.

How much is a city block in St. Louis? Lucas said it should be, not what Laclede decreed, but 338 feet square. This was agreed to by Auguste Chouteau. The two of them laid off the streets and blocks between Clark avenue and St. Charles street on this basis. O'Connor, who got the narrow farm adjoining on the north, did not believe in cross streets. When the streets were opened north from St. Charles to Lucas avenue it was necessary to condemn. Then came the jogs, or offsets, in the street lines. Christy and Carr decided that the ideal block was 376 feet long. They used that as the unit in their additions. A little farther north, in the vicinity of Cass avenue, the Mullanphys thought 270 feet was a proper frontage for a block. Still farther out real estate owners adopted 500 feet for a block. Thus the city has spread with an arrangement of streets which makes a map of St. Louis look little more symmetrical than a patchwork quilt.

For many years St. Louis grew and spread by accretions, block by block, street by street. Transportation and manufacturing interests preempted the river front and the lower levels, avoiding the grades. Residence streets followed the undulations of the higher ground. There was the minimum of method or

foresight in the making of the city. A partial awakening came when Henry Shaw established his world-famed Missouri Botanical Gardens and added thereto Tower Grove Park, endowing them permanently for the benefit of the city. Thirty-five years ago, in face of much opposition, St. Louis acquired 1,376 acres of natural woodland in the then unimproved suburbs and created Forest Park, one mile wide and two miles long, at that time the largest park save Fairmount, Philadelphia, possessed by any city in the United States. Forest Park, with its 10,220 feet length east and west, was added to the other considerations which determined for generations the trend of the city's residence growth.

Notwithstanding the irregularities of growth, St. Louis made a pleasing impression upon many of the early comers. Edmund Flagg, fresh from the Atlantic seaboard, in 1836, to become a St. Louis editor, wrote of the city which was like none other :

There is about it a cheerful village air, a certain *rus in urbe*, in which the grenadier preciseness of most of our cities is the antipodes. There are but few of those rectilinear avenues cutting each other into broad squares of lofty granite blocks, so characteristic of the older cities of the north and east, or of those cities of transmontane origin so rapidly rising within the boundaries of the valley. There yet remains much in St. Louis to remind one of its village days; and a stern eschewal of mathematical, angular exactitude is everywhere beheld. Until within a few years there was no such thing as a row of houses; all were disjointed and at a considerable distance from each other; and every edifice, however central, could boast its humble stoop, its front door plat, bedecked with shrubbery and flowers and protected from the inroads of intruding man or beast by its own tall stockade. All this is now confined to the southern or French section of the city; a right Rip Van Winkle-looking region, where each little steep-roofed cottage yet presents its broad piazza, and the cozy settee before the door beneath the tree shade, with the fleshy old burghers soberly luxuriating on an evening pipe, their dark-eyed, brunette daughters at their side. There is a delightful air of "old-fashioned comfortableness" in all this that reminds us of nothing we have seen in our own country, but much of the antiquated villages of which we have been told in the land beyond the waters. Among those remnants of a former generation which are yet to be seen in St. Louis are the venerable mansions of Auguste and Pierre Chouteau, who were among the founders of the city. These extensive mansions stand upon the principal street, and originally occupied, with their grounds, each of them an entire square, enclosed by lofty walls of heavy masonry, with loopholes and watch towers for defense. The march of improvements has encroached upon the premises of these ancient edifices somewhat; yet they are still inhabited by the posterity of their builders, and remain, with their massive walls of stone, monuments of an earlier era.

Who built the first brick house in St. Louis? When, in the decade of 1830-40, brick yards were doing a thriving business and everybody in St. Louis wanted to live in a brick house, the local historians started a controversy about the honor of building the first structure of this kind. Tradition had it that Pierre Berthold, Sr., coming west from a trip, saw a bricklayer in Marietta, Ohio, and persuaded him to come to St. Louis. This first bricklayer, who also was a brickmaker, was John Lee. He turned out the brick, finding St. Louis clay admirably adapted for the purpose. He built a store on Main, between Chestnut and Market streets, for Berthold and Chouteau. After that Mr. Lee had more orders for brick houses than he could fill. He did well, raised a large family. Among his descendants are some of the best known people of St. Louis.

Thomas Fiveash Riddick was president of the short-lived Bank of Missouri when he built the first brick house on south Fourth street. Riddick



BENT HOMESTEAD
On the river front, near the arsenal



COUNTRY RESIDENCE OF PIERRE
CHOUTEAU, JR.



TURNER BUILDING
First skyscraper in St. Louis



THE ALEXANDER McNAIR HOUSE
Property of the first Governor of Missouri



THE COUNTRY RESIDENCE OF
CHARLES GRATIOT
Southwest of Forest Park

didn't occupy the mansion long, Charles Milliken occupied the house, which was considered one of the finest in St. Louis. Judge Luke E. Lawless bought it. Edward Walsh occupied it. But the chief historic interest attaching to the Riddick mansion is based on the use of it and of the whole square from Fourth to Fifth, from Cerre to Poplar, under the name of Vauxhall Garden. For many years that was the popular place for meetings and for celebrations. Vauxhall Garden in its best days drew the best people of St. Louis. Later the character of the resort changed; the attendance was not select.

The builder of the first sky-scraper in St. Louis was a Virginian, a lawyer by profession, George R. Taylor. He was a native of Alexandria, and began practice there. In 1841 Mr. Taylor became convinced that John Adams was mistaken in his prophecy that Alexandria would become one of the greatest commercial ports of the world. He took down his shingle and moved to St. Louis. He startled this community by building a six-story structure. Up to that time St. Louis had been fairly well satisfied with two-story business houses. The city was without a hotel which appealed to local pride. George R. Taylor conceived, financed and completed Barnum's St. Louis hotel, although two years was required for the construction, and the cost was \$200,000. After the fire of 1849 came the building of the Merchants Exchange on Main street, the most imposing structure of its time. George R. Taylor managed that public enterprise so skilfully that his fellow stockholders presented to him a \$1,000 set of silver. He failed in one of his public spirited movements, for which failure every generation since has had occasion to feel regret. As a member of the council, Mr. Taylor tried, after the fire, and before rebuilding began, to have the city purchase the strip of ground between Commercial street and the levee and add it to the river front of the city. He did succeed in getting Main street widened.

The Green Mountain state contributed to St. Louis a family of hotel keepers, the Barnums. Theron Barnum was the nephew of the man who made Barnum's hotel in Baltimore "the best hotel in the United States" about 1825. He had some experience keeping a hotel at the terminus of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad when Ellicott's Mills was the transfer point between the railroad and the stages. The wife of Theron Barnum was Mary L. Chadwick, of Connecticut. They came to St. Louis in 1840 and took charge of the hotel on Third and Vine streets and conducted it until 1852. Out of Theron Barnum's popular hotel keeping came the movement in which George R. Taylor enlisted the help of George Collier, Joshua B. Brant and J. T. Swearingen to build Barnum's hotel. Theron Barnum made his hotel famous for a ragout. No distinguished visitor came to St. Louis without hearing of the highly favored stew, the recipe for which Barnum guarded jealously.

Yeatman's Row was one of the early introductions of Philadelphia residential architecture. It was "elegant," according to the account of a newspaper in 1847. The row was 299 feet long, extending from Eleventh west on Olive street. Mr. Yeatman's was the central section. Others who shared in the row were Messrs. Franklin, Mead, Lucas, Cook, Garland, Sellew, Crinion and Mayer.

"Made in St. Louis" was a popular sentimental consideration. When the building of stores on "the American street," as some called Fourth street, began, the constructors dwelt with pride on the fact that they were utilizing home material. On one block William M. McPherson and John R. Shepley built business houses of "Missouri marble." On the next block "Missouri iron" was made conspicuous by the architectural plans.

"The Ten Buildings" occupied the east side of Fourth street from Locust to Vine. This was a uniform block divided into ten parts. The three next to Locust were built by James H. Lucas, the next three by Anne Lucas Hunt, the next two by William M. Morrison, and the two at the Vine street end by the estate of George Collier. The row was four stories high, with what the architect, William Rumboldt, informed that generation were tympanums at the corners and in the center. When finished "The Ten Buildings" formed the most notable triumph of business architecture in St. Louis. The row was considered finer than any single business structure west of New York city.

Diagonally across Fourth street from the Ten Buildings, filling the block on the west side from St. Charles to Washington avenue, was erected about the same time in the fifties "Verandah Row." It received the name from the immense verandah above the second story, extending to the curb line.

The time was when the east side of Fifth street, or Broadway, as it is now, had altogether the best of the west side in popularity. That was when Eugene Jaccard, with his glittering array of jewels and precious metals moved into a grand new building on the corner of Olive and Fifth, where the Commonwealth Trust Company now is. Jaccard drew the trade and the travel to the east side. Property on the west side was so slow that the Darby building, the site of which is the sixteen-story Third National Bank building of today, went begging a long time for tenants.

Probably the most imposing business structure in St. Louis before the war was a great iron and marble building on Olive street between Second and Third. It was planned and built by Socrates Newman. Born in St. Louis, Mr. Newman, after trying politics and other employment, joined George C. Graham in an iron foundry. The concern was enterprising. It turned out the first large water mains laid in the streets of St. Louis. Having made some money, Mr. Newman took a trip to Europe. Coming home with new ideas, he built what was a wonderful office building for that period. The structure was so far ahead of the city that the builder in after years frequently referred to it as "Newman's Folly."

Chestnut street, between Second and Main, was the fashionable residence section in 1830. Here was "Quality Row." In one of the two-story brick houses of this continuous row lived Wilson P. Hunt, the postmaster. The post-office was in a small wooden building at Second and Chestnut streets. Other occupants of the brick row were Henry Von Phul, the merchant; Henry L. Cox, cashier of the United States Bank; J. W. Reel, the merchant, and Thornton Grimsley, the inventor and manufacturer of the cavalry saddles. On Vine and Second streets was located one of the institutions of the city at that time. It was known as the "Arcade Baths."



BARNUM'S HOTEL
As it appeared before the Civil war



THOMAS WALSH



DAVID H. EVANS



RESIDENCE OF JOHN P. CABANNE
Built in 1819

THE CITY'S EVOLUTION

A recollection of St. Louis as he knew it in 1830 was left by W. A. Lynch. At that time Mr. Lynch lived on Second street near Walnut. He said:

Immediately opposite my residence was an old dilapidated French house, at one time the residence of Gov. McNair and afterwards used as a courthouse. The Chouteau block north of Walnut street wall contained the old family mansion, with garden and fruit trees, protected on the south and west sides by the old stone wall. The church square was well enclosed with an old picket fence, so generally used by the early settlers of St. Louis. The improvements consisted of a garden, some shrubbery, and flower plants in the foreground, a one-story stone house in the southwest corner and the priest's house in the southeast quarter of the block, occupied as a residence by Bishop Rosati. The old wooden church had been removed and a large brick church had been erected on the northeast corner of the grounds, originally designed for a fine church but it was never finished, although used for divine services until the completion of the present cathedral. The graveyard occupied the north half of the block and contained many graves marked by tombstones and crosses, but the time for innovating improvements had arrived and during the winter of 1830-31 the whole of the old graveyard was dug over and the remains, with the exception of those which were claimed by friends, were placed in a pit and now lie under the floor of the present cathedral. The others were interred in the new cemetery located on the St. Charles road near the intersection of Franklin and Jefferson avenues. The old brick church was rented and converted into a warehouse; a livery stable was built on a portion of the ground and fire originated in the stable in the spring of 1835, destroying the stable and contents, also the old brick church with its contents.

When Dr. Gabriel Tutt in 1835 moved from his home in Virginia he brought with him his negro servants, his horses and his wagons. He camped for some weeks on Charles Cabanne's farm, now one of the best residence districts of St. Louis. Mr. Cabanne tried to induce Dr. Tutt to buy his farm. He offered the land for \$20 an acre. Dr. Tutt declined. He thought the farming land in Cooper county was better, and settled near Boonville. The sons of Dr. Tutt, Thomas E. Tutt and Gardner Dent Tutt, came back to St. Louis a generation later to become prominent in the commercial and financial life of the city.

The three homes which Dwight Durkee, the merchant and banker, occupied illustrated the rapid trend of the residence section westward in one man's lifetime. Mr. Durkee was of a Genesee county, New York, family. He came to St. Louis previous to 1840. His first home was in a choice residence neighborhood on Collins near Main street, half a dozen blocks north of his wholesale dry goods store on Main and Market streets. He moved to Twelfth street and later to Twenty-eighth street. His third home at the time he made it was considered a country place. But he lived there long enough to see it the center of the choicest residence section and then to become unfashionable.

In the public buildings of St. Louis architecture and material have varied widely. The court house, which was begun in 1839, and upon which \$1,200,000 was expended, was planned to be semi-classic in the form of a Greek cross, with a dome that was accepted as a model by architectural critics. Maine granite was the material employed in the Federal building. Cream colored Joliet stone was used with not admirable effect for the Four Courts, a building which in some lines suggested the Louvre of Paris, with mansard wings and a cupola. The building cost three-quarters of a million of dollars, and proved to be as shocking as the court house was satisfactory in taste and utility. The city hall was classed as Victorian Gothic in style, built of stone and at a cost of \$2,000,000. Built in the form of quadrangles, of red granite, in Tudor-Gothic style, the

buildings of Washington University have been pronounced by visitors among the most pleasing structures of St. Louis.

A reservoir on top of one of the mounds was the beginning of water works for St. Louis. The mound selected was east of Broadway, not far from Ashley street. It was adjoining the home of General Ashley, one of the show places of St. Louis in 1830. About that year the movement for water works obtained practical form. This reservoir held 230,000 gallons, which, according to contemporaneous comment, was "amply sufficient for the wants of the city of that period." The water was pumped from the river into this reservoir a distance of about four blocks. Before 1840 an increase in the capacity of the reservoir was necessary. It was 60,000 gallons. The city had grown in ten years from 6,000 to 16,000.

The next decade, from 1840 to 1850, sent the population up from 16,000 well toward the 100,000 mark. The water problem became serious. As a temporary expedient, wooden walls were erected to increase the capacity of the mound reservoir to 400,000 gallons. This was soon inadequate as to capacity. Moreover, it lacked the pressure to distribute the water to all parts of the city. A mile or more to the westward, north of Cass avenue, about Twenty-second street, the city obtained a site and built a reservoir with walls of masonry to hold 7,900,000 gallons. Almost before that was finished plans were made for a reservoir to contain 32,000,000 gallons. The engines worked night and day to meet the demand. In 1854 the city was using 3,500,000 gallons a day. That year St. Louis had forty miles of water pipe. A new industry had been born. Until about 1847 water pipe was brought to St. Louis from iron works up the Cumberland or the Ohio river. John Stacker obtained the first contract to supply the city with water pipe. In 1846 or 1847 the Garrisons proposed to manufacture water pipe and were encouraged by an order from the city. That was six-inch to ten-inch pipe. In 1849 Palm & Robinson began to make twenty-inch pipe. Two years later Graham & Co. became water pipe makers. Peter Brooks was highly complimented in the newspapers when he had completed his addition to the water works in 1843. The addition was described as "one hundred feet each way and twelve feet deep." It was constructed of planks and was "caulked and pitched" like the hull of a steamboat.

Mayor Krum proposed, in 1848, an aggressive policy of street paving. He urged the council to grade and macadamize a large number of streets in what today is the business part of the city. Twenty-five of the principal physicians united in a protest against macadam. They said:

The undersigned, being requested to express their opinion as to the effects produced on the public health by the dust which arises in such large quantities from the macadamized streets in St. Louis in dry weather and fills the atmosphere, beg leave to state,—

First, that it is extremely deleterious to the eyes, producing inflammation of those organs.

Second, that being inhaled into the air passages, it produces various diseases of those parts, such as chronic laryngitis, bronchitis, consumption, etc.

Thirty feet for streets was considered ample so long as St. Louis was east of Fourth street. When J. B. C. Lucas and Auguste Chouteau laid out their additions westward from Fourth street they adopted sixty feet as the standard for the east and west streets. The supervising architect of the

Treasury, Mr. Mullett, came to St. Louis to see the site of the postoffice. He was serious when he saw Olive and Locust, Eighth and Ninth streets. He proposed to all of the property holders opposite the site to draw back their building lines nine feet, the government to do the same with its building lines. Mr. Mullett's suggestion was unanimously rejected with scorn. The custom house was cut down so that its walls were set back from twenty to thirty feet from the street lines. That is the way the spacious sidewalks in front of the postoffice came about.

The narrowness of the streets of the business section of St. Louis did not impress itself when they were occupied by residences. It was the custom upon most of these streets, especially the cross streets, to set back the residences behind a little grass plot. Then the street seemed wide enough.

Early in the decade of 1850-1860 the people of St. Louis awoke to the drain upon the city treasury by street improvements. The municipality was spending \$40,000 a year in such betterments. To stop this the Legislature passed an act providing that the original improvement of streets must be at the expense of the property through which they are made.

North St. Louis was a town independent of St. Louis when laid out in 1816. William Christy, William Chambers and Thomas Wright were the creators. They set apart a market place, a school location and church site. The bounds of the town of North St. Louis were the river, Twelfth, Madison and Montgomery streets. In 1841 North St. Louis was annexed.

South St. Louis was something more definite than geographical. The name belonged legally and officially to an addition of the city dedicated in 1836 by between twenty and thirty property holders. The territory included was from the hospital on the north to the workhouse on the south.

Highland was a village adjacent to St. Louis in 1848. The founder was John R. Shepley. Highland lay between what are now Jefferson and Leffingwell avenues, Laclede avenue and Eugenia street. Seven years after it was laid out Highland was absorbed by St. Louis.

Fairview was an addition to the city in 1848. It was in the southwestern suburbs between Rosati and Morton, Sidney and Victor streets.

In 1849 Lowell was laid out as a suburb. It extended from Bellefontaine road to the river and from Grand avenue to what is now Adelaide avenue. E. C. Hutchinson, Josephine Hall, Edward F. Pittman, Robert Hall and William Garrett were among the founders. Lowell had an independent existence until 1876, when it became a part of St. Louis.

Evans Place was an addition of twelve blocks north of Page and between Prairie and Taylor avenues. The Evans family with Montgomery Blair dedicated the ground.

Fair Mount was a well elevated tract of twenty-five blocks in the northwestern part of the city. It was brought in as an addition in 1869. The boundaries were King's Highway, Macklind avenue, Bischoff and Northrup avenues.

Rock Point was an addition to the city by Stephen D. Barlow as executor of the will of W. C. Carr. It was dedicated in 1853, having a front on the river between Dorcas and Lynch streets and extending back to Carondelet avenue, now Broadway.

Rock Springs was an independent village in the western suburbs before the war. It was laid out by John B. Sarpy in 1852 and brought into the city in 1876.

Rose Hill was the name which the Gambles, D. C. and Hamilton, gave to an addition they platted to the northward of Cabanne. The nineteen blocks included were between Union avenue and Hodiamont and lay in a body south of Easton avenue, or the St. Charles Rock road, as it was called when the addition was established in 1871. The building up of Rose Hill, making it one of the most populous sections of the city, has been a feature of the rapid extension of the residence movement westward since the World's Fair.

Henry Clay came to St. Louis in 1846 to conduct a sale of real estate. The land which he owned was known as "Clay's old orchard tract." It was about 220 acres. The statesman subdivided it into tracts of from five to forty acres and offered it for sale. He appeared at the court house door on the day set and made a few remarks to the assembled citizens about the land. He stated that he wished to reserve a single bid for himself. Several of the choicest pieces were offered for bids. Mr. Clay's reserved bid was announced to be \$120 per acre. Nobody was willing to raise that bid. Mr. Clay then offered the whole tract for \$100 an acre. He was quite disappointed at the lack of activity on the part of the crowd. Three years after Mr. Clay endeavored to sell the land at \$100 an acre, a considerable portion of it sold at an average of \$250 per acre and in 1853, seven years after Mr. Clay's visit, sixty acres of this land sold at \$450 an acre. In 1857, another piece of the tract sold at \$1,050 an acre. In 1859, thirteen years after Mr. Clay's offer of the land, some of it sold at \$2,000 per acre. A part of Mr. Clay's tract is embraced in Calvary cemetery.

The buying and selling of real estate became a distinctive vocation in St. Louis about 1848. Previous to that time the real estate agent, save in connection with other business, was not known. Leffingwell and Elliott opened a real estate office. Contrary to expectation, they continued to do business. Hiram W. Leffingwell was of Massachusetts birth. He taught school, studied law, surveyed land and raised wheat before he came to St. Louis and dealt in real estate. Although Mr. Leffingwell was probably the pioneer real estate man in transactions of magnitude, John Byrne, Jr., began in a modest way somewhat earlier. His office was in a little building on Chestnut street near Fourth. It was established in 1840. Chestnut street has always been Real Estate Row. In nearly seventy years, the business has moved due westward along that street and over "the Hill" only a few blocks. John Byrne, Jr., was a New York city boy. He came to St. Louis just after the panic of 1837 and tried the dry goods business two years. Eugene Kelley kept a neighboring store at the same time, but went back to New York and founded a great banking house.

The first great auction sale of St. Louis realty was that of the Stoddard addition. It realized \$701,676. The prices for these Stoddard addition lots were considered quite satisfactory. Ground at Locust and Beaumont brought fifteen dollars a foot. The same price was paid for the corner of Franklin and Ewing avenues. At Washington and Garrison avenues the successful bid was five dollars and seventy-four cents a front foot. At Lucas and Ewing

James H. Harrison, Esq. of the United States of America,
 To all to whom these presents shall come, greeting;

Know ye, that although I have and lawfully under the legal title and claim
 (and) having obtained in the necessary records of the Public Records of Land Titles at St.
 Louis, Missouri, that in former times, from the 1st of August, 1807, until the
 31st of October, 1807, I was, by the laws of the State of Missouri, the said State of Missouri is
 considered his claim under the original document of purchase in a tract of land containing one thousand and
 thirty one acres of land situated on the West bank in the District of St. Louis, in the said State of Missouri, and
 of the said State of Missouri, that is to say, beginning at a large iron fence which the said land will bear with you, and
 and a small lower north, in every direction, and an old iron fence, your mother and mine, with the
 great and old iron fence, running thence north, seventy and eight degrees, forty five minutes, and
 to eight, thence south, seventy and eight degrees, forty five minutes, eight, thence south, seventy, five degrees, you
 by your mother and old iron fence, seventy, five degrees, eight, thence south, seventy, five degrees, you
 seventy one lands to eight, thence south, seventy, five degrees, eight, thence south, seventy, five degrees, you
 thence north, seventy, five degrees, eight, thence south, seventy, five degrees, eight, thence south, seventy, five degrees, you
 forty five degrees, eight, thence south, seventy, five degrees, eight, thence south, seventy, five degrees, you
 to a distance of thence north, thirty nine degrees, thirty minutes, and eight degrees, eight, thence south, seventy, five degrees, you
 and thirty nine degrees, thirty nine degrees, thirty nine degrees, eight, thence south, seventy, five degrees, you
 may be conveyed by the survey of the said survey, for the boundary of the said tract, and to be granted by the United
 States to the said James H. Harrison, in the tract of land and the said claim, do here and to hold the said tract of land
 with the of the said James H. Harrison and his heirs and assigns forever.

By testimony whereof, I have caused these presents to be written, signed, and
 the seal of the said land office to be hereunto affixed.

James H. Harrison

AUGUST CHOUTEAU'S TITLE TO ONE THOUSAND ACRES IN MILL CREEK
 VALLEY CONFIRMED BY THE UNITED STATES AFTER THE
 ACQUISITION OF LOUISIANA TERRITORY

avenues and at Lucas and Leffingwell avenues the highest bids were ten dollars a foot. Within eight years, in 1859, this same Stoddard addition property went up to sixty and one hundred dollars a front foot.

When Stoddard addition was laid out Leffingwell and Elliott had a sharp controversy with some of the owners of the land embraced in the large subdivision. These owners wanted the maximum of front feet and the minimum of depth. They stood for narrow streets and shallow lots. The real estate men insisted on plotting for a large city with wide streets, deep lots and spacious alleys. They had their way by the exercise of considerable persuasion. At that time, September 10, 1851, Commodore Perry's victory on Lake Erie was observed annually in St. Louis. One year a reproduction of the battle was given on Chouteau's pond. The real estate men chose the anniversary for the beginning of the three days' sale of auction lots in Stoddard addition.

Richard Smith Elliott, who came to St. Louis in 1843, described St. Louis as it was in that year:

We spent the winter of 1843-4 in St. Louis and took boarding first in the then outskirts of the city, in the brick mansion owned by Mrs. John Perry, on the corner of Sixth and Locust streets. Luther M. Kennett was building the first marble front ever in St. Louis on the next lot north, but folks generally thought it was rather far away from business, then mostly transacted on the Levee, Main and Second streets. From our windows we could look westward to a clump of forest trees at Eighteenth and St. Charles streets and could see the camp of some Indians on a friendly visit to Colonel Mitchell, the superintendent. Beyond the Indian camp were farms. I had very little to do and often strolled away up Sixth and Seventh streets where but few houses obstructed the view and I sometimes went even as far as Chouteau's pond, and would look at the outside of the old stone mill, in which ten years later I aided to start the first stone sawing by steam in St. Louis, and would try to imagine what a nice cascade the water trickling over the mill dam would make if there was only enough of it. Mr. Renshaw's lone mansion was at the corner of Ninth and Market, but there was little if any city growth beyond. On Morgan street and Franklin avenue, I was told that I could get lots at seven or eight dollars a foot. I did not think it worth while to regret that I had no money to buy with.

About 1850, St. Louis real estate men laid out what was designed to give this city the finest drive in the world. The closely built residence section at that time extended not far west of Seventh street. Leffingwell and Elliott were civil engineers. They took the ridge which is now traversed by Grand avenue, laid out a roadway along the crest from Carondelet to the river above Bremen, a distance of between twelve and fourteen miles. The route was natural for the purpose intended. It was without much change of elevation. Except for the descent across Chouteau's pond, the proposed roadway occupied high and commanding ground almost the entire route. The views from the proposed roadway were very fine, both eastward and westward. The real estate men went before the county court and asked for a condemnation of this roadway, which they called Grand avenue, making it either 120 or 150 feet wide. The members of the court were amazed. At that time the regulation width of a roadway in and about St. Louis was forty feet. After a great deal of arguing, the engineers and real estate men were able to obtain from the court favorable action on eighty feet. This was the beginning of the Grand avenue of today. If Leffingwell and Elliott and their associates had been successful they would have established a magnificent boulevard instead of the avenue only fairly adequate for the traffic of 1909.

"It will be the greatest street in America some day," Mr. Leffingwell used to say in 1850, as he pointed to the boulevard 120 feet wide laid down on the map which hung in his office. Mr. Lindell was one of the real estate owners who became deeply interested in the proposed boulevard. He laid out an addition near the Fair Grounds to conform to the plan. Thereupon Mr. Leffingwell named the boulevard "Lindell avenue." But when the county court reduced the width to eighty feet the name was changed to "Grand avenue."

The Lindells were from Maryland, Worcester county. The first of them received a grant of land and came over from England long before the American Revolution. His son, John, became famous as a successful farmer. Peter Lindell, a grandson of the founder of the family in Maryland, left the farm and became a trader on the Ohio river. Owning his own boat and stocking it with goods, he made stops wherever there were settlers. In exchange for his goods he took furs, pelts, hemp and tobacco. When the stock of goods was exhausted, and the boat was loaded with products, Peter Lindell made a trip to Pittsburg, and turned over his cargo for more goods and some money. In two years the business had developed so well that Peter sent for his brother, John Lindell, and later another brother, Jesse Lindell, was taken into the trading syndicate. The Lindells became well known all along the Ohio. In 1811, Peter Lindell gave up the floating trade and established himself as a merchant in St. Louis, opening a store on Main street. In a short time he made a great impression upon the community of 1,500 people by building three brick houses. As he made money from his store, he put it into real estate.

Peter Lindell was a man of splendid physique. In company with Mr. Collier he made a trip to the eastern cities. The two St. Louisans stopped for the night at a roadside cabin near Shawneetown. As they went in Mr. Collier was recognized by a desperado whom he had offended some time before. The fellow declared his intention to kill Mr. Collier and started for his gun. Mr. Lindell interfered, and with his fists administered such a thrashing that there was no further trouble.

In 1826 Peter Lindell retired from mercantile life and devoted himself to his real estate business. He lived many years a retired life, one of the wealthiest men of the city, but known personally to few people. When his brothers died he took upon himself the care of their families. In times of financial stress he came to the rescue of more than one man seriously involved. But his good acts of generosity were unostentatious. By the justice of fate, long after his death, Peter Lindell's name was bestowed upon what has become one of the grandest city thoroughfares in this country.

Leffingwell labored through two generations to make Grand avenue a boulevard. He said this project promised one superiority over every similar thoroughfare in any other city. About 1887 he described it in this way:

Following the boulevards of other places you find but two material points of rest—the city at the point of departure, and at the far other end the public park as the point of termination. It is reserved to Grand avenue alone to boast a succession of no fewer than five public parks, all beautiful and some of them the finest in the country; of a bridge promising a magnificence of architecture equal to its gigantic proportions; of a botanical garden, the just pride of the entire west—and of water works and grounds which people travel hundreds of miles to see. That such a multitude of parks and public places have

since been located along the line which I projected in the pioneer days of '46 is a strong indorsement of the then selection, and, I may add, the most flattering compliment I ever received for the work.

Soon after the Grand avenue project was started, about 1850, Henry Shaw, carrying in one hand a bunch of roses, entered the real estate office of Leffingwell and Elliott on Chestnut street. A decade before he had retired from his hardware business and had taken up his residence for most of the year on a farm three miles southwest of the city. Pointing with his cane to a map of St. Louis and the boulevard which Mr. Leffingwell was proposing, Mr. Shaw remarked in the most casual way that he was going to create and maintain a botanical garden free for visiting citizens and strangers. He indicated the present location of the garden and added that he had in mind to lay out and present a park extending from the garden to the boulevard. That was the first announcement of the greatest gift of its kind made to any American city. Over half a century elapsed. The park of 300 acres, with its wonderful forestry, its statues in bronze of Shakespeare and Humboldt, its miles of drives and walks, its flower beds, reached a degree of landscape development and beauty such as no other part of the country could show. The botanical garden, with its library and herbarium, its plant houses, became known the world over. When the Universal Exposition of 1904 was held the daily record of visitors to the garden, kept by the director, Dr. William Trelease, followed exactly the increase and decrease of World's Fair attendance. There was the evidence of the widespread fame which "Shaw's Garden" had attained.

As early as 1816, three citizens, William Chambers, William Christy and Thomas Wright, set apart thirteen acres on the river front to become a park. They did not convey a complete title, but gave the land to the city in trust to be maintained as a park. Under trusteeship this land was to "remain a commons forever." It was expected to be a benefit to those who bought lots in the addition of Chambers, Christy and Wright. The city made some park improvements, but tired of the trusteeship. Although the courts sustained the city's control as against the heirs, the attempt to make a park out of Exchange Square, as it was called, was abandoned.

At the time when General Ashley bought his place of eight acres extending from Biddle to Bates street, the present Broadway, upon which he fronted, was called Federal avenue. The general placed in the front yard a fine fountain, the first seen in St. Louis.

Thornton Grimsley had so much to do with the selection of Lafayette Park, under the suggestion of Mayor Darby, that the place for some years went by the name of Grimsley's Folly. The conservative citizens of that day denounced Mayor Darby and Alderman Grimsley because the park was so large and so far from the settled part of the city.

The Fair Grounds tract was intended for a park over fifty years ago. At the time Henry Shaw was laying out his arboretum on the south side, John O'Fallon let it be known that he intended to donate sixty acres for a park in the northern suburbs. This was the older portion of the Fair Grounds lying west of Grand avenue and north of Natural Bridge road. Colonel O'Fallon mentioned his purpose in 1854. But before the gift to the city was consum-

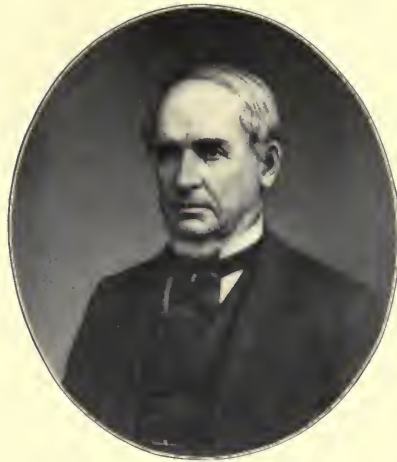
mated the Agricultural and Mechanical Association was organized. The tract was deemed especially suitable for fair grounds and was transferred to the organization.

A park proposition which in 1866 met with favor and to which the city council gave some consideration embraced twenty acres lying along Theresa avenue and extending across the Mill Creek valley from Market street to Chouteau avenue. A measure to buy the land was advocated, but it failed. The locality was a popular one when the city's growth was east of Beaumont street. Overlooking the proposed park tract was a suburban resort known as the Bellevue. Theophile Papin told in 1866 of having counted nearly twenty springs feeding the Chouteau mill pond. He described them as "fine, abundant wholesome fountains." With the expansion of the city westward and the draining of the pond all but two or three of these springs dried up or became choked so that they did not flow.

In 1871 Senator Henry J. Spaunhorst filed a bill before the Legislature for the establishment of a park which was to extend westward from King's Highway, covering much of the territory now embraced in Forest Park. This was to be named St. Louis Park; it was to be surrounded by avenues 150 feet wide, to be named respectively: East, West, North and South avenues.

The Forest Park movement became active in 1869 under the inspiration of H. W. Leffingwell, "the old gray eagle" of the real estate fraternity. A bill passed the Legislature in 1872. Just before that an acre and a quarter at the southeast corner of Lindell avenue and Kings Highway was in the market for \$2,800. No buyer would have it. The passage of the park act started one of the nearest approaches to a boom in the history of the real estate transactions of St. Louis. Would-be investors came from New York, Chicago, Cincinnati and Indianapolis to get in on the ground floor. They bargained for \$1,800,000 worth of St. Louis property most of the proposed purchases being conditional on the park bill going through. Real estate men were confident that the transactions would reach \$10,000,000 to \$12,000,000 in the year. A court decision adverse to the park act paralyzed the real estate market. Before the legal snarl was straightened, the panic of 1873 came on. St. Louis at length obtained the park, but the real estate harvest was spoiled by the delay.

In the 1,326 acres of Forest Park were twenty-nine parcels. They ranged from 294 acres down to lots. Charles P. Chouteau and Julia Maffitt were the owners of the 294 acres tract. Isabella DeMun owned another large tract. The appraisers valued the entire 1,326 acres at \$799,995. The appraisers were three real estate men, perhaps the best known of their day in St. Louis,—Theophile Papin, John G. Priest and Charles Green. The constitutionality of the act creating the park was tested in court. In the supreme court the act was sustained. Untrained vision sees at a glance Forest Park is diversified. The variation of altitudes is perhaps greater than can be found in any like area within the limits of St. Louis. At one place in Forest Park the surface is only twenty-two feet above the high water mark of 1844. This is in the valley of the Des Peres. Another place within the park is 175 feet above that high water mark. To put it differently, the altitudes of Forest Park vary over 150 feet.



OLIVER A. HART



THE OLD RUSSELL FARM

About Ninth street and Russell avenue, residence of Thomas Allen



MARCUS A. WOLFF



M. B. O'REILLY

A preliminary opening of Forest Park took place on the 29th of June, 1872. Vehicles carried the guests of the commissioners from downtown to a place under the trees a short distance from Kings Highway. In the current account of the celebration it was said:

"The place was very attractive; the trees are of oak, hickory, ash, walnut, elm, sassafras and sycamore, and the ground is rolling and smooth, with no underbrush, while the golden waters of the Des Peres flow near, and crystal springs gush boldly from the rocks." Speeches were made by Henry T. Blow, Carl Schurz, Frank P. Blair, H. C. Brockmeyer, H. W. Leffingwell, Stilson Hutchins and Nat C. Claiborne. Col. Claiborne gave Capt. Skinker, of Skinker road, the credit for the final selection of the site by the legislature at Jefferson City. He said:

Captain Skinker and Mr. Forsyth came up to Jefferson City. Mr. Gerhart came up with a project for the northern park. Mr. Skinker seeing the park was likely to go north, wrote a letter to Nicholas M. Bell, giving a highly poetic description of his location and recommending it as admirably adapted to a park. That letter contained more poetry than Byron, Moore and Milton ever dreamed of. When the bill for the park came up Mr. Skinker was told of the effect produced by his poetic letter. The bill passed.

Kings Highway from Forest Park northward affords, in 1911, one of the best illustrations of the city's Twentieth Century evolution. From the group of hotels and apartment houses at the park entrance, the boulevard passes several of the "Places" or private residence parks characteristic of St. Louis. Westmoreland and Portland Places have monumental gateways on the west side of Kings Highway and are half a mile in length bordered by mansions. Maryland Place and Hortense Place with their spacious grounds, are on the east. A couple of blocks north are several of the largest St. Louis churches, each distinctive in architecture. The First Church of Christ (Scientist) is of Renaissance design, set off with admirable landscape treatment. St. John's Methodist South follows a Fifteenth Century style, with two impressive facades. Temple Israel is a Greek temple of stone with columns and richly carved capitals. The interior is of Caen stone. The Second Baptist, with its church and chapel, two separate buildings and with the lofty campanile 215 feet high standing between them, is one of the most unique of St. Louis churches; it has a cloister in front and a closed arcade in the rear. The court between the church and chapel and between the arcade and cloister contains a pool and sunken garden. Tuscan Temple, an imposing Masonic structure, following with conscientious detail the Doric, completes this remarkable group of buildings.

Union avenue from Forest Park northward has become, in 1911, a mile of St. Louis culture. The object lesson begins with the monumental entrances of Westmoreland and Portland Places, their vistas eastward being long park strips between double driveways bordered by mansions. Then comes the most recent development in St. Louis architecture,—towering apartment houses. A few steps beyond to the westward, are the great gateways of Kingsbury Place and Washington Terrace, while eastward the Westminster and Washington boulevards seemingly narrow in the distance to lanes between the overhanging trees. A block farther on is a group of churches of widely varied architecture and creeds,—Christian, Unitarian and Congregational. In the midst of the group is the quaint club house and gallery of the Artists' Guild, also the home of the

Burns Club and of the Franklin Club. The Soldan High school has become famous as the best type of its class in this country. Beside the Soldan, also fronting a full block on Union, is the William Clark, the latest type of the grammar school class. The Cabanne Library is adjoining and opposite is St. Philomena, the academy of one of the Catholic sisterhoods. Only a block off of Union, on the west, are the Smith Academy and the Manual Training School of Washington University, and the Visitation Academy. The fine residences of Windermere and Cabanne Places are sandwiched in among these institutions. More apartment houses, a model police station and the great St. Ann Asylum occupy the remaining two or three blocks of this notable mile of New St. Louis.

Possibly one reason why St. Louis made slow progress with park projects in the early days was the good fortune enjoyed in respect to suburbs. No matter where the building line has been in the almost century and a half, St. Louis has been favored with beautiful suburbs. Flagg described what he found here in 1836:

The extent between the northern suburbs of St. Louis and its southern extremity along the river curve is about six miles, and the city can be profitably extended about the same distance into the interior. The prospect in this direction is boundless for miles around, till the tree tops blend with the western horizon. The face of the country is neither uniform nor broken, but undulates almost imperceptibly away, clothed in a dense forest of blackjack oak, interspersed with thickets of the wild plum, the crab apple and the hazel. Thirty years ago this broad plain was a treeless, shrubless waste, without a solitary farmhouse to break the monotony. But the annual fires were stopped; a young forest sprang into existence; and delightful villas and country-seats are now gleaming from the dark foliage in all directions. To some of them are attached extensive grounds adorned with groves, orchards, fishponds, and all the elegancies of opulence and cultivated taste; while in the distance are beheld the glittering spires of the city rising above the treetops. At one of these, a retired beautiful spot, I have passed many a pleasant hour. The sportsman may here be indulged to his heart's desire. The woods abound with game of every species; the rabbit, prairie hen, wild turkey, and the deer; while the lakes which flash from every dell and dingle, swarm with fish. Most of these sheets of water are formed by immense springs issuing from sinkholes and are supposed to owe their origin to the subsidence of the bed of porous limestone upon which the western valley is based. Many of these springs intersect the region with rills and rivulets, and assist in forming a beautiful sheet of water in the southern suburbs of the city. A dam and massive mill of stone was erected here by one of the founders of the city; it is yet standing surrounded by aged sycamores. The neighboring region is abrupt and broken, varied by a delightful vicissitude of hill and vale. The borders of the lake are fringed with groves, while the steep bluffs, which rise along the water and are reflected in its placid bosom, recall the picture of Ben Venue and Loch Katrine. This beautiful lake and its vicinity is indeed unsurpassed by any spot in the suburbs of St. Louis. At the calm, holy hour of Sabbath sunset its quiet borders invite to meditation and retirement. The spot should be consecrated as the trysting place of love and friendship. Some fine structures are rising upon the margin of the waters, and in a few years it will be rivalled in beauty by no other section of the city.

During the first half century the two great landmarks of the city were Chouteau's Pond and the Big Mound. They disappeared about the same time. Newspapers chronicled "The Last of Chouteau's Pond" in 1870. The pond was really a lake, covering over one hundred acres. The north shore was very irregular, extending from Seventh street and Clark avenue past the Collier White Lead factory. Just east of the lead factory an arm reached northward to Olive street



J. G. LINDELL



PETER LINDELL



MANSION OF JAMES H. LUCAS



THE EAST PIAZZA

Popular type of St. Louis residence
of 1909

between Tenth and Eleventh streets. Beyond the lead factory was a peninsular on which the Four Courts stands. This high ground projected into the pond directly southward and was occupied by the old Henry Chouteau mansion. The peninsular extended southward from Clark avenue to near Poplar street. Beyond Twelfth street the shore line of the pond extended northwest and west breaking into small arms. At its best the lake afforded a boating course of over one mile. The southern bank of the pond was made prominent by the high ground near 14th street. About Gratiot and Fourth streets the banks contracted in the early period and formed a narrow, rocky gorge, through which the waters flowed with considerable turbulence to the river. This was Mill creek. The rise of the Little river which fed the pond was at Rock Springs on the Manchester road, four miles from the court house. As late as 1840 Chouteau's Pond was a beautiful sheet of water, with high, grassy banks well shaded with forest trees. The water was clear and full of fish. On the bank was a free bath house for the boys. The groves around the grounds were favorite picnic resorts. In 1870 all that remained of the pond, long before partially drained, was a hole of dirty, stagnant water, diminishing as the ashes and garbage of the city were dumped on its edges.

About 1872, before the bridge was opened, a movement to widen Third street gained headway. From Locust street south to Carondelet avenue the proposition was to take twenty-five feet from the west side of Third. With this in view, the Chamber of Commerce was set back from the building line. Third street was to be the great banking and brokerage and commercial thoroughfare, extending from the bridge entrance to Chouteau avenue. The financial institutions of the city were to be anchored there for all time. The newspaper offices were expected to remain there. Five daily papers were located in as many blocks on Third street at the time the movement was inaugurated. The custom house and the telegraph offices were there. Of Third street widened, the capitalists of the city entertained great expectations.

When a community reaches the metropolitan stage of development and dignity, a financial artery becomes one of its essential and vital parts. The stature of any body politic may lengthen. The muscles may bulge. The stride may become bolder. The artery pulsates fuller and stronger, but it is fixed in its place. Threadneedle street is where and what it was in the London of generations ago. New York has never had but one Wall street. The Bourse of Paris will be the Bourse of Paris fifty years hence. Philadelphia has given Broad street a distinctive financial character which will continue. Chicago's wealth is massed on LaSalle street. Boston has her State street.

It comes about that within a short radius, perhaps upon a few blocks of a single street, the financial institutions of a city group themselves. Having settled upon the locality these institutions remain through the years. The business district expands. The residence sections in their successive annexations indulge in vagaries and surprises. Manufacturing suburbs come into being and thrive. Skyscraping office buildings do not huddle together. Their architectural nature is to scatter within certain bounds. The wholesale district is a law unto itself and no man can predict whither it goeth twenty years hence. But the financial aorta endures; it is a fixture in the community. It follows

no changing fashion or fancy of location. It is the organ of the municipal life which is the stayer.

The gravitation of banks, trust companies and stocks and bonds houses to Fourth and Fifth streets was one of the notable tendencies in the development of St. Louis. It was quiet and slow but steady and telling. A street known only by a numeral name has nothing of sentimental attraction. "Fourth street" was prosaic and non-suggestive. Broadway was borrowed. But in some mysterious way there have been drawn together within a few blocks north and south of Olive street great banks and trust corporations and many stocks and bonds houses, to say nothing of two scores of individual brokers.

Thirty years ago this character of Fourth street and Broadway was not foreshadowed in any degree. There were banks on Second street and Third street. Sixth street and Washington avenue had banks. Fourth street was without banks, and Broadway had only one or two financial institutions. Fourth street about 1870 was a street of quick financial activities. It abounded in institutions which received deposits not subject to check and which did a rapid business in discounts commonly called "rake offs." A certain state politician of high degree, a member of the legislature, had occasion to tell an investigating committee what disposition he had made of a roll of currency handed to him contemporaneously with some important legislation. He testified that he put the money in a bank. Pressed for particulars the statesman finally elaborated his answer; he said he meant "a faro bank."

Lower Fourth street was the street of gambling houses. Upper Fourth street was the retail shopping thoroughfare. Broadway was beginning to be worthy of its name. The complete change of character in the street has had its evolution within twenty years. Today the financial heart of the city centers on Fourth street and Broadway, between the court house and Washington avenue.

As a political subdivision St. Louis occupies a unique position among American cities. Thirty-four years ago the city and county of St. Louis were permitted by the state to separate. The city assumed all debts of the county and was relieved of all county government. The western limits of the city were made an arbitrary curved line with a general north and south direction. If there was more curvature of this line on the west and of the river on the east, St. Louis would be egg shaped. The river bends to the east and the boundary line curves to the west, but river and line meet in north and south points. The length of the city along the river is about twenty miles. The greatest width is about six miles and this is midway between the north and south ends or points.

Thirty-four years ago the limits of the city seemed to the wise men of that generation to be ample. If those separatists looked forward in imagination to a city greater than they had provided for they did not allow it to check their plans. Under a new charter St. Louis became a new political subdivision of the state. The county of St. Louis set up its own government without debt, establishing its county seat about two miles west of the new limits of St. Louis. A period of thirty years has brought about unforeseen conditions. In 1876 Grand avenue, or Thirty-sixth street, was the limit of the residence section with many square miles of unimproved ground east of it. West of Grand avenue

to the city limits stretched farm lands. In 1911 St. Louis has in proportion to the whole a smaller amount of unimproved ground within the present city limits than it had east of Grand avenue when the separation took place.

To the south, to the southwest, to the west and to the northwest the home building has passed over the arbitrary boundary of the city. Beyond that boundary have come into existence a half hundred of communities which are parts of the city of St. Louis in all the metropolitan utilities, but not politically. They are in St. Louis county, but their residents do business in and belong to the great city of St. Louis.

Through Happy Hollow meandered the water from Chouteau's pond after it had gone over the dam or the wheel. Happy Hollow was a tree-bordered ravine. It had its beginning west of the present Broadway and south of Spruce. The course was southwesterly toward the river about the foot of Chouteau avenue. To Happy Hollow the colored laundresses carried the family washing. Among the sycamores they stretched the lines. In the early morning they scrubbed. Toward nightfall they carried home the clothes, clean and dry. Taking the children with them, they made blue Monday an outing. Happy Hollow lingered a pleasant memory in local history after it ceased to be the town laundry.

A locality which retained its unofficial designation longer than most of the other sections was Kerry Patch. It was a strip of two or three blocks wide and extended from Biddle to Mullanphy street, along Seventeenth. Irish immigrants coming in great numbers about 1842 found this locality unoccupied commons. They built little houses without much regard to street lines and made themselves homes. Kerry is a part of Ireland famed for beautiful scenery. Its application to "the Patch" was hardly appropriate, but it clung.

Where Twelfth and Pine streets intersect ran a deep gully. Its beginning was about the present site of the Jefferson hotel. Curving through what is now City Hall square, the gully was a landmark of such proportions that the early settlers bestowed a name upon it. They called the gully "La Raceroe," because of its course, something like a great hook. The gully carried the flood waters of a considerable section into Chouteau pond.

Between Market and St. Charles streets, from Tenth to Twentieth street, was a well wooded section. It was called "Lucas' Grove."

Duncan's island, which came into existence long after St. Louis was founded, received its name from Bob Duncan, who built a cabin and filed a claim on it. At first it was a sand bar off Market street. The lower end grew until it was above the water level. Bushes appeared. The sand became soil which encouraged vegetable growth. David Adams, a noted hunter on the plains, took up his residence on the island.

Wilson Primm was considered the best authority on the familiar nomenclature of St. Louis and its suburbs. Judge Primm's explanation of River Des Peres was this:

A number of the religious order of Trappists or Monks from Canada had under the authority of the Bishop at Quebec, Canada, settled at Cahokia in what is now known as St. Clair county, Illinois. A few members of this order attracted by the beauty at the mouth of this stream, commenced the formation of an establishment there; but through fear of Indian depredation or fearful of sickness they abandoned the work which they

had begun. Henceforth the stream was known and called the Des Peres, the River of the Fathers.

Bonhomme, which is the name of the road lying along the ridge of University City, Clayton and beyond, was derived, according to Judge Primm, from the nickname of Joseph Herbert. This man lived in what is part of St. Louis county. He was easy going, honest, obliging and popular, so much so that the French settlers bestowed upon him the name of "Bonhomme" Herbert, being descriptive of his disposition. From the location of Herbert's place the Bonhomme road, Bonhomme township and Bonhomme creek received their names. Judge Primm thought in all probability the naming of the creek came first and that it was so called in Herbert's honor La Riviere au Bonhomme, which was anglicized into Bonhomme creek.

Creve Coeur, Judge Primm said, means a weight on the heart. It was named, according to the tradition which Judge Primm preserved, by reason of an expression made when Alexis and his wife moved out to the borders of the lake. Alexis had been a bellringer at the Catholic church in St. Louis in the colonial period. He took his wife to the new home on the shore of the lake. When she came into St. Louis after a year's residence in the wilds to visit her relatives they asked her how she liked her home. She replied in French that it was a weight on her heart. She meant that she missed the ringing of the church bells and felt doleful or depressed in the new surroundings. Some color is given to the tradition by the fact that Alexis and his dissatisfied wife moved back to St. Louis and Alexis resumed the old vocation of bellringer of the church on Walnut street.

Judge Primm held to the theory that St. Louis obtained the name of Paine-court from an old parish of that name in France. He said:

In early days this town was called "Paincourt," which in French literally means a loaf of bread that is short, or insufficient in length or of insufficient weight. This appellation may have been given it by way of derision on account of the nicknames which the St. Louisans gave to other towns, such as Misere to Ste. Genevieve, Viede Poche to Carondelet; but in reality it was the name of the parish in which the post of St. Louis was situated, as shown by the official records of the Spanish government. In France there is still a parish of that name.

Judge Primm in a description of the origin of the nickname applied to Carondelet vigorously combatted the tradition that Viede Poche meant empty pocket. He said that anyone who knew Carondelet under the Spanish government, and even long after the change of sovereignty, understood that the residents of that village were with rare exceptions the owners of land, were industrious and well to do. After they had gathered their crops they hauled fire wood to St. Louis and sold it to the early settlers. In the opinion of Judge Primm the name of Viede Poche was bestowed on Carondelet because the inhabitants of that village were better sportsmen than the people of St. Louis. On Sundays the St. Louisans were in the habit of going to Carondelet to race and play cards in the afternoon. Either the Carondelet men had faster horses or were better players, for the St. Louis visitors, Judge Primm said, generally returned home with emptied pockets. This was so often the case that when a St. Louisan was invited to visit Carondelet on Sunday afternoons he would reply in French, using the word Viede Poche in the sense to make his answer: "Of what use? It's a pocket emptier."



GEORGE I. BARNETT



J. E. KAIME



JOHN BYRNE, JR.



HOME OF GILES F. FILLEY
On Lucas place, before the Civil war



THE BRANT RESIDENCE
On Chouteau avenue. Headquarters in
war times, now a factory

Old St. Louis is seen in a street car ride to Carondelet, the pioneer settlement which was started only a few years after St. Louis and which maintained its town and city individuality through three generations before it yielded to annexation. Many of the buildings of Carondelet are from fifty to seventy-five years old.

The tradition that the Indians gave the name of Meramec to the river because it abounded in catfish, Judge Primm was inclined to believe on the testimony given him by Captain Samuel Knight, who was his neighbor and a farmer and fisherman. Captain Knight said to Judge Primm that in the fall of the year 1820 while he was out deer hunting he wandered to the mouth of the Meramec river. The water was so clear that objects at or near the bottom were plainly discernible. There he saw great numbers of catfish, so many that they actually dammed the river. These catfish, Captain Knight said, were lying side by side as close to each other as the fingers of the hand, their heads in a line, occupying the entire space from shore to shore; they were motionless; they made no attempt to seize the small fish which swam near them. Captain Knight said he mentioned this astonishing spectacle to Ben Fine, McGregor Fine and John Horne, who had lived for years near the mouth of the Meramec, and that they informed him they had seen the same curious spectacle every fall during their residence there. The name of the river has been given in various forms of spelling in the history of St. Louis, but the way commonly used is Meramec. Judge Primm said that this way was slightly inaccurate, that the proper spelling should be M-a-r-a-m-e-c, which was the form used during the Spanish regime.

THE CHOUTEAU HOUSE.

Touch not a stone! An early pioneer
 Of Christian sway founded his dwelling here,
 Almost alone.

Touch not a stone! Let the Great West command
 A hoary relic of the early land;
 That after generations may not say,
 "All went for gold in our forefathers' day,
 And of our infancy we nothing own."
 Touch not a stone!

Touch not a stone! Let the old pile decay,
 A relic of the time now pass'd away,
 Ye heirs who own
 Lordly endowment of the ancient hall,
 Till the last rafter crumbles from the wall,
 And each old tree around the dwelling rots,
 Yield not your heritage for "building lots."
 Hold the old ruin for itself alone;
 Touch not a stone!

Built by a foremost Western pioneer,
 It stood upon St. Louis' bluff to cheer
 New settlers on.
 Now o'er it tow'r majestic spire and dome,
 And lowly seems the forest trader's home;
 All out of fashion, like a time-struck man,
 Last of his age, his kindred and his clan,
 Lingered still, a stranger and alone—
 Touch not a stone!

Spare the old house! The ancient mansion spare,
 For ages still to front the market square—
 That may be shown,
 How those old walls of good St. Louis rock,
 In native strength, shall bear against the shock
 Of centuries! There shall the curious see,
 When like a fable shall our story be,
 How the Star City of the West has grown!
 Touch not a stone!

—M. G. FIELD, New Orleans, Picayune, about 1833.

CHAPTER XXII.

IN THE LIFE OF THE NATION

St. Louis and the American Revolution—George Rogers Clark's Tribute—Francis Vigo's Part in the Taking of Vincennes—Patriotic Father Gibault—The Republican Spirit of St. Louis—Bishop Robertson's Historical Researches—The British Attack of 1780—The Haldimand-Sinclair Correspondence—Pascal Cerre's Recollections—Revelations from Canadian Archives—Beausoleil's Midwinter Expedition to Michigan—Jefferson's Secret Investigation at St. Louis Before the Cession—Lucas Chosen for a Delicate Mission—Aaron Burr's Advances Repulsed by St. Louisans—Deciding Vote in Election of President Adams—To the Everglades—St. Louis' Help for William Henry Harrison—In the Mexican War—Wonderful Deeds of the Laclede Rangers—Zachary Taylor's Newspaper Nomination—The Dred Scott Case—St. Louisans in the Civil War—An Army of Home Guards Besides 15,310 Volunteers in the Field—Price's Vanguard Within Present City Limits—Careers of Lyon and Frost—A Dream of Border Neutrality—Camp Jackson—"The Last Man and the Last Dollar" for the Union—St. Louis Radicals at the White House—Recollections of Enos Clarke—The Twentieth Century Club—Genesis of the Liberal Republican Movement—Gratz Brown's Leadership—The Mistake of 1872.

The difference between St. Louis and Chicago, Cincinnati and New Orleans, is not only, or mainly, that of larger and smaller, but that of origin, of history, of relative constituent elements in the sources of pride and in the social and other problems to be met. . . . This city has a life, a history, an influence upon the Mississippi Valley all its own.—*Bishop C. F. Robertson.*

"Our friends, the Spaniards are doing everything in their power to convince me of their friendship," George Rogers Clark wrote from St. Louis in July, 1778. Here the Hannibal of the west found money, gunpowder and clothing secretly stored and awaiting delivery to help the American cause. The wonderful exploits of George Rogers Clark and his 350 Virginians and Kentuckians in 1778 and 1779 are thrilling chapters of American histories. Scarcely mentioned in these histories is the fact that before he started on his campaign, Clark sent two of his trusted lieutenants to St. Louis to sound sentiment toward the American colonies and to determine in what degree the leading men of the community could be depended upon for cooperation. After he received the encouraging reports from St. Louis, George Rogers Clark started down the Ohio to make his bloodless capture of the British post, Kaskaskia, July 4, 1778.

Very practical was the sympathy with which St. Louisans redeemed the promises they had given to George Rogers Clark's advance agents. A St. Louisan, Francis Vigo, made the trip to Vincennes and brought back to Clark the information he needed to make the expedition against that British post successful. As Vigo was leaving Vincennes to return the British stopped him. He asserted his right as a resident of St. Louis. A pledge that "on his way to St. Louis he would do no act hostile to British interest" was required. Vigo came back direct to St. Louis. He had barely landed when, having fulfilled the pledge, he jumped back into his boat and went as fast as he could to Kaskaskia with the news that the French were waiting to welcome the Americans and that Vincennes could be taken. Clark made repeated visits to St. Louis before he

started in February, 1779, across the Illinois prairies. He needed money and provisions. St. Louis raised nearly \$20,000 for the little American army. Father Gibault, the priest who alternated between St. Louis and Kaskaskia, gave his savings of years,—\$1,000. When the expedition, with recruits from St. Louis and Cahokia and Kaskaskia, marched away to the eastward, Father Gibault and his Kaskaskia parishoners knelt and prayed for American success at Vincennes. Fifteen months later the firing line of American independence ran along the stone, brush and log ramparts of St. Louis.

The St. Louis of 1764-1780 came well by its Americanism. For two or three generations, the governors-general at New Orleans had been writing home to the French government about the growth of a republican spirit. The youth who came out to New France with the intention of bettering their material condition brought with them the theories and the arguments that were spreading in France. Governors-general complained and warned that the tendencies threatened to make trouble. Laclède came from the Pyrennees with companions at a time when revolt against monarchy was in many minds. As he grasped the opportunity to found his settlement he drew to him some of the lower Louisiana people who had become imbued with republican ideas but more of Canadian and Illinois parentage, to whom the ties with the mother country were traditional rather than positively loyal. Had numbers made the revolution of Lafreniere at New Orleans successful, there is no doubt the self-governing, self-developing community of St. Louis would have been found quickly in line and heartily in spirit with the new nation. St. Louis in the first six years of its existence progressed farther than any other community of the continent toward what were to be American ideals.

The late Bishop C. F. Robertson, of the diocese of Missouri, became deeply interested in what St. Louisans did to aid the American colonies during the Revolution. He was especially impressed with the services rendered in 1778 by Francis Vigo, of whom he wrote :

There had been resident in St. Louis for several years Colonel Francis Vigo, an Italian by birth, but one who had been in the Spanish military service. He had, however, left the army and was engaged in the Indian trade on the Missouri and its tributaries, much respected in St. Louis, and enjoying the confidence of the governor in the highest degree. A Spaniard in his allegiance, he was under no obligation to assist us, but, on the other hand, as his country was at peace with Great Britain, any breach of neutrality on his part towards that country would subject him to loss and vengeance. But in spite of all this, from his attachment to Republican principles and sympathy with a people struggling for their rights, Colonel Vigo overlooked all personal consequences, and so soon as he had heard of Clark's arrival at Kaskaskia, he left St. Louis, crossed the line, went down there and tendered his means and influence, both of which were gladly accepted. Knowing Colonel Vigo's influence with the inhabitants of the country, and desirous of gaining some information from Vincennes, from which he had not heard for some months, Colonel Clark proposed to Vigo that he should go and learn the actual condition of things at the post. Colonel Vigo immediately started with but one servant, but on approaching Vincennes was captured by a party of Indians and brought to Governor Hamilton, who was then in possession of the place. Being a Spaniard and non-combatant, he could not be confined, but was only compelled to report himself every morning. He learned the condition of the garrison, its means of defense, and the position of the town.

In the meantime, Hamilton was embarrassed by the detention of Vigo, and the French inhabitants threatened to stop the supplies unless he was released. The governor consented,

on condition that Vigo should sign an article "not to do any act during the war injurious to British interests." He refused to sign this, and the pledge was modified, "not to do anything injurious to British interests on his way to St. Louis." Colonel Vigo put his name to this, and the next day departed down the Wabash and the Ohio, and up the Mississippi, with two voyagers accompanying him. He faithfully kept the very letter of his bond. On his way to St. Louis he did "nothing injurious to British interests." But he had no sooner set foot on shore, and changed his clothes, than in the same pirogue he hastened to Kaskaskia and gave the information by means of which Clark was enabled to capture Hamilton and the most important post of Vincennes.

A citizen of St. Louis had thus an influential part in bringing to success a result than which few others have done more to shape all the fortunes of the west.

More than this, when Colonel Clark came to Kaskaskia, it was with great difficulty that the French inhabitants could be persuaded to take the Continental paper which alone Clark and his soldiers had with them for money. Peltries and French coins were the only currency used by the simple inhabitants. It was not until Colonel Vigo, the adopted citizen of St. Louis, went there and gave a guarantee on his property for the redemption of this paper that Colonel Clark could, with difficulty, induce the unsophisticated Frenchmen to take the currency. Even then twenty dollars of this Continental currency had only the purchasing power of one silver dollar. The *doubleur*, as they called the dollar, meant pain and grief to them.

It was only by such aid that Colonel Clark was enabled to maintain the posts which he had conquered on the Wabash and the Mississippi until the close of the war, by which he saved to the nation the vast territory lying between the Ohio and the Lakes.

Colonel Vigo, at the close of the war, had on hand more than twenty thousand dollars of the worthless Continental money for which he had surrendered his property and for which, to the end of his life, he never received one penny. He was given a draft on Virginia, which was dishonored, and died almost a pauper, holding the same dishonored draft in his possession. After his death the state of Virginia acknowledged the justice of the claim, and furnished evidence to prove that it was one of the liabilities assumed by the general government in consideration of the act of cession of the land to it by the state.

Mention ought also to be made of Father Gibault, who lived at Vincennes, but who had the curacy at Kaskaskia and who was there when Clark took possession of the place. He it was who was influential in procuring the release of Colonel Vigo from his detention at Vincennes, and who joined with him in contributing from his cattle and his tithes for the maintenance of the American troops, without which aid they must either have surrendered or abandoned their enterprise. Judge Law says, that next to Clark and Vigo the United States are more indebted to Father Gibault for the accession of the states comprised in what was the original Northwestern Territory than to any other man.

American historians have given little or no international significance to the British attack upon St. Louis. When they refer to it, they call it an attempted Indian massacre. This is readily explained. Record evidence regarding the attack, from the St. Louis side, is wanting. Recently more has been learned. The source has been the Canadian archives. It abundantly verifies the hitherto doubted assertions of Reynolds in his History of Illinois that the expedition was planned and conducted by the British.

The commandant at St. Louis was Don Ferdinand de Leyba. He had been in office less than two years when the attack occurred. He refused to believe that there was any danger. Only a few days before he sold a considerable portion of the powder on hand. When the alarm was given Don Ferdinand hid in the government house. Such orders as he hastily issued were confusing and harmful to the defenders. The Spanish garrison, under Cartabona remained in the fort. When the fright was over the sturdy French settlers called Don

Ferdinand a traitor. It is more probable that he was a weakling. On the 26th of May the British and their Indian allies attacked. On the 27th of June Governor Leyba died. He was buried the next day in the graveyard on Second and Walnut streets. If he left an official report of the affair of the 26th of May, it has never been discovered. By word-of-mouth the St. Louis narrative was handed down. This included the rumor without details that Don Ferdinand killed himself. The French settlers had won a great victory, one of far reaching consequences. They did not know it. They realized that they had saved their homes from savages. From this point of view they told their children the story of "the great blow."

In local annals it became "L'anne du grande coup." More than a century was to pass before "the year of the great blow" obtained its full historical significance. In the Carolinas the tide had turned against the British. In 1778-9 George Rogers Clark had occupied Kaskaskia with his Virginians. He had made friends with the Spanish officers and with the French settlers at St. Louis. Francis Vigo, a Sardinian by birth, had brought to Clark the information that Vincennes might be taken by a quick march across the prairies of Illinois. Vigo with Charles Gratiot, the Swiss, and Gabriel Cerre had backed Clark with money and credit. Frenchmen from St. Louis and Cahokia had enlisted for the expedition with the handful of Virginians. The French women of Cahokia had made the flags for the American allies to carry. Vincennes had fallen. Its British commander, General Hamilton, "the hair buyer," they called him because he paid Indians for American scalps, had been sent a prisoner to Virginia. These events in rapid succession preceded the attack of the Indians on St. Louis—"the great blow"—of 1780.

This attack was attributed at the time to British influence, but historians have been inclined to treat the affair as "a raid by the savages inhabiting the northern lake country incited by guerillas, probably for plunder." Quite recently, within the past four years, copies of important documents from the Canadian archives, coming into possession of the Missouri Historical Society, have revealed the facts about the expedition against St. Louis.

Pencour is the name given to St. Louis in all of these documents. Patt Sinclair, as he signed himself, lieutenant-governor of Michilimackinac, organized the expedition. He reported from time to time the progress and results to the British general, Frederick Haldimand, in command at Quebec. From these documents it is made apparent that the movement directed by Sinclair was to be general against St. Louis, Kaskaskia, and other Illinois settlements. The recovery of Vincennes was even contemplated. Anticipating the easy capture of St. Louis, Sinclair intended the column sent in that direction to proceed down the river capturing and destroying the settlements as far down as possible.

How much Haldimand and Sinclair had staked on this expedition against St. Louis the later correspondence between them showed. On the Atlantic seaboard the British for a year and more had carried on their most active operations against the southern colonies. They held Savannah and had overrun part of Georgia. Their armies were in the Carolinas. The policy was to move northward from Georgia, making use of the slave conditions as an element of weakness to the American patriots. The British leaders thought in this way to sub-

due colony after colony. Their plan to cut the colonial military strength into parts by taking possession of the Hudson and a line of communication with Canada had failed signally after the defeat at Saratoga.

With the British navy and land forces concentrating about Savannah and Georgia, Haldimand and Sinclair counted upon a naval demonstration against the mouth of the Mississippi and New Orleans, at the same time that their forces of Canadians and Indians swept southward down the Mississippi and the Illinois and over the prairies between the Mississippi and the Wabash. It was a campaign well thought out. It enlisted more than the military element. It appealed to the self-interest of the Canadian fur traders. The savagery and rapacity of the Indians were inflamed.

Had the plans of Haldimand and Sinclair succeeded, had St. Louis fallen, had the naval demonstration by the British fleet been made against New Orleans, the war of the Revolution would have left the west bank of the Mississippi, the whole Louisiana Territory, under the British flag.

But even while Sinclair was informing Haldimand of the details of intended occupancy of St. Louis and other places on the west side of the Mississippi, the expedition had failed, the three divisions were in full retreat. In the correspondence Sinclair refers to cypher messages. He also mentions, significantly the non-support of this expedition by the expected movement against New Orleans. Treachery among his own forces he gives as the cause of defeat.

Of the proposed "reduction of Pencour by surprise" Sinclair wrote confidently to Haldimand in February. He was assembling the expedition. The rendezvous was on the Upper Mississippi, at the mouth of the Wisconsin. Canoes and corn were collected. The Minominies, the Puants, the Sacs and the Rhenards were assembled. The force was not to start "until I send instruction by Sergeant Phillips of the Eighth Regiment." Sinclair contemplated not only the capture of St. Louis. He expected to hold it. He wrote:

The reduction of Pencour, by surprise, from the easy admission of Indians at that place, and by assault from without, having for its defense as reported, only twenty men and twenty brass cannons, will be less difficult than holding it afterwards. To gain both these ends, the rich fur trade of the Missouri river, the injuries done to the traders who formerly attempted to partake of it, and the large property they may expect in the place will contribute. The Seious will go with all dispatch as low down as the Natches, and as many intermediate attacks as possible shall be made.

In his next report, Sinclair told General Haldimand that the expedition had started down the Mississippi. In that body were 750 men, "including traders, servants and Indians."

Captain Langdale with a chosen band of Indians and Canadians will join a party assembled at Chicago to make his attack by the Illinois river, and another party is sent to watch the plains between the Wabash and the Mississippi.

I am now in treaty with the Ottawas about furnishing their quota to cut off the rebels at Post St. Vincents (Vincennes), but as they are under the management of two chiefs, the one a drunkard and the other an avaricious trader, I meet with difficulties in bringing it about. Thirty Saginah warriors are here in readiness to join them, and the Island band can furnish as many more.

Sinclair's announcement of the preliminary successes of his campaign reveals how St. Louis was cooperating with the American rebels:

During the time necessary for assembling the Indians at La Prairie du Chien, detachments were made to watch the river to intercept craft coming up with provisions and to seize upon the people working in the lead mines. Both one and the other were effected without any accident. Thirty-six Minominies have brought to this post a large armed boat, loaded at Pencour, in which were twelve men and rebel commissary. From the mines they had brought seventeen Spanish and rebel prisoners, and stopped fifty tons of lead ore. The chiefs Machiquavish and Wabasha have kindled this spirit in the western Indians.

In a postscript, after the several parties were well on the way to St. Louis and the Illinois country, Sinclair unfolds his plans for permanent possession:

Phillips, of the 8th Regiment, who has my warrant to act as lieutenant during your Excellency's pleasure, will garrison the fort at the entrance of the Missouri. Captain Hesse will remain at Pencour. Wabasha will attack Misere (Ste. Genevieve) and Kacasia (Kaskaskia).

All the traders who will secure the posts on the Spanish side of the Mississippi during the next winter have my promise for the exclusive trade of the Missouri during that time. The two lower villages are to be laid under contributions for the support of their garrisons, and the two upper villages are to send cattle to be forwarded to this place to feed the Indians on their return. Orders will be published at the Illinois for no person to go there, who looks for receiving quarter—and the Indians have orders to give none to any without a British pass. This requires every attention and support, being of utmost consequence.

Pascal Cerre's recollections of the attack represent fairly the impressions the St. Louisans received at the time. They were not committed to paper until 1846. And then through the interest of the historian, L. C. Draper. They show how little was known by the habitants of the plans leading up to the expedition. Cerre was seven years old at the time of which he speaks. His father was Gabriel Cerre, a merchant of St. Louis, who had moved over from Kaskaskia in 1779. The elder Cerre was one of the little group of St. Louisans who had outfitted George Rogers Clark to make his capture of Vincennes. Pascal Cerre told Draper that St. Louisans thought Jean Marie Ducharme got up the expedition against the settlement. The motive was revenge. Ducharme was a Canadian, a fur trader. In 1779 he had stolen up the Missouri river. He had established himself about twenty miles above Jefferson City, opposite what became known as Ducharme's island. There the Spanish soldiers found him, took his furs and goods away from him and sent him out of the country. Ducharme, as the Canadian archives show, did go with the British expedition but stands accused by Sinclair of "perfidy" and partial responsibility for the defeat. This is Pascal Cerre's account of the approach and the fighting:

At a place fourteen miles above St. Louis they left their canoes, and as they approached the object of their attack Ducharme divided his men into two detachments, one of which he himself headed and came down on the east side of the river. The other detachment took down on the west side of the river and posted themselves in ambush along the roads leading from St. Louis to the other settlements.

At the first alarm, just about midday, and many of the people at their dinners, a man ran through the town crying "To arms! To arms!" The people jumped from their tables greatly alarmed. The alarm gun was shot from the tower to warn the people who were at work out in the fields, and the women and children out after strawberries. Many of these were shot by the Indians secreted in the bushes by the roadside as they were fleeing to the town. Some of the Indians were quite near the town and killed one man between the big mound and the town. One French cart filled with these poor people put on the whip to their horses; seven of them were wounded as they passed the ambushed Indians, but they all got in. The attack lasted only that afternoon. Cerre doubts if as many as sixty or seventy of the people were killed, but is not certain about it.



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FIRST GOVERNMENT HOUSE AT ST. LOUIS
With flag flying from the staff in front of it

Ducharme's party, with some of their long and large bored muskets, fired over the river and actually made some of their balls rattle on the roofs of the houses of St. Louis, but the people did not attempt to return the fire; they had to watch the other nearer and more dangerous foe.

Louis, a negro, who afterwards was the property of Gabriel Cerre, was among the number caught out of St. Louis. He was chased by an Indian with gun and tomahawk, who rapidly gained on the negro. He, looking over his head and seeing the Indian very close to him, with tomahawk raised, concluded there was but one chance for him, and that was to fall prostrate upon the ground. He threw himself flat, and, as he had hoped, the Indian unable to suddenly check his speed, stumbled over him, and in the fall dropped his gun; this Louis quickly seized and before the Indian could recover himself Louis shot him and brought in the gun as a trophy of victory.

The Canadian archives preserve a version of the attack on St. Louis by an eye witness. This account written down as soon as the defeated expedition returned to Mackinaw is titled "Information of a William Brown." Although a prisoner of the British, Brown talked willingly. He owned up to having served as a hunter for the British lieutenant-governor, Hamilton, before Vincennes was taken by George Rogers Clark in 1778. Then he volunteered with Clark to fight the Shawnees but deserted and went to Misere (Ste. Genevieve). In March preceding the attack, Brown reached St. Louis, or Pencour as his statement to Sinclair has it. Brown was taken prisoner by the British allies about 300 yards from the hastily constructed defenses of St. Louis. This is what he told Sinclair:

About the latter end of March John Conn, a trader, went down the Mississippi with the report of an attack against the Illinois by that route. Upon the arrival of Conn, the Spaniards began to fortify Pencour. The report was afterwards confirmed by a French woman who went down the Mississippi. The woman mentioned was the wife of Monsignor Honroe. The post at the entrance of the Missouri was evacuated and the fort blown up, all the outposts called in, and the videttes of their cavalry (for all are mounted except the garrison) were placed around the village of Pencour. Platform cannon with a parapet were placed over a stone house. An intrenchment was thrown up and scouts sent out. Two days before the British detachment appeared before Pencour, Colonel Clark (George Rogers Clark) and another rebel colonel, we believe named Montgomery, arrived at Pencour, it was said, with a design to concert an attack upon Michilimackinac, but whether with that design or to repel the expected attack by the Mississippi it was agreed that one hundred from the west side and two hundred from the east side should be equipped and in readiness to march when ordered. We believe Clark and Montgomery to have been in the village of Cahokia when the Indians were beaten off. Colonel Montgomery, or some rebel officer, was killed with a private of the rebel troops who wore a bayonet marked 42nd Regiment. They imagined that no others were killed at the Cahokias as they filed off early to a rising ground lower down the river than the village, where all of the rebels were concealed in a stone house and could not be drawn out. Indeed, few stratagems were used, owing to Canadian treachery.

In the Spanish intrenchment numbers were killed, as the Indians occupied a ground which commanded the greatest part of it and made several feints to enter it in order to draw the Spanish from such part of the works as afforded them cover. Thirty-three scalps were taken on the west side and about twenty-four prisoners, blacks and white people. Great numbers of cattle were killed on both sides of the river. The inhabitants were very much spared by all of the Indians excepting the Winipigos and Scioux. They only scalped five or six who were not armed for the defense of the lines.

This is the story of eye witness Brown, as taken down for the British official records of the expedition against St. Louis.

Acknowledging Sinclair's bad news and accepting his version of the unsuccessful "attacks upon Pencour and the Cahokias" General Haldimand wrote from Quebec the 10th of August, 1780:

It is very mortifying that the protection Monsieur Calve and others have received should meet so perfidious and so ungrateful return. The circumstances of his and Monsieur Ducharme's conduct, you are best acquainted with and to you I leave to dispose of them as they deserve. If you have evident proof of their counteracting or retarding the operations committed to their direction, or in which they were to assist, I would have them sent prisoners to Montreal.

"I am glad to find," continued Haldimand, "that although our attempts proved unsuccessful, they were attended by no inconsiderable loss to the enemy." The congratulation is over the following which appears in Sinclair's report:

The rebels lost an officer and three men killed at the Cahokias and five prisoners. At Pencour sixty-eight were killed and eighteen black and white people made prisoners, among them several good artificers. Many hundreds of cattle were destroyed and forty-three seals were brought in.

Thus St. Louis received a baptism of blood in the war for American independence. Intimations that this British movement against St. Louis and the Mississippi Valley were directed from London appear in the correspondence. Sinclair speaks of "a copy of My Lord George Germain's letter" as having relation to the expedition. He says "the Winnipigoes and the Scioux would have stormed the Spanish line at St. Louis if the Sacks and the Outgamies under their treacherous leader, Mons. Calve, had not fallen back so early."

Concluding his narrative of defeat, Sinclair adds: "A like disaster cannot happen next year, and I can venture to assure your excellency that one thousand Sioux without any admixture from neighboring tribes will be in the field in April under Wabasha."

St. Louis did not wait for Sinclair's April campaign. On the second day of January, 1781, Captain Beausoliel, with sixty-five St. Louisans and the same number of Indian allies, left St. Louis to strike a return "coup." Beausoliel was not the captain's real name. Eugene Poure he had been christened. But he was a bold man, a born leader, who followed the dangerous vocation of operating a bateau between New Orleans and St. Louis. A man who amounted to something in those days, who was admired by his fellow citizens, was likely to be known by a nickname. It came about that Eugene Poure as a tribute to his popularity was called Captain Beausoleil. The home of the captain was on Market street. By reason of his qualities of leadership, Poure had been made commander of the militia company organized among the men of St. Louis.

The expedition made its way up the Illinois valley, encountering severe winter weather and suffering hardships. Some distance south of the present Chicago, Poure led his command to the eastward, passed around the head of Lake Michigan and reached the British post at St. Joseph. The attack was a surprise. The capture was complete. The St. Louis expedition took what furs and other property could be transported, raised the Spanish flag and marched back to St. Louis, delivering the British flag to Governor Cruzat. The expedition was well managed. Leaving St. Louis, Poure carried goods with which he successfully bought his way through the Indian tribes encountered. The route took the expedition near the present city of Danville, where years after-

wards bullets of Spanish manufacture were found by American settlers. Poure's force turned northward near South Bend. The gifts made to the Indians not only secured a peaceful journey, but insured the surprise of St. Joseph, which was complete. The St. Louisans assaulted the fort and took the traders and British soldiers prisoners. They found a considerable stock of furs, which they divided with the Indians. The return was made to St. Louis in March. Sinclair attempted no April campaign. The honors of both defense in 1780 and offense in 1781 were with the St. Louisans.

"I very early saw that Louisiana was indeed a speck in our horizon which was to burst in a tornado," President Jefferson wrote to Dr. Priestly in January, 1804, after Lower Louisiana had been delivered at New Orleans. This expression is from a letter by Mr. Jefferson in the state papers relating to the purchase of Louisiana Territory which were published by congress in connection with the World's Fair of 1904. But these state papers do not make public all that was going on during Mr. Jefferson's administration with reference to Louisiana Territory. Four years before Bonaparte made up his mind to cede, Jefferson sent a secret emissary to St. Louis. He desired to know the political sentiment of the people, and especially the feeling toward the United States. The president foresaw trouble if a foreign flag continued to float much longer on the west bank of the Mississippi. The secret mission to St. Louis was part of Mr. Jefferson's plan of preparation to acquire possession by force if necessary when the time was ripe. The person selected for this delicate mission was John Baptiste Charles Lucas. At a later date Lucas, in 1805, received from President Jefferson, who remembered the valuable secret service rendered, the appointment of commissioner of land claims and judge of the territorial court. He came to St. Louis in September, bringing his family to make this his home. But about 1801 Judge Lucas made himself known to St. Louisans and to the Spanish officials as Pantreaux. He had a boat, two or three boatmen, a small stock of goods. Ostensibly he was a trader from up the Ohio, exchanging what he had brought from Pittsburg for furs at St. Louis. In reality he was distributing American ideas along the Rue Principale of St. Louis.

Perhaps Mr. Jefferson could not have found a better man to study the conditions at St. Louis and other French settlements on the Mississippi. Lucas could do more than observe. He was an ardent supporter of republican principles. He not only spoke the language of the people he visited, but he could talk to them of France. In Paris young Lucas, the law student, had a friend in the son of the landlord at Passy where Benjamin Franklin and Adams lived at the time of the American Revolution. He listened to the Americans and he became an American at heart. Le Roy de Chaumont was the son of the Passy landlord. He caught the American fever and decided to come to the United States, buy cattle and live in western New York. John B. C. Lucas, differing in political sentiment with his father, the king's attorney, of an old Normandy family, came at the same time. That was in 1784. Albert Gallatin had come out to America four years earlier, just after graduating from the University of Geneva.

Somewhere the young Frenchman and the young Swiss began an acquaintance which developed into lifelong friendship. There was only three years difference in their ages. Gallatin settled near Pittsburg. Six miles out of

town Lucas bought a farm. He busied himself learning the language of the country. Gallatin went to the Pennsylvania legislature and Lucas followed him into public life. In 1795 Gallatin was elected to Congress and the same year Lucas went to the legislature. At Washington Gallatin won the confidence of Jefferson and became closely associated with him. Gallatin shared Jefferson's interest in the critical situation on the Mississippi. Lucas visited Washington and made a strong impression upon Jefferson. He undertook the confidential journey to St. Louis and went from here to other places on the river, going as far south as New Orleans. He made his confidential reports to Mr. Jefferson. The president developed his policy toward the Mississippi problem, utilizing the information Lucas supplied. In 1803, Lucas, with all of the support the administration at Washington could give him for his valuable services at St. Louis and along the Mississippi, was elected to Congress from Pennsylvania. As soon as the acquisition of Louisiana was concluded, Mr. Jefferson selected Lucas as the representative of the administration at St. Louis, making him at the same time commissioner and territorial judge.

Judge Lucas was not a large man. As he grew in years his hair became snow white; the fire remained in the jet black eyes. Judge Lucas had more than the courage of his convictions. He asserted his opinions. He was a very positive man. He never forgave Thomas H. Benton for the death of his son, Charles Lucas. Long years afterwards, perhaps a score, Judge Lucas, his daughter, Mrs. Anne Lucas Hunt, and James H. Lucas were guests at a Planters House ball. The judge saw Mr. Benton some distance down the room. An effort was made to prevent a meeting. Judge Lucas, with flashing eyes, made his way through the throng to Mr. Benton, stopped in front of him and looked at him. Then turning to James H. Lucas he said with deliberation and in tones loud enough for many to hear:

"It is a consolation, my son, that whoever knows Mister Senator Benton, knows him to be a rascal."

The senator did not reply. A few minutes later he left the ball room.

Aaron Burr found no encouragement in St. Louis for his southwestern empire. He came here in September, 1805, having retired a few months before from the vice presidency. General Wilkinson, commander of the United States army, was acting as governor of Upper Louisiana with his residence at St. Louis. He received Burr as his guest. To meet Burr the leading citizens of St. Louis were invited to the governor's house. Wilkinson was very friendly at that time with Burr, although a year later he turned against him and reported to the administration at Washington what he claimed were the details of the conspiracy. The rebuff to Burr at St. Louis was prompt and convincing. The first St. Louisan invited to confer was Rufus Easton. Burr had known the young Connecticut lawyer in Washington. He had interested himself personally to have Mr. Easton appointed a judge of the new territory and had advised him by letter to form the acquaintance of General Wilkinson, when he reached St. Louis. That was in March of 1805. Four months later, coming down the Ohio river after his visit to Blennerhassett, Burr wrote from Fort Massac to Easton of his coming. At the conference in St. Louis he revealed enough of the plot to draw from Easton an emphatic refusal to be connected with it. Easton broke off friendly relations with Burr. Within a few days after the

conference Easton wrote to President Jefferson that "General Wilkinson has put himself at the head of a party of a few individuals who are hostile to the best interests of America." This was in October, 1805. At a still earlier date, two months before his appointment as judge, Easton had communicated to another Connecticut man, Gideon Granger, Jefferson's postmaster general, his belief in the existence of a traitorous project to divide the Union. Easton had spent a considerable part of 1804 at Vincennes and at St. Louis. At both places there were reports current of the proposed movement to establish a southwestern empire to include the Louisiana Territory and Mexico.

Burr did not remain long in St. Louis after Easton took such a positive stand against him. He did not find any encouragement. Wilkinson, who thoroughly enjoyed ostentation, had an official barge, luxuriously equipped for those days, with twelve rowers in uniform. Burr took the barge and went down the river to Ste. Genevieve. Wilkinson began to show strong dislike for Easton. He circulated charges of official misconduct. Easton went to Washington and had a personal interview with Mr. Jefferson. Subsequently he made an official report of all he had learned about Burr's plot.

Burr came to St. Louis under the impression that he would find the French habitants ready to throw off United States authority. He met with no encouragement of that impression. On the contrary he quickly discovered that both the French residents and the American new comers were loyal to the United States government. Burr went away from St. Louis to spread his plans and to seek supporters along the Ohio and the lower Mississippi. From St. Louis, the authorities at Washington received from time to time the warning of Burr's movements. From St. Louis was sent the letter giving the information that Burr expected to have Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Tennessee and Orleans Territory declare themselves on the 15th of November, 1806, independent of the United States. St. Louis and Louisiana territory, of which it was the capital, had rejected Burr's overtures and were not in the combination. On this letter from St. Louis, United States officials at New Orleans proceeded to take care of Burr. They arrested his agents. Burr was summoned before a grand jury. The President issued a proclamation. The boats on the Ohio which had been prepared for the expedition were seized. The movement collapsed.

Missouri in 1824—and that meant St. Louis in those days—made an astonishing record. The single member of the House of Representatives from the state was John Scott. He had been delegate from the Missouri Territory. He had been elected and reelected to Congress. In the presidential campaign of that year the candidates were Andrew Jackson, John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay and Crawford. Sentiment in Missouri was divided between Clay and Jackson. Clay carried the state. Clay electors were chosen. But when the electoral college votes were cast, the result was Jackson 87; Adams 83; Clay 41; Crawford 39. No one having received a majority the election of President was thrown into the House of Representatives. There the voting was by states. The ballot, if the states voted as the majorities or pluralities of the popular election had been, would have given Adams 12; Jackson 7; Crawford 4; and Clay 1. The single representative from Missouri cast the vote of that state for Adams, electing him President on the first ballot. Scott had been elected

not by a majority, but by a plurality. That John Scott cast the vote of Missouri for Adams was the more remarkable in view of his place of nativity. He was a Virginian by birth. Shortly after graduating from Princeton he came west in 1804. His success in politics had been notable. Beginning as a delegate from the territory, he was the sole representative of Missouri in the popular branch of Congress up to 1826. The vote for Adams concluded Scott's political career. He lived to be eighty years old, in 1861, but he never held office again.

A few days before Martin Van Buren was inaugurated in 1837, he talked to Senator Benton about the trouble the Seminoles were giving in Florida. Missouri's Indian problems had been settled so successfully and so easily that public men at Washington had often marveled. The President-elect sought an opinion from the senator as to what should be done with the Florida situation which was grave.

"If the Seminoles had Missourians to deal with their stay would be short in Florida," the senator said.

Mr. Van Buren asked Mr. Benton if he thought Missourians could do better in Florida than the regular army had done.

The senator said he certainly did think so, and told why. There the conversation ended. After the inauguration bustle had passed by President Van Buren one day asked Senator Benton if it was practicable to get Missourians to go to Florida and make a campaign against the Seminoles.

"The Missourians will go wherever their services are needed," was Senator Benton's reply.

Thereupon the United States Government did the extraordinary thing of calling upon the governor of Missouri for two regiments of mounted men to go to Florida and fight the Seminoles. The governor issued the call, and the rough riders and scouts of the Missouri valley headed by General Richard Gentry, Colonel John W. Price and Major William H. Hughes, twelve or fourteen hundred strong, came marching into St. Louis. They camped at Jefferson Barracks. Benton made a speech. Men and horses required several steamboats for transportation. They were taken to New Orleans, and thence to Tampa Bay. On the gulf a storm drove some of the vessels aground. Many of the horses were lost. The Missourians got ashore, and under the direction of General Zachary Taylor marched into the Everglades. At Okee-cho-bee lake they found the whole body of Seminoles under Sam Jones, Tiger Tail, Alligator and Mycanopee. The Missourians fought on foot. They depended upon the tactics and knowledge of Indian character which had never failed them. Gentry, shot through the body, and fatally wounded, kept his feet for an hour directing the movements of his men. The victory over the Seminoles was complete, but the ranks of the Missourians were decimated. Early in the following year, the object of the campaign having been accomplished, the Missourians returned to St. Louis.

St. Louis had the distinction of taking the lead in the movement to nominate William Henry Harrison. Long before the nominating convention was held, the St. Louis Bulletin came out for Harrison. It was the only metropolitan paper in the country taking this position. Nearly all of the Whig party papers favored Henry Clay. What made the Bulletin more conspicuous in the pre-convention campaign was the fact that the writer of the vigorous edi-



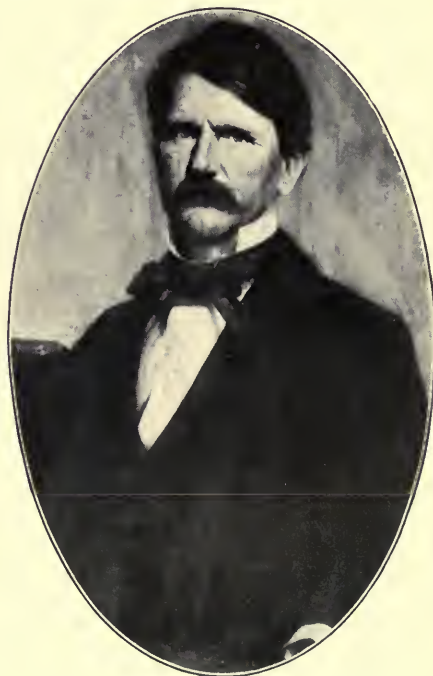
GABRIEL CERRE



CHARLES GRATIOT



THOMAS H. BENTON



FRANCIS P. BLAIR

ST. LOUISANS IN THE LIFE OF THE NATION

torials, which attracted attention the country over, was a Kentuckian—Samuel Bullitt Churchill, born and brought up near Louisville. Churchill was a young man who had come to St. Louis to practice law and had taken up journalism. He was a personal friend and admirer of Henry Clay but declared for Harrison as the man who could win in 1840. Churchill was appointed postmaster in St. Louis and went to the legislature. He was a conspicuous figure in the politics of St. Louis for twenty years. In 1861 he opposed secession but held to the belief of Frost and others that the border states should preserve neutrality between the north and south and try to avert war. When the war came Churchill returned to Kentucky to live.

What was known as "the Whig vigilance committee" had much to do with the bringing about of the nomination of William Henry Harrison for President. The St. Louis member of that committee was John Baptiste Sarpy. His home, occupying a quarter of the block at Sixth and Olive streets, was the gathering place when Whig leaders came to St. Louis.

Richard Smith Elliott, of St. Louis, while the editor of a Harrisburg paper, gave the log cabin and hard cider campaign of the Whigs its winning start in 1840. A Van Buren paper in Baltimore printed this about William Henry Harrison:

Give him a barrel of hard cider and a pension of \$2,000 a year, and, our word for it, he will sit the remainder of his days in a log cabin by the side of a "sea coal" fire and study moral philosophy.

Elliott made a sketch of a log cabin with a coonskin tacked on the side, a woodpile with the ax stuck in a log and the usual familiar accessories. He employed a painter to transfer secretly the sketch to a transparency. On the 20th of January the Whigs ratified the nomination of Harrison which had been made in the preceding month. The transparency was carried into the mass meeting. It was received with unbounded enthusiasm. Harrison's log cabin became the emblem of the campaign. The homely idea swept across the country. In St. Louis the Whigs built a log cabin for Harrison headquarters and maintained it to election day. Log cabins on wheels were hauled in the processions. It was a singing campaign. St. Louis Whigs roared to the tune of Highland Laddie:

Oh where, tell me where, was your Buckeye cabin made?
Oh where, tell me where, was your Buckeye cabin made?
'Twas built among the merry boys who wield the plow and spade,
Where the log cabins stand in the bonnie Buckeye shade.

A St. Louisan was a composer of Harrison campaign songs. He was Alexis Mudd, member of one of the best known families of the city. Mr. Mudd was a merchant at the time he wrote campaign songs. His best effort was the "Log Cabin Raising," which was immensely popular. At the outbreak of the war, Alexis Mudd became major of "the Lyon regiment," as the Nineteenth Missouri was called.

A favorite song in St. Louis during the Harrison campaign was "Old Tippecanoe," which was sung to the tune of "Rosin the Bow," a rollicking air of the frontier:

They called us rag barons and dandies,
 And only a ruffled shirt crew;
 But they see now the bone and the sinew,
 All go for Old Tippecanoe.

CHORUS.

All go for Old Tippecanoe!
 All go for Old Tippecanoe!
 But they see now the bone and the sinew.
 All go for Old Tippecanoe.

The enthusiasm with which St. Louisans went into the Mexican war was irresistible. It ignored army orders. After the crack Legion had marched down Olive street to take the big steamer Convoy for New Orleans, Lucas Market place became the scene of more recruiting and mobilizing. Benton wrote from Washington that the "Army of the West" was to be organized to march overland to New Mexico. Then came the order to Stephan Watts Kearny to get together at Leavenworth three hundred United States dragoons and one thousand mounted volunteers, the rough riders of 1846. St. Louis was not asked to furnish any part of the Army of the West. Thomas B. Hudson and Richard S. Elliott, two young lawyers, began to organize a company of one hundred mounted men. They called them the Laclede Rangers. As soon as the ranks were full the Rangers were sworn in as a state organization, uniformed and mounted. Samuel Treat, Charles Keemle, Joseph M. Field and Peter W. Johnson took the officers down to "the Empire," on Third and Pine streets and presented to them swords. No commissions had come, but the Laclede Rangers marched on board the *Pride of the West* and started up the Missouri to join Kearny. As the boat passed Jefferson City, the state commissions for the officers were sent on board. When the St. Louisans reached Leavenworth, there was no provision for their reception. General Kearny ordered that quarters be provided and that the command be sworn in at daylight. But no rations were issued. There was grumbling until Captain Hudson made a speech. He talked of the patriotism which had prompted the recruiting, of the rapid organization, of the trip up the river, of the acceptance of the company by General Kearny as a part of the "Army of the West" and he concluded:

Yes, we shall knock at the gates of Santa Fe, as Ethan Allen knocked at the gates of Ticonderoga, and to the question "Who is there?" we shall reply, "Open these gates in the name of the great Jehovah and the Laclede Rangers!" But suppose the fellows inside should call out, "Are you the same Laclede Rangers who went whining around Fort Leavenworth in search of a supper?"

The Rangers gave the captain a mighty shout, rolled in their blankets and went to sleep supperless.

The Rangers from St. Louis made such an impression on General Kearny that he made them a part of the regiment of dragoons. They were turned over to a young lieutenant to be drilled and made fit for regular troopers, graduates of the "school of the soldier." This lieutenant was Andrew Jackson Smith, who became a major general in the Civil war,—“Old A. J.”—settled in St. Louis and held office in the city government for some years.

Colonel Robert Campbell's activities did not stop with the shipping of the Laclede Rangers to Kearny. The recruiting and the drilling on the open country around Lucas Market, as Twelfth street was to be known for half a century, went on. There was no market. Mr. Lucas had built the long narrow brick structure down the center of the wide space, but the city's growth had not reached Twelfth street. The country was open all around the market house, except for a row of dwellings in course of construction on Olive street. St. Louis had sent her old and well drilled militia, the Legion and her Laclede Rangers. The city now offered artillery. Two companies, each one hundred strong, the first captained by Richard H. Weightman, and the second by Waldemar Fischer, were accepted, with Meriwether Lewis Clarke as major. The artillerymen were made ready by the tireless Robert Campbell and sent up to join Kearny. Thus it came about that the city was represented by three hundred patriots in the famous marching and fighting of the Army of the West.

From Leavenworth the Laclede Rangers and St. Louis artillerymen marched to Sante Fe, thence to El Paso, to Chihuahua, to Saltillo and to Matamoras. They went by river from St. Louis to Leavenworth. They returned from Matamoras to St. Louis by the gulf and the Mississippi. Let the map be viewed and the march of that little army be traced! Succeeding generations may well be proud of the prowess of the St. Louisans who followed Mitchell and Clarke and Hudson in 1846 and 1847.

St. Louisans were conspicuous individually as well as for numbers in the "Army of the West." Henry S. Turner utilized his early army experience in the capacity of adjutant to the commander, Kearny. Francis P. Blair, then a young lawyer, sent west by his doctor for the benefit of the mountain air, was a scout, prowling miles in advance of the column to report signs of Mexicans or Indians. William Bent shared in this most dangerous duty. As the army reached the Raton mountains, Captain Waldemar Fischer, the St. Louis artilleryman, climbed the peak, to which the government gave his name. Fischer's peak, it is on the maps.

The march across the plains to Sante Fe was only the beginning of the wonderful deeds of the St. Louisans and their fellow Missourians. The Army of the West proceeded to occupy a domain that is now two states and two territories. Kearny, with a small force, went on to make sure of California. Colonel D. D. Mitchell, the former fur trader and Indian agent of St. Louis, was ordered to take a picked force of one hundred men and "open communication with Chihuahua, hundreds of miles to the southward in the enemy's country across the Rio Grande." Did he hesitate? Not an hour. With Mitchell went Captain Hudson, Lieutenant LeBeaume and most of the Laclede Rangers. Major Meriwether Lewis Clarke, Captain Richard H. Weightman, Clay Taylor and one company of the St. Louis Artillery had gone with Doniphan to the Navajo country. Mitchell and Doniphan joined forces just above El Paso. They had an army of 900 men, St. Louis contributing about one-third of the force. They fought the battle of Brazito, captured a cannon and marched on. At Sacramento, just above Chihuahua, an army of Mexicans got in the way, occupying a strong position, outnumbering the invaders five to one. What

did those St. Louis artillerymen do but, ignoring all of the rules and science of warfare, run their howitzers up within less than 200 feet of the Mexican earthworks and fire away at pistol shot range! Mitchell and Hudson charged at the head of the Laclede Rangers. The enemy fled, leaving seventeen cannons, some of which were brought to St. Louis. The invaders entered Chihuahua to discover that General Wool, whom they had expected to find there, was 700 or 800 miles away. Headed by Mitchell with his 100 picked St. Louisans, the army of less than 900 marched over the tableland of Mexico toward Saltillo, found General Taylor and asked for more fighting.

In the conquered province of New Mexico civil government was organized. Charles Bent, of the St. Louis family which lived on a river front country estate just above the arsenal, was governor. Stephan Lee, of St. Louis, the brother of General Elliott Lee, was made sheriff; James White Leal, of St. Louis, a Laclede Ranger, was made prosecuting attorney. The Pueblo Indians at Taos rose in revolt and killed these three officials. Retribution was swift.

In a fight with the Indians, John Eldridge and Martin Wash of the Laclede Rangers were compelled to use one horse. A shot struck Eldridge in the corner of the eye, went into Wash's cheek and came out of his neck. When their commanding officer came up these St. Louis boys were still fighting. Wash, who was spitting blood said:

"Lieutenant, I be hanged if I don't think I'm shot somehow."

That was the kind of nerve the Laclede Rangers carried with them.

When time dragged for the garrison in the ancient city, the detachment of the Laclede Rangers obtained the use of a hall and gave theatrical entertainments. Bernard McSorley, who came back to St. Louis to become a builder of sewers and a power in local politics, was the manager and the star. When the St. Louisans put on Pizarro in Peru, McSorley was Pizarro. Edward W. Shands played Elvira. Another Ranger, William Jamieson, was Cora. James White Leal of the Rangers was the leader of the minstrel part of the performance which followed the tragedy.

Kearny's proclamation annexing New Mexico to the United States reached St. Louis on the 28th of September, 1846. It declared "the intention to hold this department (New Mexico), with its original boundaries on both sides of the Del Norte as a part of the United States and under the name of the Territory of New Mexico.

There was considerable excitement in St. Louis over this wholesale acquisition of territory. The Missouri Republican said:

For a strict constructionist of the constitution, the President seems to us a gentleman of about as easy manners as any official we have ever met with, even in these days of a "progressive locofocoism!"

The Rangers and other St. Louisans who had been left to hold New Mexico while the other bodies pushed west to California and south to the heart of Mexico marched back across the plains when the war was over. They sang:

SOLO.

Listen to me! Listen to me!
 What do you want to see, to see?

CHORUS.

A woman under a bonnet,
 A woman under a bonnet,
 That's what we want to see, to see!
 That's what we want to see!

One St. Louisan in the Army of the West was destined to be a conspicuous figure in the country traversed. William Gilpin, Pennsylvanian by birth, Quaker by inherited creed, was a major. He saw the plains and the mountains with the eyes of a prophet. He told his comrades in arms they were passing through "a great grazing region;" that it would become "the land of beef and wool." He pointed to the Rockies, called them "the domes of the continent" and predicted discoveries of precious metals in them. There was loud amusement over the major's predictions. But the territory of Colorado was created, becoming in 1876 the Centennial state. Gilpin was the first governor of Colorado.

On the 18th of May, 1847, the St. Louis Daily New Era put up the name of Zachary Taylor for President "subject to the decision of the people in 1848." In 1848 St. Louis inaugurated an active campaign which led to the election of Zachary Taylor. Before the rest of the country had awakened fairly to the suggestion, almost before General Taylor thought of himself as a candidate, St. Louis was holding mass meetings and declaring for old "Rough and Ready."

Dred Scott and his family were emancipated in St. Louis but not until the law of the land had been exhausted for them. St. Louis lawyers participated without compensation in the proceedings. The decision of the United States supreme court gave great impetus to the anti-slavery movement. Surgeon Emerson of the United States army, stationed at St. Louis, owned Dred Scott and took him with him when he was transferred first to Rock Island and later to Fort Snelling. Children were born. When Emerson came back to St. Louis, Dred Scott sued for freedom of his family on the ground that they had been living in a part of the United States where slavery was prohibited. The St. Louis circuit court sustained this view but the state supreme court reversed it. Then Dred Scott's family was sold to John F. A. Sanford, whose residence at the time was in New York. This gave the opportunity to try the case in the United States courts. The United States circuit court at St. Louis decided against Dred Scott. The case went to the United States supreme court and Chief Justice Roger B. Taney rendered the opinion that slavery was not prohibited north of latitude 36 degrees and 30 minutes, as Congress had declared, because the act was in violation of the constitution. Chief Justice Taney defined slavery as the law, made so by the constitution at the time of its adoption. Only a constitutional amendment could abolish slavery.

No other community, north or south, approached St. Louis in the proportion of citizenship under arms for the Civil war. When President Lincoln, on the 15th of April, issued his first call for 75,000 men, St. Louis had organized

ready to be mustered in five regiments of 5,500 men under Colonels Blair, Boernstein, Sigel, Schuttner and Salomon. Five more regiments were organized and armed so that the morning report of June 1 showed 10,730 St. Louisans under arms for the Union. The most of these troops were sworn in for three months and then enlisted for three years or the war. The truth was that the Union men of St. Louis began organizing into companies early in January. Rifles and muskets were bought with money subscribed by citizens. A regiment was armed secretly and was drilling on sawdust covered floors. The sum of \$20,000 was raised privately toward equipping the first four regiments. Contributions came from New York, Boston, Hartford, Providence and other eastern cities. A Union army was ready in St. Louis weeks before the firing on Sumter.

The intensity of Union sentiment was shown in the action of a great mass meeting which John Peckham called to order at the court house on the 25th of July, 1862. The crowd filled the rotunda, and the galleries and overflowed into Fourth street. The resolutions declared "that the preservation of the Union is to St. Louis an interest greater than all other interests, and that we will, regardless of all other interests, contribute in men and means the last man and the last dollar of which our city is possessed, if necessary, to reinforce our armies."

Up to December 31, 1863, the St. Louis volunteers who entered the service for three years or the war numbered 15,310. Those who came from outside of St. Louis county and enlisted here are not included. St. Louisans who enlisted in organizations elsewhere are not included. The 15,310 St. Louisans enlisted in forty-three Missouri regiments which were organized in St. Louis in 1861, 1862 and 1863. They were United States volunteers. In addition were the state militia organizations raised in St. Louis. A full regiment of these St. Louis Militia men under Colonel John B. Gray guarded the military prisons, protected bridges and performed other duties in and about St. Louis. The Sappers and Miners Home Guards of St. Louis, of which J. D. Voerster was the commander, built fortifications. Captain Henry Nagel raised and commanded the Carondelet Home Guards. Another military organization of St. Louis was the First Regiment of Enrolled Missouri Militia, with William P. Fenn as colonel. There was also the St. Louis County Battalion of enrolled militia, in which the Henleys, the Aubuchons, the Castellons and representatives of scores of the pioneer families were enlisted. The St. Louis police were organized in military form and armed with guns, with J. E. D. Couzins as major. There were the Old Guard, of which N. H. Clark was captain; James Richardson and A. G. Edwards, lieutenants; the Independent Cavalry Company, with Frederick Walters as captain; the Corps of Detectives, with George J. Deagle, the theatrical man, as captain. A full regiment was recruited under the patronage of the Merchants Exchange and was called the "Merchants' Regiment." Clinton B. Fisk, secretary of the exchange, was the first colonel. This was the first regiment mustered into service under the President's call of 1862. It was recruited by the business men of St. Louis in a whirlwind of patriotic enthusiasm. When Colonel Fisk was made a brigadier, William A. Pile became the colonel.



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TOWN HOUSE OF CHARLES GRATIOT

It was at the corner of Main and Chestnut streets

In 1864 St. Louis went on raising more regiments as if the army sent into the field was not the city's full quota. The Fortieth Infantry, Missouri Volunteers, was made up of St. Louisans. Two companies were recruited largely from printers and newspaper employes. George W. Gilson was captain of one of them. Philip F. Coghlan was lieutenant of the other. Samuel A. Holmes was colonel. Truman A. Post, son of Rev. Dr. Post was the regimental adjutant. A second regiment, the Forty-first, was recruited at the same time, with Joseph Weidemeyer as colonel. Henry J. Bischoff was one of the captains.

While many thousands of St. Louisans went out as United States volunteers, other thousands organized, drilled and were armed as Enrolled Missouri Militia for defense of the city and for emergency duty. There was a period in 1864 when all St. Louis business houses closed at 3 p. m. for the daily militia drills. The test of this thorough organization came in September of that year. Price invaded Missouri and marched toward St. Louis. The militia mobilized in three brigades and went into camp at Carondelet, and at the head of Olive street. A small detachment of Confederate cavalry captured the postoffice, at Cheltenham, now a part of St. Louis, but then a suburb four miles out. The main army changed its course and moved northwestward to Jefferson City. The eight St. Louis regiments of enrolled militia which turned out for this expected coming of Price's army numbered about 6,000 men. There were under arms in St. Louis 15,000 men. These militia regiments were officered by the most prominent citizens. Colonel John Knapp commanded the Eighth Regiment, but when the three brigades were called into service he became chief of staff to General Pike, commanding the division of enrolled militia. Ex-Mayor John M. Krum was colonel of the Ninth; George E. Leighton, of the Seventh; Tony Niederweisser, of the Sixth; C. D. Wolff, of the Fourth; M. W. Warne, of the Sixteenth; Charles L. Tucker, of the Seventeenth. Among the regimental officers were Lieutenant-Colonel J. Grif. Prather, Surgeon Leopold Meyer, Lieutenant-Colonel A. D. Sloan, Major Henry Senter, Adjutant Eben Richards, Jr., Major William L. Catherwood, Quartermaster Charles C. Whittlesey, Lieutenant-Colonel Oscar F. Lowe, Major O. B. Filley, Adjutant William C. Wilson, Quartermasters George P. Plant and Chester H. Krum. Some of the captains in this St. Louis army of defense of the city were George H. Morgan, William B. Pratt, E. P. Rice, George Knapp, Daniel G. Taylor, Henry Cleveland, Edward Morrison, Daniel M. Grissom, William McKee, Hugh McDermott, William H. Crawford, William H. Stone, Gerard B. Allen, Louis Espenschied. Among the lieutenants were William A. Northrop, Richard D. Compton, J. C. Dubuque, James Smith, James V. Fisher, B. D. Killian, Edward Byrne.

The enrolled militia of St. Louis were in the field several weeks until all apprehension of attack by the Confederates passed away. The Second and Third brigades broke camp at the head of Olive street and marched out as far as Laclede station on the Pacific railroad on the 1st of October. That was two days after the Confederate raid on Cheltenham.

St. Louisans participated in still another form of military organization. Besides the eight or ten regiments of enrolled militia there were the "exempts from the military service capable of defending their homes." As the Confederates approached the city the "exempts" were called upon to organize under

the direction of the mayor and they did so. While the enrolled militia went to camp the exempts bore arms and performed duty in the city. They were commanded by Colonel B. Gratz Brown.

The number of St. Louisans who bore arms for the Union is a matter of official record. How many St. Louisans made their way south and enlisted in the Confederate service can be estimated only. Enough joined Bowen at Memphis in the early summer of 1861 to form a regiment. Several Confederate organizations were composed largely of St. Louisans, among them Guibor's, Wade's and Barrett's batteries. Captain Joseph Boyce and other well informed Confederate veterans estimated the number of St. Louisans who went south and entered the army at 5,000. Of this number not more than 1,000 returned. In Captain Boyce's company, of Bowen's First Missouri Regiment, organized at Memphis, were 114 St. Louisans, many of whom had served in the crack St. Louis Grays. Of the 114, just ten came back to their homes. In character rather than in number the St. Louisans who joined the Confederate army were notable. They were young men in the professions or in business—lawyers, doctors, bank officers, bookkeepers in some of the principal business houses, steamboat clerks. Many of them were descendants of pioneer families of St. Louis. In a club of twenty-six young professional men all but four went south.

Joseph Scott Fullerton was one of the young St. Louis Democrats who sided with the Union. He came of the old Fullerton family of Pennsylvania, large landholders near Lancaster and Revolutionary patriots. The Fullertons were giants. The great grandfather of the young St. Louisan was six feet, two, and weighed 430 pounds. Joseph Scott Fullerton, of Ohio birth and education, came to St. Louis fresh from the Cincinnati Law school in 1858. A commission was appointed from Washington to investigate claims of St. Louis business men against the government incurred in the confusion of army organization under Fremont. Fullerton was made secretary of it. He became impatient to get into the fighting and tried to resign. Joseph Holt, afterward attorney general, was a member of the commission. "Young man," he said, "you will have opportunity enough. Be patient until this important task is through. Even the shell of this rebellion is not cracked yet." Fullerton went in a lieutenant, fought on twenty battlefields, came out a general and in 1867 was made postmaster of St. Louis. Years afterwards he acquired suburban real estate and laid out Westminster Place.

One of the captains in Bowen's regiment at Camp Jackson was Given Campbell, a young lawyer, bred in Kentucky and educated in the University of Virginia. Mr. Campbell had begun to practice in St. Louis. He had a desk in the office of Charles D. Drake. When Mr. Campbell came back to St. Louis in 1865, after four years' service in the Confederacy, he discovered that Judge Drake had formulated a "test oath" which barred him from the practice of law. Mr. Campbell married a northern wife, the daughter of Robert K. Woods, a descendant of the historic Berry family of Massachusetts; he spent several years in the South, coming back to St. Louis after the "Drake constitution" had become only a memory.

To leave St. Louis by train or boat or by other vehicle or afoot, during the continuance of martial law, a passport was necessary. Between August 14

and November 20, 1861, there were issued 85,000 of these passes. On the back of the first issues, was: "It is understood that the within named subscriber accepts this pass on his word of honor that he is and will ever be loyal to the United States; and if hereafter found in arms against the Union, or in any way aiding the enemy, the penalty will be death."

When Captain George E. Leighton, succeeded General Justus McKinstry as provost marshal, he changed this form to a pledge and omitted the death penalty.

In April, 1862, Lieutenant-Colonel F. A. Dick, provost marshal, sent a peremptory order to Edward Wyman, principal of the City University, to hoist "the United States flag over his school building and keep the same floating daily in a conspicuous position." The very next day another order was issued saying the loyalty of Mr. Wyman and his assistants was "fully conceded" by General Curtis.

This generation may marvel that the opposing principals in the Camp Jackson affair were Northern men. Daniel M. Frost, who commanded the St. Louis militia in Camp Jackson, was of New York birth, while Nathaniel Lyon, who is to be credited with the responsibility of the capture, was Connecticut born. Both of these men were of West Point education. Both had seen service in the United States army. Frost's grandfather was a Revolutionary patriot and his father was in the War of 1812. Members of the Lyon family were in the American Revolution. Both Lyon and Frost served in the war with Mexico, earning commendation for their personal gallantry. Lyon and Frost were together at West Point one year, Lyon graduating three years before Frost. Frost had been out of the army eight years. He had married Miss Graham, the granddaughter of John Mullanphy and the daughter of Major Graham, a regular army officer and an aide of General William Henry Harrison in the War of 1812.

Lyon continued in the army. He was at Jefferson Barracks after the Mexican war. He was in Kansas before the Civil war. In the summer of 1860 he wrote articles to the Manhattan, Kansas, Express favoring the election of Lincoln. The parallel between Frost and Lyon is not quite ended. Both believed that war between the sections was threatening. At that point they parted company. Lyon believed in an aggressive policy by the north; he was for striking quick and hard. Frost was as deeply interested in the politics of the day as was Lyon, but his view was different. He thought that while war was threatened, it might be averted. For years he cherished the belief that the border states might hold such a balance of power by observing neutrality as to minimize if not prevent the conflict. Evidence to show that Frost was at heart a secessionist is wanting. Frost advocated the organization of a strong militia force. With B. Gratz Brown, in 1858, he drew the measure which was the basis for the assembling of the state militia at Camp Jackson three years later. He was brigadier general of the militia at St. Louis, not for the purpose or with any idea of taking Missouri out of the Union, but in the hope that he might personally contribute to preservation of peace between the north and the south. Frost's planning for border neutrality failed utterly. Missouri adopted his plan of organization but cut out the money provision necessary to make it effective. Secessionists made the border neutrality policy a cloak

under which to forward their own designs. Aggressive northerners of the Lyon type would have none of it. And so the capture of Camp Jackson came about, a firebrand to St. Louis such as the firing on Sumter was to the north.

Three months to the day after the Camp Jackson affair, Lyon fought a battle for which he was not prepared and threw his life away. Just before he marched his St. Louis army out of Springfield to Wilson's Creek, he spoke hopelessly: "Through the refusal of the government to properly reinforce me I am compelled to abandon the country. If I leave it without engaging the enemy the public will call me a coward. If I engage him I may be defeated, and my command cut to pieces. I am too weak to hold Springfield and yet the people will demand that I bring about a battle with the very enemy I cannot keep a town against. How can this result otherwise than against us." Twice wounded, Lyon headed a charge and was shot from his horse. By will he left \$30,000, nearly his whole estate, for the preservation of the Union. He was the incarnation of courage. The temperament which prompted the capture of Camp Jackson led to the fatal charge at Wilson's Creek. Lyon was buried with honor in his native state, but the great events of his life belong to the history of St. Louis. Here the monument to his memory was erected on a part of the Arsenal grounds made into a park and named in his honor. By private subscriptions and by public appropriation the money was raised. The sculptor chosen to execute the medallion, Wilson McDonald, was a brother of one of the Camp Jackson prisoners, Emmett McDonald.

General Frost went south and entered the Confederate service. He resigned later in 1863 and went to Canada, where his family, banished from St. Louis, joined him. After the war he came back to St. Louis to live. During the railroad riots in 1877 he rendered conspicuous service in the organization of the citizen soldiery. A son of General Frost, R. Graham Frost, who was a small boy at the time of the Civil war, was elected to Congress from one of the St. Louis districts.

Governor Jackson was plotting the secession of Missouri. Some of the officers in Camp Jackson were hoping to bring about an attack on the Arsenal. No one who conversed with General Frost long after the war feeling had passed could form the impression that in his mind the assemblage of state troops in Camp Jackson meant either secession or an attack on the Arsenal. General Frost was always positive in his denials that there was to his knowledge a Confederate flag in the camp; that the troops were enrolled with the understanding they were to go into Confederate service; that the camp was formed for an attack on the Arsenal.

The oath which all of the militia in Camp Jackson took was this:

You, each and every one of you, do solemnly swear that you will honestly and faithfully serve the State of Missouri against all her enemies; that you will do your utmost to sustain the constitution and laws of the United States, and of this State, against all violence of whatsoever kind or description. And you do further swear that you will well and truly obey the legal orders of all officers properly placed over you when on duty.

A statement of his course previous to Camp Jackson and of his connection with that assemblage of the militia was authorized by General Frost late in life. It was this:

He was not then, nor did he ever become, a secessionist in principle and he maintains that the sole object of the military bill which he, in co-operation with B. Gratz Brown and others, framed and pressed to a passage in the Missouri legislature was for the purpose of providing in Missouri and other border states a military organization which should be constituted to keep the peace within the states which, in case of civil war, were sure to bear the brunt and suffer the spoliation of the sectional conflict impending. General Frost now states that in pursuance of this object, not only was the law passed in the Missouri legislature, but correspondence was held with General Buckner, in command of the militia in Kentucky, who caused a like measure for that state to be passed and also with authorities in other border states.

General Frost's view of the whole matter at this advanced stage of his life only enables him to reaffirm that up to the time of his exchange as a prisoner of war and his formal acceptance of a commission in the Confederate army he did not in any instance, by word or deed, betray his allegiance to the laws of the State of Missouri or to the laws of the United States.

John Knapp was second in command at Camp Jackson. The First Regiment was composed of the regular militia—companies of long standing. The Second Regiment was composed of one regular militia company and several companies of Minute men, organized during the winter of 1860-61 and composed of young men who sympathized with the south. To some extent these companies of Minute men had been recruited from the Democratic marching clubs of the campaign of 1860. There was no question as to the Unionism of many, probably most, of the members of the First Regiment. Colonel John Knapp had been long prominent in military affairs of St. Louis and Missouri. Two days before the capture of Camp Jackson, Colonel Knapp, meeting some of the regular army officers at the Barracks, had told them that on Saturday he would break camp with the First Regiment, march to the armories and dismiss the companies. This would have ended Camp Jackson.

Both Colonel George Knapp and Colonel John Knapp came well by their military titles. They were for the supremacy of this government, not only in theory but in practice; not only in peace but in war. The year before he became part proprietor of the Republican, when he was twenty-one years of age, George Knapp entered the St. Louis Grays. He was one of the first St. Louis officers who volunteered for service in the Mexican war. He went out as a lieutenant in the St. Louis Legion and rose to the rank of lieutenant colonel after the return of the legion to St. Louis. The legion was equipped largely from funds raised by voluntary contributions of St. Louis citizens and went to the front very early in the war. Soon after the beginning of the Civil war George Knapp recruited a military force in his newspaper office, called the Missouri Republican Guard. This force he drilled and commanded, holding it in readiness for service if an attack was made on St. Louis, as was repeatedly threatened.

John Knapp was in the military service of the state more than twenty-five years. He went to the Mexican war as a captain in the First Regiment of Missouri Volunteers. The militia company of which he was one of the lieutenants had voted not to volunteer for service in the Mexican war. Thereupon Lieutenant Knapp organized a new company, the Boone Infantry. He was elected captain, and immediately tendered this company for service in the war.

He commanded the First Regiment of Missouri Militia in the Southwest expedition to the Kansas border in the winter of 1861. He was in command of this regiment when Camp Jackson was taken by General Lyon on the 10th of May, 1861. Afterwards he was appointed colonel of the Eighth Regiment of the Enrolled Missouri Militia, and later colonel of the Thirteenth Provisional Regiment, and still later was an aid of Governor Hall and went with the brigade of Missouri troops in pursuit of General Sterling Price when the Confederates made the raid in 1864. He continued in the service until after the Civil war. He was the best tactician in the volunteer service of his day. From the militia companies composing the First Militia Regiment, of which John Knapp was the commanding officer when hostilities began, the Union army received many officers. For Governor Gamble, who succeeded Claib Jackson when the latter left Jefferson City to join the Confederacy, Colonel John Knapp worked out the plan of militia enrollment which protected Missouri and which created a force to deal with guerrillas.

At 9 o'clock in the morning of the last day of September, 1863, President Lincoln, accompanied by one of his secretaries, came into the great east room of the White House and sat down.

"He bore the appearance of being much depressed, as if the whole matter at issue in the conference which was impending was of great anxiety and trouble to him," says one of the St. Louisans who sat awaiting the President's coming.

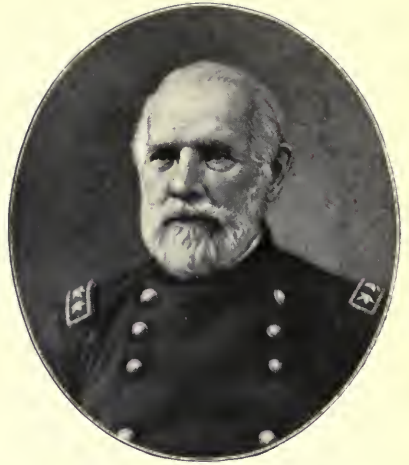
These were seventy "Radical Union men of Missouri;" they had accepted that designation. They had been chosen at mass convention—"the largest mass convention ever held in the state," their credentials said. That convention had unqualifiedly indorsed the emancipation proclamation and the employment of negro troops. It had declared its loyalty to the general government. It had appointed these seventy Missourians to proceed to Washington and "to procure a change in the governmental policy in reference to Missouri." The movement had originated in St. Louis, and St. Louisans were at the head of it.

This action meant more than a city or a state movement. It was the precipitation of a crisis at Washington. It was the voice of the radical anti-slavery element of the whole country speaking through Missouri, demanding that the government commit itself to the policy of the abolition of slavery and to the policy of the use of negro troops against the Confederate armies. It was the uprising of the element which thought the administration at Washington had been too mild. President Lincoln understood that the coming of the Missourians meant more than their local appeal. The Missourians understood, too, the importance of their mission. On the way to Washington the seventy had stopped in city after city, had been given enthusiastic reception by anti-slavery leaders; they had been encouraged to make their appeal for a new policy in Missouri insistent and to stand on the platform that the border States must now wipe out slavery of loyal owners. Hence it was that immediately upon their arrival in Washington the seventy Missourians coming from a slave state put into their address to the President such an avowal as this:

We rejoice that in your proclamation of January 1, 1863, you laid the mighty hand of the nation upon that gigantic enemy of American liberty, and we and our constituents



GEN. ALTON R. EASTON



GEN. W. S. HARNEY



CAPT. THEODORE HUNT



GEN. DANIEL BISSELL



GEN. NATHANIEL LYON

honor you for that wise and noble act. We and they hold that that proclamation did, in law, by its own force, liberate every slave in the region it covered; that it is irrevocable, and that from the moment of its issue the American people stood in an impregnable position before the world and the rebellion received its death blow. If you, Mr. President, felt that duty to your country demanded that you should unshackle the slaves of the rebel states in an hour, we see no earthly reason why the people of Missouri should not, from the same sense of duty, strike down with equal suddenness the traitorous and parrieidal institution in their midst.

Here was the essence of the Missouri movement which gave it national interest, which prompted the grand chorus of approval, which led to the series of indorsing ovations concluding with the mighty demonstration over the seventy Radical Union men in Cooper Institute, New York City, with William Cullen Bryant presiding. President Lincoln, pursuing the course which seemed to him necessary to keep the united north with him, felt fully the critical character of the issue which the Missourians were raising.

Conditions and events wholly apart from what was going on in their state added to the significance and importance of this conference between President Lincoln and the radical Union men of Missouri. The week before the seventy started from St. Louis for Washington that bloodiest battle of the war, Chickamauga, had been fought, and the whole north was depressed by the narrow escape of Rosecrans' army. When the Missourians arrived in Washington Hooker's army was marching all night long over the Long Bridge out of Virginia and into Washington to take trains for the roundabout journey to Chattanooga to re-enforce the penned-up troops, that they might not be forced north of the Tennessee by Bragg. Meade's failure to follow up the success at Gettysburg in July previous had given great dissatisfaction. In the cabinet there was division over administration policies. The presidential campaign was coming on in a few months. Perhaps at no other time since the beginning of the war had President Lincoln faced more discouraging criticism and more hostile opinion in the North.

The address reviewed the origin and the development of antagonism between the Gamble administration and the radical Union men. It charged Gamble with the intention to preserve slavery in Missouri and asserted "the radicals of Missouri desired and demanded the election of a new convention for the purpose of ridding the state of slavery immediately." It dwelt at length upon the "proslavery character" of Governor Gamble's policy and acts.

"From the antagonisms of the radicals to such a policy," the address proceeded, "have arisen the conflicts which you, Mr. President, have been pleased heretofore to term a 'factional quarrel.' With all respect we deny that the radicals of Missouri have been or are, in any sense, a party to any such quarrel. We are no factionists; but men earnestly intent upon doing our part toward rescuing this great nation from the assaults which slavery is aiming at its life."

With the Missourians affirming such a position, it is not difficult to understand the wave of sympathy from the anti-slavery element which spread over the country, taking the form of indorsements by newspaper, speeches by leaders of the anti-slavery people and enthusiastic public attentions to the delegation.

The climax of the address of the seventy radical Union men was the prayer that Ben Butler be sent to succeed Schofield at St. Louis to restore peace and order in Missouri.

We ask, further, Mr. President, that in the place of General Schofield a department commander be assigned to the Department of Missouri whose sympathies will be with Missouri's loyal and suffering people, and not with slavery and proslavery men. General Schofield has disappointed our just expectations by identifying himself with our state administration, and his policy as department commander has been, as we believe, shaped to conform to Governor Gamble's proslavery and conservative views. He has subordinated federal authority in Missouri to state rule. He has become a party to the enforcement of conscription into the state service. He has countenanced, if not sustained, the orders issued from the state headquarters, prohibiting enlistments from the enrolled militia into the volunteer service of the United States. Officers acting under him have arbitrarily arrested and imprisoned loyal citizens, without assigned cause, or for daring to censure Governor Gamble's policy and acts. Other such officers have ordered loyal men to be disarmed, and in some instances the order has been executed, while, under the pretense of preventing an invasion of Missouri from Kansas, notorious and avowed disloyalists have been armed. He has issued a military order prohibiting the liberty of speech and of the press. An officer in charge of negro recruits that had been enlisted under lawful authority, as we are informed and believe, was on the 20th inst. arrested in Missouri by Brigadier General Guitar, acting under General Schofield's orders, his commission, side-arms and recruits taken from him, and he imprisoned and sent out of the state. And, finally, we declare to you, Mr. President, that from the day of General Schofield's accession to the command of that department, matters have grown worse and worse in Missouri, till now they are in a more terrible condition than they have been at any time since the outbreak of the rebellion. This could not be if General Schofield had administered the affairs of that department with proper vigor and with a resolute purpose to sustain loyalty and suppress disloyalty. We, therefore, respectfully pray you to send another general to command that department; and, if we do not overstep the bounds of propriety, we ask that the commander sent there be Major General Benjamin F. Butler. We believe that his presence there would restore order and peace to Missouri in less than sixty days.

The closing paragraph of the address was well calculated to impress Mr. Lincoln with the intensity of feeling inspiring the delegation. Perhaps in the history of White House conferences such strong language was never before used by a delegation in declaring the personal responsibility of the chief executive. The conclusion was in these words:

Whether the loyal hearts of Missouri shall be crushed is for you to say. If you refuse our requests, we return to our homes only to witness, in consequence of that refusal, a more active and relentless persecution of Union men, and to feel that while Maryland can rejoice in the protection of the government of the Union, Missouri is still to be a victim of proslavery conservatism, which blasts wherever it reigns. Does Missouri deserve such a fate? What border slave state confronted the rebellion in its first spring as she did? Remember, we pray you, who it was that in May, 1861, captured Camp Jackson and saved the arsenal at St. Louis from the hands of traitors, and the Union cause in the Valley of the Mississippi from incalculable disaster. Remember the home guards, who sprung to arms in Missouri when the government was without troops or means to defend itself there. Remember the more than 50,000 volunteers that Missouri has sent forth to battle for the Union. Remember that, although always a slave state, her unconditional loyalty to the Union shines lustrously before the whole nation. Recall to memory these things, Mr. President, and let them exert their just influence upon your mind. We ask only justice and protection to our suffering people. If they are to suffer hereafter, as now, and in time past, the world will remember that they are not responsible for the gloomy page in Missouri's history, which may have to record the independent efforts of her harassed but still loyal men to defend themselves, their families and their homes against their disloyal and murderous assailants.

The names of the seventy radical Union men of Missouri were signed to this remarkable document. The signature of Charles D. Drake of St. Louis, afterwards senator from Missouri, and still later chief justice of the Court of Claims at Washington, came first as chairman. Two Missouri congressmen, Ben Loan and J. W. McClurg, the latter afterwards governor, signed as vice chairmen of the delegation. One of the secretaries was the late Emil Preetorius of the St. Louis *Westliche Post*. Three of the seventy signers are living in 1911 and are well known in St. Louis—Enos Clarke, Charles P. Johnson and David Murphy. They were among the youngest members of the delegation. One of them, Charles P. Johnson, was chosen to speak at the Cooper Institute demonstration given to indorse this Missouri movement for universal emancipation, and was introduced to the great audience by the poet and editor, William Cullen Bryant. The forty-eight years gone by have not dimmed the recollection of that journey to Washington and of the scene in the east room of the White House by these three St. Louis participants, although time long ago tempered the sentiment and dissipated the bitterness. With some reluctance Enos Clarke spoke of this historic occasion, explaining that it is difficult for those who did not live through those trying times in St. Louis, or Missouri, to comprehend the conditions which prevailed:

“The feeling over our grievances had become intense. We represented the extreme anti-slavery sentiment. We were the Republicans who had been in accord with Fremont’s position. Both sides to the controversy in Missouri had repeatedly presented their views to President Lincoln, but this delegation of seventy was the most imposing and most formal protest which had been made to the Gamble state administration and the national administration’s policy in Missouri. The attention of the whole country, it seemed, had been drawn to Missouri. Our delegation met with a series of ovations. When we reached Washington we were informed that Secretary Chase proposed to tender us a reception. We were entertained by him the evening of the day we were received at the White House.”

“Who was the author of the address, Mr. Clarke?”

“The address was the result of several meetings we held after we reached Washington. We were there nearly a week. Arriving on Saturday, we did not have our conference at the White House until Wednesday. Every day we met in Willard’s Hall, on F street, and considered the address. Mr. Drake would read over a few paragraphs, and we would discuss them. At the close of the meeting Mr. Drake would say, ‘I will call you together tomorrow to further consider this matter.’ In that way the address progressed to the finish.”

“How did the President receive you?”

“There was no special greeting. We went to the White House a few minutes before nine, in accordance with the appointment which had been made, and took seats in the east room. Promptly at nine the president came in, unattended save by one of his secretaries. He did not shake hands, but sat down in such a position that he faced us. He seemed a great ungainly, almost uncouth man. He walked with a kind of ambling gait. His face bore the look of depression, of deep anxiety. Mr. Drake stepped forward as soon as the President had taken his seat and began to read the address. He had a deep, sonorous voice and he read slowly and in a most impressive manner. The reading occupied half an hour. At the conclusion Mr. Drake said this statement of our grievances had been prepared and signed by all of those present.”

“Did the President seem to be much affected by the reading?”

“No. And at the conclusion he began to discuss the address in a manner that was very disappointing to us. He took up one phrase after another and talked about them without showing much interest. In fact, he seemed inclined to treat many of the matters contained in the paper as of little importance. The things which we had felt to be so serious

Mr. Lincoln treated as really unworthy of much consideration. That was the tone in which he talked at first. He minimized what seemed to us most important."

"Did he indulge in any story telling or humorous comment?"

"No. There was nothing that seemed like levity at that stage of the conference. On the contrary, the President was almost impatient, as if he wished to get through with something disagreeable. When he had expressed the opinion that things were not so serious as we thought he began to ask questions, many of them. He elicited answers from different members of the delegation. He started argument, parrying some of the opinions expressed by us and advancing opinions contrary to the conclusions of our Committee of Seventy. This treatment of our grievances was carried so far that most of us felt a sense of deep chagrin. But after continuing in this line for some time the President's whole manner underwent change. It seemed as if he had been intent upon drawing us out. When satisfied that he fully understood us and had measured the strength of our purpose, the depth of our feeling, he took up the address as if new. He handled the various grievances in a most serious manner. He gave us the impression that he was disposed to regard them with as much concern as we did. After a while the conversation became colloquial between the President and the members of the delegation—more informal and more sympathetic. The change of tone made us feel that we were going to get consideration."

"What inspired that assertion in the address that the President had spoken of the trouble in Missouri as a 'factional quarrel?'"

"It was based on a letter President Lincoln had written to General Schofield some time previously. A copy of that letter was before us when we drew up the address. Apparently, for the purpose of informing General Schofield of his view of affairs in Missouri, Mr. Lincoln had written to him in this way: 'I did not relieve General Curtis because of my full conviction that he had done wrong by commission or omission. I did it because of a conviction in my mind that the Union men of Missouri, constituting, when united, a vast majority of the whole people, have entered into a pestilent factional quarrel among themselves. General Curtis, perhaps not of choice, being the head of one faction and Governor Gamble that of the other. After months of labor to reconcile the difficulty, it seemed to grow worse and worse until I felt it my duty to break it up somehow, and, as I could not remove Governor Gamble, I had to remove General Curtis.' This letter had found its way to the public and was made the basis of what our address said by way of vindication of the Radical Union men."

"Did the President make any reference to that part of the address about the 'factional quarrel?'"

"Yes, he did. And it was about the only thing he said that had a touch of humor in that long conversation. In the course of his reply to us he took up that grievance. 'Why,' he said, 'you are a long way behind the times in complaining of what I said upon that point. Governor Gamble was ahead of you. There came to me some time ago a letter complaining because I had said that he was a party to a factional quarrel, and I answered that letter without reading it.' The features of the president took on a whimsical look as he continued: 'Maybe you would like to know how I could answer it without reading it. Well, I'll tell you. My private secretary told me such a letter had been received and I sat down and wrote to Governor Gamble in about these words: I understand that a letter has been received from you complaining that I said you were a party to a factional quarrel in Missouri. I have not read that letter, and, what is more, I never will.' With that Mr. Lincoln dismissed our grievance about having been called parties to a factional quarrel. He left us to draw our own inference from what he said, as he had left Governor Gamble to construe the letter without help."

"Did the conference progress to satisfactory conclusions after the President's manner changed?"

"We did not receive specific promises, but I think we felt much better toward the close than we had felt in the first hour. The President spoke generally of his purposes rather than with reference to conditions in Missouri. Toward the close of the conference he went on to speak of his great office, of its burdens, of its responsibilities and duties.



GEN. FREDERICK DENT GRANT

In front of log house where he lived in
early childhood



THE LOG HOUSE THAT GRANT BUILT

Among other things he said that in the administration of the government he wanted to be the President of the whole people and no section. He thought we, possibly, failed to comprehend the enormous stress that rested upon him. 'It is my ambition and desire,' he said with considerable feeling, 'to so administer the affairs of the government while I remain President that if at the end I shall have lost every other friend on earth I shall at least have one friend remaining and that one shall be down inside of me.' "

"How long did the conference continue?"

"Three hours. It was nearing noon when the President said what I have just quoted. That seemed to be the signal to end the conference. Mr. Drake stepped forward and addressing the President, who was standing, said, with deliberation and emphasis: 'The hour has come when we can no longer trespass upon your attention. Having submitted to you in a formal way a statement of our grievances, we will take leave of you, asking the privilege that each member of the delegation may take you by the hand. But, in taking leave of you, Mr. President, let me say to you many of these gentlemen return to a border state filled with disloyal sentiment. If upon their return there the military policies of your administration shall subject them to risk of life in the defense of the government and their blood shall be shed—let me tell you, Mr. President, that their blood shall be upon your garments and not upon ours.' "

"How did the President receive that?"

"With great emotion. Tears trickled down his face, as we filed by shaking his hand."

"The Twentieth Century Club" was a St. Louis organization of more than local influence soon after the war. The idea was adapted from the "Bird Club" of Boston. Enos Clarke, then a young lawyer of Ohio nativity who had come to St. Louis from New York early in the Civil war, was one of the founders of the club. Carl Schurz was one of the leading spirits. The members numbered less than a score. They met once a week at the Planters' House and dined together. Very few guests were entertained. When a non-member looked around the table, he quickly discovered that he was in the presence of the men who shaped Republican action in Missouri. When the Republican party divided in 1870, the Twentieth Century members were aligned with the Liberal Republican movement. They put forward B. Gratz Brown. They went to the Liberal Republican convention and controlled it for Brown. Two years later this organization was potent in the movement to make the Liberal Republican policy national and to oppose Grant. Members of the Twentieth Century Club participated in the convention at Cincinnati which nominated Greeley and Brown.

Among the members of the Twentieth Century club were Carl Schurz, Henry T. Blow, Enos Clarke, Emil Pretorius, B. Gratz Brown, William M. Grosvenor, William Taussig, James Taussig, Charles P. Johnson, John McNeil, G. A. Finkelnburg and Felix Coste.

The meetings were held Saturday afternoons, continuing into the evenings. Carl Schurz, as a rule, presided. Perhaps no other coterie in the history of this city exercised for a like period such influence upon political affairs. Grosvenor was editor of the Missouri Democrat, now the Globe-Democrat. He afterwards became an editorial writer on the New York Tribune. Pretorius controlled the Westliche Post, then the most powerful German Republican paper in the country. This insured newspaper support of policies to which the club committed itself. Blow had been in Congress and was soon to be minister to Brazil. The Twentieth Century Club inaugurated the movement which made Schurz United States senator. The Liberal Republican movement not only elected one of the members, B. Gratz Brown, governor of Missouri, and made him the vice-

presidential nominee at Cincinnati in 1872, but it sent Mr. Finkelnburg to Congress and made Charles P. Johnson become lieutenant-governor.

In a newspaper office was conceived the other end of the political movement in which St. Louis had far reaching influence. Democratic co-operation was essential to the success of the Liberal Republican plan. The office was the Missouri Republican. The time was 1870. William Hyde and William H. Swift, with the advice of that astute politician, Henry C. Brockmeyer, and with the approval of George and John Knapp, committed the Democratic organization to the passive policy. Conflict of political opinion in Missouri was over the test oath and the disfranchisement of the Confederates. Republicans were divided. From the Republican office was exercised the influence which prompted Aylett H. Buckner, chairman of the Democratic state central committee, to call a meeting in St. Louis. Swift was the secretary of the committee. Resolutions binding the committee not to call a state convention that year, 1870, were carefully drawn and kept secret until the meeting was held. There were members who opposed the proposition and who favored the making of a straight fight. Before the opposition could organize, General James Shields moved the adoption of the resolutions and the Democratic party of Missouri was bound to make no nominations that year. There was no little protest but the compact with the Liberal Republicans was carried out.

Newspaper enterprise had something to do with the success of the plan. It was essential that the Republican convention, which was to divide, should be handled with care. William H. Swift was sent to Jefferson City for the Missouri Republican. His instructions were to spare no expense. It was of the greatest importance that the Liberal Republican movement and the passive policy should be given a good send off for the effect upon public sentiment in the state. "Holding the wire" was a newspaper feat made possible in those days by a rule of the telegraph companies. In the time of few wires and few operators, the newspaper which filed matter first had exclusive use of the facilities for transmission until all of its matter had been sent. Telegraph officials exercised no discretion as to character of copy. They broke in on press copy only to send commercial messages. Swift found two wires working from Jefferson City to St. Louis. He pre-empted them. On the hook over one instrument he hung the United States statutes and on the hook over the other table he hung the statutes of Missouri. Then he went about the collection and preparation of news of the convention. When the operators were ready for press they started on the statutes. When Mr. Swift came in with copy he slipped the sheets into the statutes so that they would go next. When other correspondents attempted to send, they discovered that they were barred so long as the Missouri Republican was willing to pay tolls on the statutes. Thus the anxious St. Louis public, during the hours while the split between the Republican factions at Jefferson City was widening, received information through a channel which gave the passive policy the best of it. In his extremity, Emil Preetorius appealed to George Knapp to let a dispatch go through to the Westliche Post. And the colonel, chivalric as he was, issued the order to Mr. Swift to oblige Mr. Preetorius. Swift refused. Colonel George threatened discharge. Swift was firm. Holding the wire meant a bill of \$1,500 to the Republican. When the correspondent got back to St. Louis and went down

to the office to turn in his expense account and to receive his discharge, George Knapp handed him an honorarium of \$500 and told him to take a vacation for two weeks. "Pay no attention to what I said to you at Jefferson City," Colonel Knapp said with a ghost of a smile.

Following the convention at Jefferson City, the following messages were exchanged:

St. Louis, Sept. 2, 1870.

B. Gratz Brown,
Jefferson City.

The negroes of this state are free. White men only are now enslaved. The people look to you and your friends to deliver them from this great wrong. Shall they look in vain?
J. B. Henderson.

Jefferson City, Sept. 2, 1870.

Hon. John B. Henderson,
St. Louis.

The confidence of the people of this state shall not be disappointed. I will carry out this canvass to its ultimate consequence so that no freeman not convicted of crime shall henceforth be deprived of an equal voice in our government.
B. Gratz Brown.

B. Gratz Brown was born in Kentucky, educated at Yale and became a resident of Missouri in 1850. Rather curiously he was very early identified with the German immigration as a champion of that element in the population of St. Louis. His early free soil sympathies probably had much to do with this leadership of the freedom loving Germans. He had the distinction of making the first speech in behalf of emancipation as a member of a southern legislature. It was thought at the time that he delivered the speech at the peril of his life in Jefferson City, and that he sacrificed all hope of a political future. He was denounced and proscribed but the Germans rallied solidly to his support and sent him back to the legislature before the war. Opposition and proscription only spurred B. Gratz Brown to greater efforts along the lines of his convictions. With Fred Muench and Emil Preterorius, Brown was very active in getting up the call for the first Republican convention in a slave state. He became a United States senator after serving in the army, largely through the sturdy support of the Germans of St. Louis.

Encouraged by their complete success in Missouri, the Liberal Republicans and the Democrats under inspiration from the St. Louis leaders attempted in 1872 the same policy on a national scale. The Liberal Republicans, with the Twentieth Century coterie and the Westliche Post following, started the movement. The Missouri Republican advocated a passive policy by the national Democratic organization. Opposition to Grant and to reconstruction measures furnished the platform. For months St. Louis was the center of political interest to the whole country.

The movement gained great headway among Liberal Republicans, and especially among the Germans throughout the country. A national convention was called to meet in Cincinnati. The state convention at Jefferson City, which elected delegates to this Liberal Republican convention at Cincinnati, was conducted practically by representatives of the Westliche Post. Joseph B. McCullagh reported the convention for the Missouri Democrat. He called it the "Bill and Joe Convention." "Bill and Joe" were William M. Grosvenor and Joseph

Pulitzer. The movement resulted in the Cincinnati convention and the nominations of Greeley and Brown. A fatal mistake was made by the Democratic National Convention in failing to carry out the policy. The Baltimore Convention of the Democratic party in 1872 took positive action on the ticket, instead of adopting the passive course, which had been pursued by the Democratic party of Missouri so successfully two years before. The result of the action at Baltimore was to antagonize the Liberal Republicans and many of the German voters. The Greeley and Brown ticket failed of the support expected for it from elements in the Republican party opposed to Grant and the reconstruction measures in the south.

CHAPTER XXIII.

ST. LOUISANS IN THE PUBLIC EYE

Laclede's Settlement as Pitman Saw it About 1766—Exploited by Charles Gratiot—The First St. Louis Millionaire—John Mullanphy, Shrewd, Eccentric and Philanthropic—Battle of New Orleans and a Cotton Corner—A Political Center in 1820—John Shackford's River Improvement Plan—Characteristics and Sayings of Benton—A Tribute to Edward Hempstead—How Death Came to the Old Roman—Bacon, the Financial Leader in 1854—General E. D. Baker's Humble Boyhood—Benton's Dying Protest Against Anti-Slavery Agitation—Lincoln's St. Louis Newspaper Alliance—Edward Bates in National Politics—Grant, Sherman, Schofield and Sigel—Captain Grant's Application to be County Engineer—Francis P. Blair, Jr.—The Famous Broadhead Letter—Blair to Frost on Camp Jackson—St. Louisans in the Cabinets of Harrison, Cleveland, McKinley, Roosevelt and Taft—Career of Ethan Allen Hitchcock—Growth of Richard Bartholdt to International Stature—The National Prosperity Association of 1908—Benjamin F. Yoakum's Timely Suggestion—E. C. Simmons' Call Upon President Roosevelt—A Movement Which Swept the Country—St. Louis "the Nerve Center of the United States."

Woe to the people that lets its historic memories die; recreant to honor, gratitude, yea to its own life, it perishes with them.—*Rev. Dr. T. M. Post, Dedication, Blair Monument.*

St. Louis came quickly within the world's vision. The third year after Laclede marked the first tree to guide Auguste Chouteau, a British officer visited the settlement. Captain Philip Pitman was of the engineer corps. He was sent west by General Gage in 1766. The year previously, Sterling and his Highlanders had arrived at Fort Chartres. The British government wished an expert report on the territory east of the Mississippi acquired from France. Pitman was selected by Gage to make it. Gage was in command of the military forces of Great Britain in America,—the same Gage who in the middle of the next decade precipitated the American Revolution by sending redcoats out of Boston to seize munitions at Concord, bringing on the battle of Lexington.

Pitman came to the Mississippi Valley,—“the country of the Illinois” it had been called. He devoted several months to his investigations. His journeying was not limited to British territory. St. Louis was visited, then not quite three years old. Pitman made his report to Gage in 1767. Three years later, in 1770, the observations and impressions in narrative form, were given to the world through a book published in London. Pitman mentioned St. Louis by that title but once. That was when he wrote of “the village of St. Louis” being “supplied with flour and provisions” from Ste. Genevieve. Elsewhere in recording his view of the settlement Pitman designated St. Louis as “Paincourt.”

Pitman described St. Louis as he found it in the early months of 1767 in these words—the first mention of St. Louis in print:

This village is one league and a half above Kaoquias, on the west side of the Mississippi, being the present headquarters of the French in these parts. It was first established in the year 1764 by a company of merchants, to whom Monsieur D'Abbadie had given an exclusive grant for the commerce with the Indian nations on the River Missouri; and for the security and encouragement of this settlement the staff of French officers and the com-

missary were ordered to remove here, upon the rendering Fort Chartres to the English; and great encouragement was given to the inhabitants to remove with them, most of whom did. The company has built a large house and stores here, and there are about forty-five houses and as many families. No fort or barracks are yet built. The French garrison consists of a captain-commandant, two lieutenants, a fort major, one sergeant, one corporal and twenty men.

Charles Gratiot traveled widely. Wherever he went he sounded the praises of St. Louis. In 1804 he was in Frankfort. John Mullanphy was keeping the principal store. He had come from Ireland twelve years before with a young wife. He tried Philadelphia and Baltimore, doing very well in business but the speculative spirit was strong in him and he had moved to Kentucky. Mullanphy listened to Gratiot's vivid description of the opportunities the new American town offered. The two men talked French. Mullanphy, in his young manhood, had crossed to France and had served some years in the Irish brigade of that country. The persuasion of Gratiot was effective. Mullanphy moved to St. Louis. He opened a store on Second street. Shrewd in business, speaking equally well the language of the old habitants and of the newcomers he prospered.

"The St. Louis millionaire," Brackenridge called John Mullanphy. There were other men of wealth during the decade after the American occupation but Brackenridge picked Mullanphy for "the millionaire." He told how the million came about. At the time of the war of 1812 Mullanphy was speculating in cotton. He had on hand a considerable quantity at New Orleans. General Jackson took this cotton to make the breastworks behind which he waited for Packenham, the English general. Mullanphy went to "Old Hickory" and protested. "This is your cotton?" said General Jackson. "Then no one has a better right to defend it. Take a musket and stand in the ranks." When the war was over, Mullanphy tore the breastworks to pieces, shipped his bales of cotton to England and cleared a million dollars. That was the story Brackenridge told preliminary to this:

One day he called to see me and invited me to dine with him. I found him in a large brick house, perhaps the largest in the town, unfurnished and untenanted with the exception of a back room of which he was the sole occupant. Here I found him seated before a wood fire (coal was not in use at that time), while two catfish heads were broiling on two chips of wood. "There," said he, "you see your dinner; that head is yours and this is mine; we must each do the cooking." It was a Barmecide feast, and I determined to humor it. We had some excellent bread and butter, and to make amends for the dishes, drank exquisite Madeira out of tumblers. The dessert, I must add, was the most substantial part of the entertainment. Going to his safe, he brought forth a bag of dollars and placing it on the table, "There," said he, "is a retaining fee if I should want your professional services."

Two years previous to his arrival in St. Louis Mullanphy built a brig at Frankfort, on the Kentucky river, loaded the ship with products and sent it to the Indies while the Mississippi river at its mouth was yet in the possession and control of Spain. Everything in which Mr. Mullanphy engaged seemed to turn out prosperously. He kept a book store several years prior to 1800 at Frankfort and made money at it. John Mullanphy knew books; he became possessed of the finest private library in St. Louis. It was said of him that he built more houses and contributed more than any other citizen to the early building of St. Louis. He was repeatedly a member of the board of aldermen.

In the biography of General Andrew Jackson this version of Mr. Mullanphy and the cotton bales is given:

An additional number of bales was taken to defend the embrasures. A Frenchman whose property had been thus without his consent seized, fearing of the injury it might sustain, proceeded in person to General Jackson to reclaim it and demand its delivery. The general, having heard his complaint and ascertaining from him that he was employed in no military service, directed a musket be brought him and placing it in his hand ordered him on the line, remarking at the same time, "that as he seemed to be a man possessed of property he knew of none who had a better right to fight to defend it."

The error of the biographer in calling Mr. Mullanphy a Frenchman may be easily explained by the fact that the Irishman had obtained a good knowledge of the French language and might easily have passed for a Frenchman. The most accurate version of the New Orleans experience was undoubtedly that which Mr. Mullanphy gave to John F. Darby and which Mr. Darby made public:

After the battle was over, Mr. Mullanphy said he could hear people on all sides saying they would look to the government for their cotton; and he knew it would take a long time to get money out of the government. Great delay, much expense, and an act of Congress would have been required. He went to General Jackson, and said if he would order the same number of sound bales, not torn by cannon balls or damaged in any way, returned to him as had been taken from him, he would give a release for all claims upon the government. General Jackson directed his quartermaster to do this, and Mullanphy received the same number of sound bales as had been taken from him. All the balance of the cotton used in the breastworks was put up at auction and sold for a mere trifle.

No cotton could be sold for more than three or four cents a pound. After the battle Mr. Mullanphy seemed to have a premonition that peace would be made soon. The mails were carried to New Orleans at that time all of the way on horseback via Natchez. No steamboats were running there at that date, and no mail coaches ran in that flat swampy country. Mr. Mullanphy hired a couple of men to take a skiff and row him up the Mississippi river to Natchez. They ate and slept in the skiff. No one knew the object of his visit; the men with him knew nothing of his purpose, and were left in charge of the skiff on their arrival at Natchez, with injunctions to stay in the boat all of the time, as he did not know what minute he might want to return. He went up into the town of Natchez and sauntered around, when late in the evening the post rider came riding at full speed, shouting, "Peace! Peace!" having, it is said, got a fresh horse every ten miles to hasten the glad tidings and prevent the further destruction of life. Mr. Mullanphy ran down to the river, jumped into his skiff and ordered his men to row with all their might for New Orleans, as he had important business there to attend to. The men knew not what had occurred, and rowed all night and all next day with the swift current of the Mississippi, reaching New Orleans in good time. Mr. Mullanphy was the only man in the city who had the news of peace. He was self-composed—showed no excitement. He began purchasing all the cotton he could buy or bargain for. He had about two days' the start of the others. Late in the evening of the second day from the large amount of cotton purchased by him, people began to talk and to suspect that he had some secret information. The third day, in the morning, the whole town was rejoicing; the news of peace had come, and cannon were announcing it, but Mr. Mullanphy had the cotton. Mr. Mullanphy chartered a vessel and took the cotton, which he had purchased at three or four cents a pound, to England, where he sold it, as was reported, at thirty cents a pound. And a part of the specie and bullion brought back with him as the returns from his cotton was sold by him to the government of the United States on which to base the capital for the Bank of the United States.

John Mullanphy was very tenacious of his legal rights. He frequently made use of the expression that he would spend \$1,000 before he would be cheated out of one dollar. The many houses which he constructed brought him into disputes with mechanics and laborers, but he would insist on fighting in

court and would not accept compromises. Not infrequently a change of venue in some of his litigation would take Mr. Mullanphy to St. Charles, for he made it a practice to be present in court whenever he was interested in a case there. Driving over from St. Louis to St. Charles he carried with him a box of his own imported wine which he labeled "Tracts." He prided himself on importing the best wine brought to St. Louis. After court at St. Charles Mr. Mullanphy entertained in the hotel, drew on his supply of wine and narrated recollections of Napoleon and of his military experience in the French army.

On one occasion Mr. Mullanphy repudiated the bill of Victor Hab who had charged \$7 for boring out a pump on a property owned by Mr. Mullanphy. The case was kept in court and cost a great deal of money, Mr. Mullanphy refusing to pay more than \$5 and preferring to pay witness fees and costs rather than acknowledge the justice of Victor Hab's bill.

Mr. Mullanphy was a very aggressive opponent of Free Masons. He used to tell John F. Darby, his lawyer, that the Free Masons had beaten him out of \$50,000 by getting on juries and rendering verdicts against him. During a certain trial, when the witness put his hand to the head and ran his fingers through the hair, Mr. Mullanphy cried out: "Look! look! he is giving the jury the sign; he is a Free Mason." He would advise young lawyers to be on their guard against letting Free Masons on the jury. He professed to know the grips and signs and exposed them; he would say: "You are a young man and I want to admonish you to look out for these fellows."

John Mullanphy's contributions to charity were the most notable in that period of the city's life. He gave a large piece of ground for the Sister's hospital, covering a block on Fourth street. He left a large site for the Sacred Heart convent, on Fourth street opposite the French market. He founded a convent in Florissant. A favorite custom with him was to place in the hands of the only baker in St. Louis, Daniel D. Page, a considerable sum of money, sometimes as much as \$300 or \$400, with instructions to give loaves of bread to those unable to buy and to let him know when the credit was exhausted.

The first and second delegates from Missouri Territory to congress were Connecticut men from St. Louis—Edward Hempstead and Rufus Easton. The first two United States senators for Missouri were North Carolina men both of them from St. Louis. The first territorial legislature met here. St. Louis was the political center of Missouri for many years after the American flag went up at government house on Walnut street. When campaigns came on, leaders went out from the metropolis to inform the country constituency upon the issues of the day. During Andrew Jackson's first candidacy for President, one of the speakers sent from St. Louis, a young lawyer, brought back from the interior of the state a story of his experience which was told in political circles for many years. This spellbinder of 1820-30 was addressing a meeting of pioneers in the woods, some distance this side of what is now Jefferson City. He told of Jackson's military services at New Orleans, in the Creek war and in Florida. He dwelt upon the political principles of Jackson as appealing to the plain people. It was, in those days quite the proper thing for auditors to ask questions of a speaker. When Mr. Lincoln went east in 1859 to make his Cooper Union speech and followed it with several addresses in New England, he would occa-



GEN. A. J. SMITH



COL. SAMUEL McREE



GEN. JOHN W. TURNER



GEN. EMMETT McDONALD



GEN. S. W. KEARNY

sionally pause as if he expected a question or a comment from the audience. At Exeter, after one of these pauses in which he had looked from side to side as if waiting for something to be said, he began again with: "You people here don't jaw back at a fellow as they do out west."

The St. Louis orator calculated on making his most effective points in response to questions or interruptions. At the Jackson meeting, a settler broke in with, "Wa'll now capting, mought I ax if Ginral Jacksing's a riglar Missourian, an' what he did for the people of this here state?"

"A very fair question," replied the orator from St. Louis, with an air of gratitude toward the settler. "General Jackson settled away far west in Missouri, and there opened a store for the special accommodation of farmers who were at the mercy of Yankee speculators charging big prices for their 'notions' and taking in return three times the fair amount in 'prodooce.' It's well known the honest general, when things were dearest, never charged more than a picayune a pound for sugar and coffee."

The orator told when he returned to St. Louis that this statement aroused great enthusiasm with shouts of "Hurrah for Jacksing!" "Bully for the ginral!" "He'll carry Osage county, sure!"

The story lived beyond the campaign of 1824. It was told in Washington. Long after Jackson had been twice President, St. Louisans visiting the east were asked if it was true that Democrats in Missouri were "still voting for General Jacksing."

A most enthusiastic volunteer soldier was Thornton Grimsley, commonly known as Colonel Grimsley. He held everything in the militia service from orderly to division inspector. He raised the St. Louis volunteer command in 1832 for the Black Hawk War. Four years later General Jackson tendered to Thornton Grimsley a captain's commission in the dragoons of the regular army, but the honor was declined. When the Mexican war came in 1846, Colonel Grimsley raised a St. Louis regiment of 800 men for the war. He was politically in opposition to the governor of Missouri at that time; the commission went to another man.

John Shackford was a wholesale grocer on the St. Louis Levee. His partner was his son-in-law, General Nathan Ranney. Grocery stocks were brought down the Ohio. When steamboats came into use they had great trouble in passing the falls at Louisville. In the earlier period of flat boats and keel boats of lighter draft, the obstruction was not so serious. John Shackford became an advocate of a canal around the falls. He took stock in a proposed canal. Then he gave up his business in St. Louis and went to Louisville to push the canal. The government had assisted by taking stock in the canal company. Funds gave out. John Shackford went to Washington and induced the government to give more aid. The canal was built. Navigation in the Ohio was made easy. History gives the credit to John Shackford. The visit to Washington brought about wide acquaintance with public men. John Shackford was made sergeant-at-arms of the senate and held that office till his death.

Mr. Benton seldom spoke of the duel with Lucas. One of the few occasions was on New Year's day 1856, in Washington. Mr. Benton, who had then become a representative, was receiving a call from Hon. Elihu B. Washburne

who was also a member of the Thirty-fourth Congress. The conversation had turned upon the Hempstead family in St. Louis. Mr. Benton paused in the midst of his reminiscences and said:

Sir, how we did things in those days! After being up with my dead friend all night, I went to my office in the morning to refresh myself a little before going out to bury him five miles from town. While sitting at my table writing, a man brought me a challenge to fight a duel. I told the bearer instantler: "I accept, but I must now go and bury a dead friend; that is my first duty. After that is discharged I will fight, tonight if possible, if not, tomorrow morning at daybreak. I accept your challenge, sir, and Colonel Lawless will write the acceptance and fix the terms for me." I was outraged, sir, that the challenge should have been sent when I was burying a friend. I thought it might have been kept a few days. But when it came I was ready for it.

Mr. Washburne was so impressed with the statement of Mr. Benton that as soon as he returned to his boarding house he wrote it out. The friend to whom Mr. Benton referred was Edward Hempstead, the first of the Hempsteads to come to St. Louis. He took up his residence here in 1805. In August, 1817, he had been out campaigning in behalf of John Scott whom he was supporting for delegate to Congress. As he rode from St. Charles to St. Louis he was thrown from his horse. The injury to the head which Mr. Hempstead received did not seem serious but a few days later, during the argument of a case in court, a fatal attack of congestion of the brain occurred suddenly. Of his friend Mr. Benton said:

Missouri met an irreparable loss when Edward Hempstead died. No man could have stood higher in public or private estimation, and had he lived he would have received every honor that the state could bestow, and would certainly have been the first United States senator. He lost his life in serving a friend, Mr. Scott. I was with him the night of his death.

It is not at all improbable that much admiration and love of Benton was because of the enemies he made. That is an element of success in political life which some public men have understood and applied with marked results. Benton was such a politician. He not only did not placate but he lost no opportunity to pillory his enemies.

"Citizens," he said, "I have been dogged all over the state by such men as Claud Jones and Jim Burch. Pericles was once so dogged. He called a servant, made him light a lamp, and show the man who had dogged him to his gate the way home. But it could not be expected of me, citizens, that I should ask any servant of mine, either white or black, or any free negro, to perform an office of such humiliating degradation as to gallant home such men as Claud Jones and Jim Burch; and that with a lamp, citizens, that passers by might see what kind of company my servants kept."

"Citizens!" he said on another occasion, "when I went to Fayette, in Howard county, the other day, to address the people, Claib Jackson, old Doctor Lowry, and the whole faction had given out that I should not speak there. When the time came to fulfill my appointment, I walked up into the college hall and commenced my address to the large assembly of people collected to hear me; and I had not spoken ten minutes before Claib Jackson, old Doctor Lowry, and the whole faction marched in, and took seats as modestly as a parcel of disreputable characters at a baptizing."

The greatness of Benton was not dimmed in his closing hours. Only three days before his death Mr. Benton sent for President Buchanan to exhort him to preserve the Union. Taking the hand of the president, he said:

Buchanan, we are friends; we have differed on many points, as you well know, but I always trusted in your integrity of purpose. I supported you in preference to Frémont, because he headed a sectional party, whose success would have been the signal for disunion. I have known you long, and I knew you would honestly endeavor to do right. I have that faith in you now, but you must look to a higher power to support and guide you. We will soon meet in another world; I am going now; you will soon follow. My peace with God is made, my earthly affairs arranged; but I could not go without seeing you and thanking you for your interest in my child.

Death came to the old Roman on the 10th of April, 1858. Almost to the last hour he was engaged in dictating the closing chapter of his great work. Two days before he died Mr. Benton wrote the following note to "Samuel Houston, Esq., Senator in Congress from the State of Texas," and "George W. Jones, Esq., Representative in Congress from the State of Tennessee," viz.:

C STREET, WASHINGTON, April 8, 1858.

To you, as old Tennessee friends, I address myself, to say that in the event of my death here I desire that there should not be any notice taken of it in Congress. There is no rule of either house that will authorize the announcement of my death, and if there were such a rule I should not wish it to be applied in my case, as being contrary to my feelings and convictions long entertained.

Your old Tennessee friend,

THOMAS H. BENTON.

The venerable Horatio King, postmaster general in Buchanan's cabinet and "the first man in office to deny the right of a state to withdraw from the Union," wrote to the Washington Chronicle this account of Mr. Benton's fatal illness:

As early as in September, 1857, Colonel Benton had a severe attack of what he supposed to be colic, when Dr. J. F. May, his physician, pronounced his disease (cancer of the bowels) incurable, and so informed him. This Dr. May states in a letter, under date of April 13, 1858, to Mr. William Carey Jones, the son-in-law of Mr. Benton. Dr. May proceeds:

"Before he was relieved, in the attack just spoken of, he had given up all hope of life. He told me he was satisfied the hour of his dissolution was near at hand—that it was impossible for him to recover—and that his only regrets at parting with the world were in 'separating from his children, and in leaving his great work undone; that death had no terrors for him, for he had thought on that subject too long to feel any.' "

In the intervals of his visits to him during the last week of his illness Dr. May said he ascertained that he was in the habit of correcting proof-sheets, and "I recollect one occasion (said he) when I did not suppose he could stand, he suddenly arose from his bed, and, in the face of all remonstrance, walked to his table at some distance off, and corrected and finished the conclusion of another work on which he was engaged. His unconquerable will enabled him to do it, but when done he was so exhausted I had to take the pen from his hand to give it the direction. As soon as he recovered from the immediate danger of this attack he labored, as he had done for years before, constantly at his task, rising at daylight, and writing incessantly, with the exception of the hour he usually devoted to his afternoon ride on his horse, which he seemed to think was a benefit to him, and at this labor he continued from day to day until about a week before his death, when, no longer able to rise from weakness he wrote in his bed, and when no longer able to do that dictated his views to others."

Thus it may be truly said of him, he literally died in harness, battling steadily, from day to day, with the most formidable malady that afflicts humanity, his intellect unclouded, and his iron will sustaining him in the execution of his great national work to the last moment of his existence.

The Rev. Dr. Byron Sunderland conducted the funeral of Mr. Benton held in Washington before the departure for St. Louis. He said:

During the last week of Colonel Benton's life I had several interviews with him at his own request. Our conversation was mainly on the subject of religion, and in regard to his own views and exercises in the speedy prospect of death. In these conversations he most emphatically and distinctly renounced all self-reliance, and cast himself entirely on the mediation of the Lord Jesus Christ as the ground of his acceptance with God. His own words were "God's mercy in Jesus Christ is my sole reliance."

The Bay State gave to St. Louis the man who for nearly a decade was probably the leading financier between the Alleghanies and the Rocky Mountains. In 1854 the exchanges of the banking house of Page & Bacon reached the enormous total for that period of \$80,000,000. Henry D. Bacon was from East Granville, Massachusetts. Mr. Bacon was the son-in-law of Daniel D. Page, who had made a very large fortune at St. Louis in flour. The firm went down in 1855, but not until after it had shown a spirit of enterprise, which had accomplished a great deal for St. Louis. Page & Bacon advanced the money for the building of the larger part of the Ohio & Mississippi Railroad to St. Louis. Henry D. Bacon went west after the failure in St. Louis. On the Pacific coast he built another fortune. The generation of St. Louisans who knew of his good works in this city had almost passed away when in 1881 news came back of the dedication of "The Bacon Art and Library Building," as part of the University of California. Besides giving largely toward the building Mr. Bacon presented a collection of paintings and sculpture and a library of several thousand volumes.

The battle of Ball's Bluff sent a shock through the north. For numbers engaged it was insignificant. The time was the first year of the Civil war, before great engagements had inured the people to the consequences of fighting. That which made Ball's Bluff, the Virginia landmark, long remembered was the death of Edward Dickinson Baker, at the head of a regiment which he had raised. At the time of his death Baker was a United States senator from Oregon. Thirty-five years before he was a boy driving a horse and cart in St. Louis. His father had come from Lancaster in England, bringing a large family and little means. The boy was put to work with the horse and cart, hauling dirt and doing such express errands as could be found. One day he left the horse standing at the corner of Third and Market streets, and, while waiting for a job, went into the circuit court then held in the building erected for the Baptist church. Edward Bates was addressing a jury. He was a gentle, quiet mannered man. When he arose to speak, he had a power which was peculiarly his own with an audience. There was not the slightest tendency to bombast. There was no effort to be impressive. Bates was a winning speaker. He charmed all who listened. The boy, uneducated and unformed in character, forgot his horse and cart, remaining in the courtroom to the end of the speech. He went home and told his father that was the end of cart driving for him. "I'm going to be a lawyer," he said in reply to the question what he meant.

The boy picked up education in scraps. His father, who had been a schoolmaster, taught him as well as he could. Almost before he reached manhood, young Baker got a school to teach in Illinois. He lost no opportunity to practice public speaking. On Sundays he preached in the Baptist church. It is tradition

that he picked up some medical knowledge and did a little at doctoring. But the law was his goal. He read as opportunity permitted. In 1837 he was elected to the Illinois legislature and in 1840 he became a state senator. After that he ranked with Lincoln and Douglas as a political speaker. There is a story of ambition handed down from the Illinois campaign of 1840 in which Baker was one of the leading participants. It is said that, referring to the fact his foreign birth debarred him from aspiring to the presidency, he declared "it is a great calamity and misfortune to me," and shed tears. Four years later an Illinois district sent Baker to Congress. The Mexican war came on. Baker went in command of an Illinois regiment. Then he settled in California when the discovery of gold prompted the flood of immigration there. He moved to Oregon and was elected a senator when that territory was admitted to the Union in 1860. At the outbreak of the war, Baker went to Pennsylvania and, appealing to returned gold seekers, raised a command which was called the "California Regiment." In October, 1861, he fell on the battlefield. At that time the lawyer whose speech in the court at St. Louis had captivated the English boy and had furnished the inspiration of his career was a member of President Lincoln's cabinet,—Attorney General Bates.

"I wish you to get the St. Louis Democrat—change its name and character—for no useful paper can now ever be made of it. I will be in St. Louis in April and assist you. The paper is given up to the slavery subject, agitating state emancipation against my established and known policy."

Thus Thomas H. Benton wrote from Washington to one of his wealthy and influential friends in St. Louis in 1857. Back of this letter of "the old Roman" is a story of journalism and politics with Abraham Lincoln as one of the principals. Between the law office in Springfield and the printing office in St. Louis was growing a relationship which was of far reaching influence. Benton realized that new forces were at work. He failed to measure them. Bentonism was waning rapidly. A new master hand in the making of public sentiment was in the field. Benton, in his third of a century of political success had never minimized the importance of newspaper support. Lincoln had Benton's respect for the power of the press and more than Benton's facility for making use of it to form public sentiment as the political and newspaper evolution at St. Louis showed.

Not all of Benton's remarkable letter on the subject of the Missouri Democrat has been given. The demand that the paper be obtained and changed was preceded by this:

"My friends told me that these persons would turn out for abolition in the state as soon as the election was over but I would not believe them. For persons calling themselves my friends to attack the whole policy of my life, which was to keep slavery agitation out of the state, and get my support in the canvass by keeping me ignorant of what they intended to do is the greatest outrage I have experienced. Those who have done it have never communicated one word to me in justification or explanation of their conduct; for it is something they can neither explain nor justify."

Benton's protest was of no avail. The next year, 1858, the Missouri Democrat was openly fighting the battle of Lincoln against Douglas in Illinois, and

John Hay was the staff correspondent, attending and reporting for the Democrat the joint debates. From that time to the nomination in 1860, the Missouri Democrat was the consistent supporter of Mr. Lincoln, the circulation in Illinois and the staff correspondence from Kansas making the paper of great influence. Between Mr. Lincoln's law office in Springfield and the Missouri Democrat editorial room in St. Louis, there was frequent communication through John Hay.

The statesman of St. Louis in that period, the clearest-sighted of them all, was Edward Bates. He had seen the Whig party go to pieces. He was in thorough sympathy with the work of party construction which Lincoln was doing in Illinois. He was not active in the Lincoln movement at St. Louis but he was a wise adviser. There was but very little of the Republican party in Missouri outside of St. Louis. And in the city the interest centered at the Missouri Democrat office. When the time came to send a delegation to the Chicago convention of 1860, the delegation went committed to Edward Bates, but, as Mr. Bates explained, not with the expectation that he would be nominated. The purpose was to hold the delegation away from an eastern candidate. Lincoln was almost as much the candidate of the Missouri delegation as if instructions had been given for him. After the nomination Mr. Bates wrote a letter to O. H. Browning of Quincy. He not only declared for Mr. Lincoln but he pointed out in his convincing way the strength of Mr. Lincoln as a candidate. He considered Mr. Lincoln stronger than the platform.

"As to the platform," Judge Bates wrote, "I have little to say, because whether good or bad, that will not constitute the ground of my support of Mr. Lincoln."

I consider Mr. Lincoln a sound, safe, national man. He could not be sectional if he tried. His birth, the habits of his life and his geographical position compel him to be national. All his feelings and interests are identified with the great valley of the Mississippi, near whose center he has spent his whole life. That valley is not a section, but conspicuously the body of the nation, and, large as it is, it is not capable of being divided into sections, for the great river cannot be divided. It is one and indivisible and the north and the south are alike necessary to its comfort and prosperity. Its people, too, in all their interests and affections, are as broad and generous as the regions they inhabit. They are emigrants, a mixed multitude, coming from every state in the Union, and from most countries in Europe. They are unwilling, therefore, to submit to any one petty local standard. They love the nation as a whole, and they love all its parts, for they are bound to them all, not only by a feeling of common interest and mutual dependence, but also by the recollections of childhood and youth, by blood and friendship, and by all those social and domestic charities which sweeten life, and make this world worth living in. The valley is beginning to feel its power, and will soon be strong enough to dictate the law of the land. Whenever that state of things shall come to pass, it will be most fortunate for the nation to find the powers of the government lodged in the hands of men whose habits of thought, whose position and surrounding circumstances constrain them to use those powers for general and not sectional ends.

With such broad and statesmanlike views of the situation, Mr. Bates led up to his personal and intimate estimate of Mr. Lincoln.

I have known Mr. Lincoln for more than twenty years, and therefore have a right to speak of him with some confidence. As an individual he has earned a high reputation for truth, courage, candor, morals and amiability, so that as a man he is most trustworthy. And in this particular he is more entitled to our esteem than some other men,



MAJOR THOMAS BIDDLE
Principal in the fatal Pettis-Biddle Duel



HENRY S. TURNER



GEN. DAVID M. FROST
From a picture taken a short time
before the capture of Camp
Jackson

his equals, who had far better opportunities and aids in early life. His talents and the will to use them to the best advantage are unquestionable; and the proof is found in the fact that, in every position in life, from his humble beginning to his present well earned elevation, he has more than fulfilled the best hopes of his friends. And now in the full vigor of his manhood and in the honest pride of having made himself what he is, he is the peer of the first men of the nation, well able to sustain himself and advance his cause against any adversary, and in any field where mind and knowledge are the weapons used.

In politics he has acted out the principles of his own moral and intellectual character. He has not concealed his thoughts or hidden his light under a bushel. With the boldness of conscious rectitude and the frankness of downright honesty, he has not failed to avow his opinions of public officers upon all fitting occasions.

I give my opinion freely in favor of Mr. Lincoln and I hope that for the good of the whole country he may be elected.

Edward Bates had declined a place in the cabinet of Mr. Fillmore a few years before. He accepted the attorney generalship with Mr. Lincoln. The selection of Mr. Bates and Mr. Montgomery Blair for cabinet positions was almost equivalent to giving St. Louis two places. One of the early acts of the President was the appointment of Mr. Foy, who had been the editorial writer on the Democrat during the period of the close relationship with Mr. Lincoln, to the postmastership of St. Louis.

Just before the Civil war, Ulysses S. Grant was selling wood in St. Louis; William Tecumseh Sherman was managing the Fifth street railroad; John M. Schofield was an instructor in Washington University. They rose to the rank of lieutenant-general, commanding the United States army. Franz Sigel was teaching school in St. Louis and Peter John Osterhaus had a little business across the river. They became major generals of volunteers in the Union army.

An incident of hitherto unwritten war history was the action of a conference held in the office of the State Journal at St. Louis. The editor was Deacon Tucker. His paper was looked upon as the organ of the Democrats who sympathized most strongly with the south. Governor Claiborne Jackson came from Jefferson City to attend the conference. David H. Armstrong, Basil Duke, Robert M. Renick were among the St. Louisans present, while the interior of the state was represented by half a dozen generals and colonels of the state militia. The purpose of the conference was to select some one to command the state troops. Governor Jackson proposed Captain U. S. Grant. Deacon Tucker urged the selection of Sterling Price. At that time Price was a pronounced Union man. He had presided over the state convention which declared against secession. Governor Jackson continued to urge the reasons why he favored Grant until Mr. Dent, the father-in-law of Captain Grant, strenuously opposed the proposition. The choice fell upon Price. The day after the conference an effort was made to find Grant, when it was discovered that he had gone to Illinois. Shortly afterwards he offered his services to Governor Yates and was given a regiment. Price clung to the hope that he could, with his state guards, preserve the neutrality of Missouri; that the United States troops would not go outside of the arsenal and Jefferson Barracks against the protest of the state government. Then came the capture of St. Louis militia in Camp Jackson. Price joined his fortunes with the Confederacy.

Grant tried to establish himself permanently in St. Louis. He lived several years in his own house. On the 15th of August, 1859, he filed his application

for the appointment of county engineer. Addressing his letter to the county commissioners, he submitted the names of "a few citizens who have been kind enough to recommend me for the office." He added, "I have made no effort to get a large number of names nor the names of persons with whom I am not personally acquainted." The petition bore the signatures of these:

THOMAS E. TUTT
 FRED OVERSTOLZ
 JOHN P. HELFENSTEIN
 TAYLOR BLOW
 JAMES M. HUGHES
 JOHN MITCHELL
 J. G. McCLELLAN
 CHARLES A. POPE
 W. S. HILLYER
 C. S. PUSKETT
 C. W. FORD
 A. J. ROBINSON
 DANIEL M. FROST
 ROBERT M. RENICK
 ROBERT J. HORNSBY
 THOMAS MARSHALL
 JOHN O'FALLON
 JOHN F. DARBY

N. J. EATON
 THORNTON GRIMSLEY
 SAM B. CHURCHILL
 L. A. BENOIST & CO.
 L. G. PARDEE
 JAMES C. MOODEY
 FELIX COSTE
 BAUMAN & CO.
 WM. L. PITKIN
 J. A. BARRETT
 K. MCKENZIE
 GEORGE A. MOORE
 R. A. BARNES
 G. W. FISHBACK
 J. MCKNIGHT
 JOHN HOW
 EDWARD WALSH

Accompanying the application were the following high indorsements:

St. Louis, August 1, 1859.—Capt. U. S. Grant was a member of the class at the military academy, West Point, which graduated in 1843. He always maintained a high standing and graduated with great credit, especially in mathematics, mechanics and engineering. From my personal knowledge of his capacity and acquirements, as well as his strict integrity and unremitting industry, I consider him in an eminent degree qualified for the office of county engineer.

I. I. REYNOLDS.

Professor Mechanics and Engineering, Washington University.

I was for three years in the corps of cadets at West Point with Capt. Grant and afterward served with him for some eight years in the army, and can fully indorse the foregoing statements of Prof. Reynolds.

(Signed) D. M. FROST.

On the back of the application was indorsed, "1859, application of Captain U. S. Grant to be appointed county engineer. Rejected."

During the Civil war this indorsement was changed to read, "Not appointed."

The county commissioners were John H. Lightner, Benjamin Farrar, William Taussig, Alton R. Easton, and Peregrine Tippet. Mr. Easton and Mr. Tippet voted for Grant. The others voted for Charles E. Salomon. With grim satire General Grant, in his memoirs recalled this experience:

While a citizen of St. Louis and engaged in the real estate agency business, I was a candidate for the office of county engineer, an office of respectability and emolument, which would have been very acceptable to me at that time. The incumbent was appointed by the County Court, which consisted of five members. My opponent had the advantage of birth over me (he being a citizen by adoption), and carried off the prize.

The Grants never returned to St. Louis to live but the memories of the children of the general clung to the early home. General Grant acquired the estate of his father-in-law, White Haven, and maintained it for years. While at the head of the army and while President he made several visits to the

place. He looked forward to the time when he might retire and spend his declining years there. During the World's Fair, General Frederick Dent Grant spoke feelingly of the house in which, as a boy, he had lived. He visited it in company with Cyrus F. Blanke and was photographed, sitting on his horse, at the front door. Mrs. Nellie Grant Sartoris always showed strong affection for St. Louis. When Nellie Grant's marriage occurred in the White House, John N. Edwards wrote for the St. Louis Times a congratulation from St. Louis which brought from Mrs. Grant a personal letter full of appreciation for the remembrance of the Grants by their old time friends.

The year before Camp Jackson, in 1860, the militia of St. Louis were ordered into camp under the same provisions of law that applied to the formation of Camp Jackson. Among the militia companies which went into camp in 1860 were Germans who, the next year, participated with Lyon in the capture of Camp Jackson. Captain Stifel who commanded a regiment of Lyon's force had a company of militia cavalry under Frost in the camp of 1860. Some of the German militia in the camp of 1860, it was found, had difficulty in understanding the commands given in English. At Captain Stifel's suggestion, Franz Sigel, then a St. Louis school teacher, was employed to translate commands into German so that German militia could learn the tactics. This was carried out. A few months later Sigel was in command of one of the Lyon regiments which marched on Camp Jackson. His men sang through years of war their song "Fight mit Sigel." A statue of Sigel stands in Forest Park.

The Blairs were Kentuckians. Their father was an editor and a politician in Lexington and afterwards in Washington when the Democratic administration maintained an organ in the *Globe*. On the mother's side the descent was from Gist, the companion of Daniel Boone. When Francis P. Blair, Jr., a young lawyer, just graduated from Transylvania joined his brother Montgomery in St. Louis, in 1843, he was so delicate in health, his physician sent him to the Rocky Mountains to rough it with the trappers and traders. He joined General Kearny's command as a lieutenant and served in the Mexican war. When he came back to St. Louis in 1847 he was ready for stratagem and fighting. A member of the legislature in 1852, a free soil representative in Congress in 1856, a colonel of Union volunteers in 1861, a major general before the war ended, a Democratic nominee for vice-president in 1868, a United States senator, Frank Blair won a conspicuous place in the St. Louis hall of fame. It is interesting to read in a biography of Blair written about 1857, and presumably approved if not written by him, his political position given in these words:

He is no believer in the unholy and disgusting tenets advocated by Abolition fanaticism, but advocates the gradual abolition of slavery in the Union, and the colonization of the slaves emancipated in Central America, which climate appears to be happily adapted to their constitutional idiosyncracies.

Mrs. Francis P. Blair was Miss Apolline Alexander of the Woodward county, Kentucky, Alexanders.

With a cloak drawn over his shoulders, his strongly marked features, deep set eyes, long drooping moustache, Francis P. Blair was a man people on the streets of St. Louis turned to look after.

In the presidential campaign of 1868, a former St. Louisan headed one ticket—Grant and Colfax! a St. Louisan held the second place on the other side—Seymour and Blair. For that campaign Francis P. Blair furnished the issue in what became historic as “the Broadhead letter.”

WASHINGTON, June 20, 1868.

COLONEL JAMES O. BROADHEAD:

Dear Colonel: In reply to your inquiries I beg to say that I leave to you to determine, on consultation with my friends from Missouri, whether my name shall be presented to the Democratic convention, and to submit the following as what I consider the real and only issue in this contest:

The reconstruction policy of the Radicals will be complete before the next election; the states, so long excluded, will have been admitted; negro suffrage established, and the carpet-baggers installed in their seats in Congress. There is no possibility of changing the political character of the Senate, even if the Democrats should elect their President, and a majority of the popular branch of Congress. We cannot, therefore, undo the radical plan of reconstruction by Congressional action; the Senate will continue a bar to its repeal. Must we submit to it? How can it be overthrown? It can be overthrown only by the authority of the executive, who is sworn to maintain the Constitution, and who will fail to do his duty if he allows the Constitution to perish under a series of Congressional enactments which are in palpable violation of its fundamental principles.

If the President, elected by the Democracy, enforces or permits others to enforce the reconstruction acts, the Radicals, by the accession of twenty spurious senators and fifty representatives will control both branches of Congress and his administration will be as powerless as the present one of Mr. Johnson.

There is but one way to restore the government and the constitution, and that is for the President-elect to declare these acts null and void, compel the army to undo its usurpation at the south, disperse the carpet-bag state governments, allow the white people to organize their own governments and elect senators and representatives. The House of Representatives will contain a majority of Democrats from the north, and they will admit the representatives elected by the white people of the south, and with the cooperation of the President it will not be difficult to compel the Senate to submit once more to the obligations of the Constitution. It will not be able to withstand the public judgment, if distinctly invoked and clearly expressed, on this fundamental issue, and it is the sure way to avoid all future strife to put the issue plainly to the country.

I repeat that this is the real and only question which we should allow to control us. Shall we submit to the usurpations by which the government has been overthrown, or shall we exert ourselves for its full and complete restoration? It is idle to talk of bonds, greenbacks, gold, the public faith and the public credit. What can a Democratic President do, in regard to any of these, with a Congress in both branches controlled by carpet-baggers and their allies? He will be powerless to stop the supplies by which idle negroes are organized into political clubs—by which an army is maintained to protect these vagabonds in their outrages upon the ballot. These, and things like these, eat up the revenues and resources of the government and destroy credit—make the difference between gold and greenbacks. We must restore the Constitution before we can restore the finances, and to do this we must have a President who will execute the will of the people by trampling into dust the usurpations of Congress known as the reconstruction acts. I wish to stand before the convention upon this issue, for it is one which embraces everything else that is of value in its large and comprehensive results. It is the one thing that includes all that is worth a contest, and without it there is nothing that gives dignity, honor, or value to the struggle. Your friend,

FRANK P. BLAIR.

“There is no item of that letter that I take back,” Blair said afterwards, in 1871, when he was a candidate for United States senator from Missouri. His action in regard to the taking of Camp Jackson was another matter upon which Blair had no apologies to make. Blair and Frost were guests at a dinner in



ETHAN ALLEN HITCHCOCK
Ex-Secretary of the Interior



FREDERICK L. BILLON



HENRY CLAY
From a Daguerreotype taken in St. Louis about 1850



JOHN RICHARD BARRET
Better known as "Missouri Dick"



COL. THORNTON GRIMSLEY

the Florissant valley some years after the close of the war. The Camp Jackson incident was mentioned. Blair, addressing Frost, said: "If we had not taken you, you would have taken us in two weeks more."

Ethan Allen Hitchcock was one of the most notable surprises of this generation in public life. In November, 1896, a group of Missouri congressmen en route to Washington stopped over at Canton. Mr. McKinley was President-elect. Missouri Democrats had in 1894 gone a fishing. The congressional delegation was largely Republican. These Representatives from Missouri were on their way to Washington to serve the short session of what was for most of them their only term in Congress. They stopped at Canton to pay their respects to the President-elect. "Pay their respects" has covered more political effort than any other phrase in the English language. The party asked Mr. McKinley to choose a member for his cabinet from Missouri. Mr. McKinley was kind. He talked pleasantly, as he always did, and encouragingly as he did not always mean to do. But when the conversation became definite the president-elect suddenly asked:

"How would Mr. Hitchcock do?"

The congressmen went on to Washington and immediately confided to a newspaper correspondent that Mr. McKinley was "considering Henry Hitchcock for a place in the cabinet." And the correspondent promptly wired it to his paper. The next day came reflection. Henry Hitchcock had been during the Harrison administration very close to an appointment on the United States Supreme bench—so close in fact that for some days the presidential mind hesitated between the eminent St. Louis lawyer and another man. Decision in favor of the latter had been made, it was understood, only for the reason that he was a Federal judge and was from a Republican state. It did not seem probable that Henry Hitchcock, whose tastes and qualifications so eminently fitted him for the Supreme bench would be under consideration for a cabinet appointment. The members of the Missouri group who had called at Canton were seen and catechised. They were asked to repeat exactly what Mr. McKinley said. They agreed that he had asked them:

"How would Mr. Hitchcock do?"

Did the President-elect say Mr. Henry Hitchcock? No; the congressmen were quite sure he did not. Did he mention Mr. Hitchcock's first name at any time during the conversation? No; they could not recall that he did. But who else could he have had in mind but Henry Hitchcock? So questioned the congressmen.

It was no special test of memory to recall that when Mr. McKinley as chairman of the Ways and Means committee was framing his famous tariff bill a few years before he had sought information and advice from Ethan A. Hitchcock upon certain schedules. Notably was this true about glass. It was remembered that Mr. Hitchcock had spent some time in Washington helping Mr. McKinley, and that Mr. McKinley had expressed strongly his admiration of Mr. Hitchcock's clear-headed, business-like ways. Therefore the Washington dispatches a day later withdrew Henry Hitchcock from the cabinet possibility and substituted Ethan A. Hitchcock.

In the abundance of advice Mr. McKinley laid aside his earliest impressions and intentions which were his best. He constructed a cabinet which fell

to pieces. Ethan A. Hitchcock went to Russia as ambassador only to be recalled and put at the head of the Department of the Interior, when Cornelius N. Bliss, after a few months trial of the duties, had given up in disgust.

Phenomenal is the word that describes the career of Mr. Hitchcock as a cabinet minister. When he sat down to the cabinet table, toward the close of his secretaryship, he saw only one face that was there at the time he began his service. He was secretary of the interior to two Presidents as dissimilar as any two men who have occupied the White House. He won the unreserved confidence and unstinted commendation of both of them. He held one of the hardest places to fill in the cabinet. He held it longer than any predecessor.

As secretary of the interior Mr. Hitchcock dealt with more varied internal interests of the country than any other member of the cabinet. He had to do directly with more committees of Congress. His was the department where eternal vigilance is the price of safety from scandals.

For three years after Mr. Hitchcock entered upon his duties he had to face two elements of antagonism and it was the wonder of all of Washington that those elements did not crush him. One was covert opposition from a part of the Republican party organization. The other was inimical surveillance from certain senators and representatives who desired a more pliant, less scrupulous secretary of the interior.

Doubtless Mr. Hitchcock himself would have deprecated the mention of these antagonistic influences which operated in the early part of his career at Washington. Possibly he did not know how far they went in the policy to break him, how actively they sought to inspire unwarranted criticism of him, how often they promoted the rumor that he was to leave the cabinet.

The estimation in which Mr. Hitchcock was held by Washington the latter half of his career was in striking contrast with that which greeted him when he entered the McKinley cabinet. At first he was either an unknown or an undesired quantity, according to the passive or active point of view. Later he was trusted and honored implicitly by President and Congress. When with shattered health he left the cabinet, it was a distinct loss to the public service of the country.

Three other St. Louisans filled the office of secretary of the interior with honor—Carl Schurz, John W. Noble and David R. Francis. A St. Louisan, Norman J. Colman, was the first secretary of agriculture. With the opening of the administration of President Taft in 1909 St. Louis was still worthily represented in the cabinet—Charles Nagel being secretary of commerce and labor. The department of commerce was advocated by St. Louis in a movement started fifteen years before the establishment. One of the strongest arguments for this new department was an address by Nathan Frank.

Political climate is trying. Some men have that within them which draws nourishment and stimulus from public life. They grow on it. They are not many. One of the most notable cases of individual expansion and growth at Washington in the present generation is Richard Bartholdt. He was connected with a German afternoon newspaper in St. Louis. Previously he had newspaper training as a reporter on a German paper in New York. He was sent to Albany to do the legislature about the time Grover Cleveland was elected governor. Then he drifted out to St. Louis and, in a short time, was sent to

Congress. Mr. Bartholdt breathed the air of Washington with satisfaction. He filled his lungs with the inspiration to do. His progress has been steady until, in 1911, he ranks with the most effective men in the House. If something for constituents is to be accomplished no other representative can do more. Further than this, Mr. Bartholdt has developed in national lines of legislation force which gives him rank as a leader. He is the acknowledged authority on questions relating to immigration. He has become the admitted champion in Congress of international arbitration with a reputation for furtherance of the cause which is international.

Benjamin F. Yoakum, coming up from a trip to Texas, in May, 1908, thought earnestly on a situation which was without precedent. He had seen for himself that the basis of good times—the agricultural interests—were all right. He conferred with the presidents of the three parts of the great system,—Davidson of the Frisco, Winchell of the Rock Island and Miller of the Eastern Illinois. Every inquiry strengthened his opinion that the prevalent lethargy in trade and traffic was without material justification; that the trouble was with the country's mind rather than its body.

Mr. Yoakum went to Festus J. Wade with his diagnosis. Wasn't it possible to arouse the patient from the torpor? Should not the movement start in St. Louis? Could not the man to head such a movement be found here?

Mr. Wade said "yes" to all three questions in one time, called over the phone to E. C. Simmons a request to stop for a moment on his way up town to his bank meeting. When Mr. Simmons came into the Mercantile Trust company, Mr. Wade told him what Mr. Yoakum thought and added the joint opinion that it was quite possible to do some good if Mr. Simmons would "go to the front."

"Now," argued Mr. Wade, "don't turn us down. Please take a day to think it over. We believe there is something in it."

"I don't need to take a day to think about it," replied Mr. Simmons. "I can tell you right now, the idea is good and I'm with you."

If there was a party of progressivists in this country Benjamin F. Yoakum could qualify for the apostle of it. The mental habit of Festus J. Wade is of the instantaneous exposure order. "The best known merchant in the United States," E. C. Simmons has been truthfully called.

The next day the board room of the Mercantile Trust company was filled with men representing almost every large business interest in the city. Mr. Simmons sat at the head of the table. Down one side and up the other each man expressed himself on the situation. Summarized their conclusions were:

Fundamentally we are all right. What we need most is to think right. The panic ought to be over. It would be, but for lack of confidence. Is it possible by a strong energetic, intelligent campaign of sentiment to expedite normal business activity? Yes, but some of the causes of timidity must be banished. Business men are entitled to the credit of ten years of the greatest prosperity the country has known. Some business men are to blame for the panic. Business men must find and apply the remedy for present troubles. We cannot criticise the President of the United States for the exposure of vices and evils in business methods. The American people have passed judgment that in some measure his charges are true. Corrective laws have been passed by Congress; they are wise. Prosecutions which the President caused to be instituted should proceed to finality. But demagogic agitation should cease. Radical, hasty, experimental legislation, the country over, against railroads should be condemned and checked, and the way to do it is through public sentiment.

The business men of St. Louis organized "The National Prosperity Association" with E. C. Simmons at the head of it. Other members of the executive committee were W. K. Bixby, vice chairman, James E. Smith, Murray Carleton, Jackson Johnson, George A. Meyer, Festus J. Wade.

There was no precedent to guide. But the facts supported. Crop prospects favored. The philosophy of the movement was sound. Two strongly favoring factors contributed. In St. Louis the harmonious, effective organization of business interests has been a progressive development of seventy years. Perhaps in no other American city have the business men perfected organization for general good so thoroughly and efficiently. The machinery, in the form of the Business Men's League, was ready for immediate application to the prosperity movement. The other factor was the relationship which the business houses of St. Louis sustain to their traveling salesmen. That relationship is close, confidential, encouraging on the one side, loyal, enthusiastic and zealous on the other. Every business man who attended the first meeting of the prosperity movement went to his office to prepare a letter in his own way to his corps of traveling men. Within twenty-four hours every business house in the city, having men on the road, had been asked to cooperate. And as rapidly as the mails could carry the appeal from St. Louis wholesale houses west, north, south and east, traveling men began to talk the encouragement which bottom facts justified. The response was quick and emphatic.

Then was opened the most extensive interchange of correspondence which had been attempted among the business organizations of the country. There are 100,000 of these associations. Many thousands of them had come into existence within five years. Never before were these organizations massed in a common movement. Responses of appreciation, tenders of cooperation, inquiries showing interest were almost innumerable. If the National Prosperity Association of St. Louis accomplished no more, it taught the tremendous power which the business organizations, united in a common purpose, possess.

The St. Louisans took the movement to the White House. To Mr. Simmons and his delegation President Roosevelt gave his hearty indorsement of the movement:

The business and commercial interests of this country to be prosperous in any enduring sense must be administered honestly. With occasional exceptions they have been and are now so administered. As you have well said, wherever there is evidence of dishonesty it must be pursued relentlessly and punished; but having thus moved forward to a high plane of business integrity, and on that plane built wisely, let no man seize the moment when we have, as a nation, pilloried the real malefactors, to say that all American business men, or even any considerable number of them, are malefactors. I welcome your work and shall be glad to co-operate with you in any effort to establish prosperity on right and honest lines.

Its second month the National Prosperity Association opened with Re-employment Day and with orders for goods in anticipation of demand. The industries of St. Louis and vicinity added to their labor rolls between 17,000 and 20,000 people. The wholesale houses placed orders for \$5,000,000 worth of new stock. This was an application of works to go with faith which was novel in business rules. It was taken up by other cities and Re-employment Days, one after another, came in quick succession through the summer in different parts of the country.

To delegates and alternates and national committees of the great political parties, the National Prosperity Association submitted its appeal that platforms be framed and campaigns be conducted with consideration for the business interests of the country. There is no record of a presidential year which caused less disturbance of trade, less anxiety among business men.

Week after week through telling addresses of President Simmons and his associates, through almost endless correspondence, through an encouraging press, the movement of sentiment-making went on. The unemployed became fewer, the idle cars on the sidetracks diminished, the swelling volume of trade recorded the change.

The National Prosperity Association made no claim. It congratulated. The movement was one of protest against doubters and pessimists. It sought return of confidence by that which had brought on the distrust—public sentiment. Business activity returned, in spite of the political campaign, more rapidly than was ever before known after a panic. A business organization upon the Atlantic seaboard, when the improvement became so apparent and permanent that it could not be mistaken, sent this message to President Simmons and the National Prosperity Association:

“You have shown the rest of us that St. Louis is the nerve-center of the United States.”



CHAPTER XXIV.

THE EDUCATIONAL LIFE.

Maria Josepha Rigauche, Schoolmistress and Heroine—Trudeau, Schoolmaster and Patriot—The Song of 1780—George Tompkins' Debating Society—Kiddick's Ride to Washington to Save the School Lands—Mother Duchesne and the Sacred Heart Academy—Bishop Dubourg's College of 1820—Coming of Father Quickenborne and the Band of Jesuits—Inception of St. Louis University—Educational Work of Father DeSmet Among the Indians—Captain Elihu Hotchkiss Shepard's "Boys"—The First Public School in 1838—Wyman's Cadets—The Original High School—Beginning of the Kindergarten—Stalwart German Support of Free Education—Evolution of Manual Training—Woodward and His Ideas Borrowed by Other Nations—Samuel Cupples on Negro Education—When Wayman Crow Wrote the Washington University Charter—The Non-Sectarian Spirit Boldly Emphasized—Edward Everett at the Inauguration—Dr. Post's Forecast of the University's Success—Education as Self Made Men Idealized It—Secret of Robert S. Brookings' Success—Life Work of William Greenleaf Eliot—Gifts of the "Mechanic Princes"—Fifty Years of Development.

Nothing could be more abhorrent to my feelings than to speak disparagingly of self-taught men. I have neglected no fitting opportunity to eulogize them among the departed, or to manifest sympathy and respect for them among the living. I know of no spectacle on earth, pertaining to intellectual culture, more interesting than that of a noble mind struggling against the obstacles thrown by adverse fortune in the way of its early improvement, no triumph greater than that which so often rewards these heroic exertions. It is because I appreciate the severity of the struggle, and deeply sympathize with those who have forced their way to eminence, in the face of poverty, friendless obscurity, distance from all the facilities for improvement, and inability to command their time, that I would multiply the means of education and bring them into as many districts of the country and as near the homes of as large a proportion of the population as possible, in order to spare to the largest number of gifted minds the bitter experience by which those who succeed in doing so are compelled to force their way to distinction.—*Edward Everett, Inauguration, Washington University, 1857.*

Maria Josepha Rigauche was the first schoolmistress in St. Louis. She was a heroine. She gave the whole settlement a lesson in courage. That was one of the last days of May, 1780. At noon, a habitant ran along the Rue Principale shouting "To arms! To arms!" The settlers left their dinner tables and hurried into the street, every man carrying a weapon. They had been expecting the alarm. A cannon boomed from the tower on the hill, where the Southern hotel is now. It was the signal that the Indians were coming. Out on the grand prairie, women and children were looking for early strawberries. Madam Rigauche put on the coat of her husband, Ignace. She buttoned it to the chin. With a pistol in one hand and a knife in the other she made her way down the street to the upper gate, calling on others to follow, and took her place with the defenders. There she remained encouraging the men, exposing herself to the fire and preparing to take part in the fight if the Indians assaulted. The enemy came near enough to send their bullets into the settlement, but they recoiled before the return fire and retreated. Madam Rigauche went back to her school teaching. The story of her bravery was passed down from generation to generation.

While Madam Rigauche taught the girls of old St. Louis, John B. Trudeau was schoolmaster to the boys. Trudeau was a patriot and a poet. He per-

formed his part in relation to the affair of 1780 by composing a song which held up to ridicule the Spanish officers. Trudeau taught his boys to sing this song:

What did they in that moment, then?
 Lacked they all, the souls of men?
 What! Had ye not the great Leyba?
 Where was the famous Cartabona?
 Your major, where was he, as well;
 The garrison, too, your force to swell?

The salvation of St. Louis that day was due to the heroic habitants, including Madame Rigauche. The Spanish governor, major and garrison took no part in the defense.

In a room on Market street, near Second, George Tompkins opened the first English school. He was a young Virginian, coming to St. Louis in 1808. His journey exhausted his resources. The school was planned to make the living while Mr. Tompkins studied law. In time Mr. Tompkins became Chief Justice Tompkins of the supreme court of Missouri. While he was teaching school he organized a debating society which held open meetings and afforded a great deal of entertainment to visitors. The members and active participants included Bates, Barton, Lowry, Farrar, O'Fallon and most of the young Americans who were establishing themselves in the professions.

"The most trifling settlement will contrive to have a schoolmaster who can teach reading, writing and some arithmetic," a traveler in the Louisiana Purchase wrote from St. Louis in 1811. The next year the Missouri territory came into political existence with this declaration adopted by the territorial body which met in St. Louis:

Religion and morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall be encouraged and provided from the public lands of the United States in the said territory in such manner as Congress may deem expedient.

Thomas Fiveash Riddick was an enthusiast. When Third street was the limit of settlement he told people St. Louis would some day have a million of population. Thereat, the habitants smiled. Riddick's enthusiasm prompted him to works. Coming from Virginia, a young man just past his majority, he was made clerk of the land claims commission in 1806. His duties revealed to him lots and strips and blocks of ground, in various shapes, which nobody owned. Instead of capitalizing his information, forming a syndicate and acquiring these pieces of real estate, Riddick was true to his inheritance. That was a high sense of public duty. The Riddicks of Nansemond county for generations, through the colonial period, through the Revolutionary years, through Virginia's early statehood, had been patriots who made laws or fought in war as the conditions demanded. Pro bono publico might have been the family motto. Thomas Fiveash Riddick was true to the strain. He started the agitation to have all of this unclaimed land in the suburbs of St. Louis "reserved for the support of schools." The situation called for more than mere suggestion. Speculators already had their plans to buy these scattered lands at public sale. That generation was too busy taking care of itself to give serious consideration to the next. Quietly Riddick got together the data, mounted his

horse and, in winter, rode away to Washington. Before Edward Hempstead, the delegate for Missouri in Congress, Riddick laid the proposition. Hempstead was Connecticut born and educated. He took up Riddick's idea and coupled it with a general bill to confirm titles to portions of the common fields and commons in accordance with rights established by residence or cultivation before 1803. And he added a section that the lands "not rightfully owned by any private individual, or held as commons" shall be "reserved for the support of schools." Riddick remained in Washington until assured that this legislation would pass. Then he mounted his horse and rode back to St. Louis. All of this he did of his own motion and at his own expense. "Riddick's Ride," merits honorable mention in the history of the public schools of St. Louis.

Convent education to the earlier generations of St. Louis womanhood meant more than book teaching. It was association with teachers who knew all about the pioneer life. Five sisters of the Sacred Heart arrived in St. Louis from France in August of 1818. They were the first of the order. Their coming was the answer to an urgent appeal of Bishop Dubourg. The superior was Phillippine Duchesne. With her were Sisters Octavie Berthold, Eugenie Ande, Catharine Lamarre and Marguerite Manteau. A year's trial of teaching at St. Charles failed to show that the school would be supporting. The sisters, for economy, moved to a farm at Florissant. Mother Duchesne described the moving:

Sister Octavie and two of our pupils next embarked. I was to close the march in the evening with Sister Marguerite, the cows and the hens. But the cows were so indignant at being tied up, and the heat was so great that we were obliged to put off our departure to the cool hours of the morning. Then by dint of cabbages which we had taken for them in the cart they were induced to proceed. I divided my attention between the reliquaries and the hens. We crossed the Missouri opposite Florissant. On landing Marguerite and I drew up our charges in a line—she the cows and I the hens—and fed them with motherly solieitude. The Abbe Delacroix came on horseback to meet us. He led the way galloping after our cows when, in their joy at being untied, they darted into the woods.

Upon the farm these sisters lived and toiled. They planted and raised corn. They gathered their own firewood. They cared for their cows. The bishop riding by at milking time, smiled and asked Sister Ande "if it was at Napoleon's court she had learned to milk cows."

After a year on the farm, the house in Florissant was ready. Driving their livestock before them the sisters moved one cold day in December with snow knee-deep. Mother Duchesne wrote of that experience:

Having tried in vain to lead with a rope one of our cows, I hoped to make her follow of her own inclination by filling my apron with maize, with which I tried to tempt her on; but she preferred her liberty and ran about the fields and brushwood, where we followed her, sinking into the snow, and tearing our habits and veils amidst the bushes. At last we were obliged to let her have her will and make her way back to the farm. I carried in my pocket our money and papers, but the strings broke and everything, including a watch, fell into the snow. The wind having blown the snow on my gloves, they were frozen on my hands, and I could not take hold of anything. Eugenie had to help me pick up my bag, and also my pocket, which I was obliged to carry under my arm.

Pioneering did not end with that first year on the farm. After the opening of the school in Florissant, Mother Duchesne wrote: "There was a moment

this month when I had in my pocket only six sous and a half, and debts besides."

"Bishop Dubourg's college" was the name commonly bestowed upon the first institution for higher education established in St. Louis. The first building occupied was where the log church stood on the block Laclede reserved for religious and burial purposes. When the college opened in 1820, the newspapers announced this faculty:

- Rev. Francis Niel, Curate of the Cathedral, President.
- Rev. Leo Deys, Professor of Languages.
- Rev. Andreas Ferrari, Professor of Ancient Languages.
- Rev. Aristide Anduze, Professor of Mathematics.
- Rev. Michael G. Saulnier, Professor of Languages.
- Mr. Samuel Smith, Professor of Languages.
- Mr. Patrick Sullivan, Professor of Ancient Languages.
- Mr. Francis C. Guyot, Professor of Writing and Drawing.
- Mr. John Martin, Prefect of the Studies.

Two years earlier than this, Rev. Francis Niel with two other priests had conducted "an academy for young gentlemen" in the house of Mrs. Alvarez.

In the desire of the Monroe administration to start an Indian school, St. Louis University had its inception. John C. Calhoun was President Monroe's secretary of war. Indian affairs came under his supervision. The President and the secretary had hopes of beneficial results from education of Indian boys. The secretary opened correspondence with Bishop Dubourg at St. Louis. The result was the coming of Father Van Quickenborne and his party to establish the school at Florissant.

The little band of Jesuits who established St. Louis University walked to St. Louis. Rev. Charles Van Quickenborne, as superior, headed the party. He and his assistant, Rev. Peter J. Timmerman, rode part of the way in the one-horse wagon which conveyed the light baggage. F. J. Van Assche, who half a century later became known widely in St. Louis as "Good Father Van Assche;" P. J. De Smet, the "Father De Smet" of international fame as an Indian missionary; J. A. Elet, F. L. Verreydt, P. J. Verhaegen, J. B. Smedts and J. De Maillet were young men. They trudged across the Alleghanies to Wheeling. Leaving "the floating monastery" as they called their flat boat, at Shawneetown, they walked across the prairies of Illinois 140 miles, spreading their blankets at night in house or barn as the opportunity offered.

Charles Van Quickenborne, Peter J. Verhaegen, John Elet and Peter J. De Smet, the faculty, raised \$4,000 and started St. Louis University on the Connor lot. The first building was forty by fifty feet fronting on Green street. It was opened for students in November, 1829. Within four months the university had fifteen boarders and 115 day students. Two years later the building was enlarged with a wing. Two years after that a second wing was added.

In 1829 the St. Louis University was founded. Father De Smet, who had been ordained two years before, was made a member of the faculty. He went out to the Flatheads with the annual fur trade caravan in 1840. "In a fortnight," he reported "all knew their prayers." He called them his "dear Flatheads." Father De Smet was not a large man, physically, but he was very strong. He could bend a five-franc piece, a silver coin about the size of



DAVID H. ARMSTRONG



PROFESSOR EDWARD WYMAN



ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY IN 1855
Ninth street and Washington avenue



the dollar, between his fingers. A copy of Father De Smet's map of the Columbia river and Puget sound region is among the historical treasures of St. Louis University. Father De Smet made the original. He carried it with a letter of introduction from Bryan Mullanphy to President Polk. The international controversy with England over the northwestern boundary had aroused the whole United States. The cry was "Fifty-four, Forty, or Fight." The map was important evidence.

In 1836 the closing of the college of St. Achenil in France gave St. Louis University the opportunity to purchase chemical and philosophical apparatus of great value. A fourth building of the group housed this acquisition which was the finest west of the Alleghanies. The institution took at once and has always maintained high scientific rank. A museum of natural history was installed. In 1840, St. Xavier's, "the college church," as the community knew it, was begun. Building after building was added until the two blocks of ground became crowded. In 1854, carrying out the plan formed by President John B. Druyts, the university erected at Ninth street and Washington avenue an imposing structure with towers one of which was the observatory. This building afforded better room for the museum, the philosophical apparatus and provided an exhibition hall.

If St. Louis was slow to put into operation the public school system, there was some reason for it in the excellence of the private schools. Captain Elihu Hotchkiss Shepard taught successfully two generations of St. Louis youth. He was of Vermont birth, coming to St. Louis when he was twenty-five years of age. His title was earned in the War of 1812. With a thorough education, Captain Shepard arrived in St. Louis in 1820. He made teaching not temporary employment to tide over until he could establish himself in something else. He was the born schoolmaster. Teaching was his profession. After he retired, he wrote a quaint autobiography. Judge Shepard Barclay is a grandson of Captain Shepard. In his old age, Captain Shepard spoke with pride of the boys he had taught in his schoolmaster days. He had seen three of these boys sitting as judges of courts at one time—Judge Krum, of the circuit court; Judge Bates, presiding justice of the supreme court; and Wm. Ferguson, judge of the probate court. Three of Captain Shepard's boys had risen to high rank in the military service and had become generals. They were General Easton, of the quartermaster department, who, as Captain Shepard said, "had never been accused of stealing one dollar;" General Paul, wounded at the battle of Gettysburg, and General Dent, brother-in-law of General Grant.

The act of Congress of 1812 set apart the vacant pieces of land such as were "not rightfully claimed by individuals" or were "not reserved for military purposes" and devoted them for purposes of public education. The land was not valuable at the time it was granted. The amount of it was not known. Nothing more was done until 1836 when the legislature incorporated the board of public schools. This body leased much of the school lands on long time at low rates. The income came in too slowly to provide public school facilities as the population increased. To the voters was put the alternative of tax and more schools or no tax and limited facilities. The people of St. Louis voted a tax of "one-tenth of one per cent" for public schools.

In March, 1837, the legislature authorized the people of St. Louis to sell the town commons, a tract of about 2,000 acres. The proceeds were to be divided, nine-tenths be used for improvement of streets and one-tenth for public schools. The school board met on the 19th of June, 1837, the members being M. P. Leduc, A. Gamble, A. Kerr, John Finney and H. L. Hoffman. There had been a school board organized in April, 1833, but it had taken until 1837 to accumulate the funds considered adequate to commence building school houses.

In his inaugural message to the board of aldermen, the first mayor of St. Louis, William Carr Lane, advocated public education. "I will hazard the broad assertion," he said, "that a free school is more needed here than in any town of the same magnitude in the Union." In 1838, the people of St. Louis were said to have "better facilities for educating their children, agreeably to their own taste, than the people of any other city in the United States." That year public schools had been established and had become immediately popular. Kemper College opened on the 15th of October under the direction of Rev. P. R. Minard. It was given supervision by seventeen trustees, and had the support of the Episcopal church. St. Louis University had increased its faculty and was offering advantages in higher education not equaled in any other city of the Mississippi Valley. The Convent of the Sacred Heart was affording unusual opportunities for young women.

Edward Wyman began his English and Classical High School in 1843 with one pupil, occupying a small room for which he paid eight dollars a month. He built Wyman's hall on Market street opposite the court house for the accommodation of his growing institution. Afterwards this became known as the Odeon and was used for public entertainments. When the founding of St. Louis was celebrated in 1847, the spectacular feature of the procession was the marching of the cadets from Wyman's High School. When the head of the school went into other business in 1852 he had over 300 students, many of them from outside of St. Louis. One of "Wyman's boys," was Edward Lawrence Adreon, who went into the office of the city comptroller on a month's trial and remained twenty years, eight of them as the city's chief financial officer. To three generations of St. Louis boys, Dr. Wyman was preceptor; except during two periods when ill health compelled him to change temporarily his vocation he taught boys for forty-five years. When he died he was conducting Wyman's Institute. The zenith of this born master's career was when he conducted the City University at Pine and Sixteenth streets. Three full companies of cadets splendidly drilled carried the university banner through the streets of St. Louis. The enrollment of the university reached 600 students at a time when St. Louis had about one-third of the present population. The master came to St. Louis from the home of his colonial and revolutionary ancestors at Charlestown, Mass. When he died in 1888 "Edward Wyman's boys" numbered many thousands. They were in places of influence and importance throughout the southwest. The preceptor knew and followed the career of every boy. He taught more than books contained. He trained character.

Six teachers and two school houses composed the public school system of St. Louis in 1842. One school was on Fourth, the other on Sixth street.

Salaries were not munificent. Three of the teachers were men. One of them received \$900 a year, the others \$500 each. One of the young women, the principal, was paid \$500 a year. Her assistants received \$400 each. The school board in 1840-1850 was composed of two members from each ward. These directors served without compensation. They had a superintendent and they elected the teachers. In 1854, the 97,000 people were served with twenty-five schools. The children attending were 3,881. They had seventy-two teachers. The first school houses were small. But in 1854 the city took pride in the possession of several three-story buildings "with ample provision for ventilation and heated by furnaces properly constructed."

The high school on Fifteenth and Olive was in course of construction. It was to be "an ornament to the city, a monument to its liberality and a perfect adaptation to the purposes for which it is designed." It was located "near the present western limits of the city." This high school was to be "for the use of those scholars of the public schools who have demeaned themselves the best, made most proficiency in the studies taught below and whose parents or guardians may desire them to acquire the higher rudiments of education."

For what is called "higher education," this city owes much to the German tide of immigration. That tide was more than numbers. It included an extraordinary proportion of men who had been trained in the gymnasiums; who had sat at the feet of the ablest professors in the universities.

The kindergarten in St. Louis had its origin when Robert J. Rombauer, William D'Oench and Thomas Richeson recommended the acceptance of Miss Susie Blow's proposition. The daughter of Henry T. Blow had become interested in kindergarten work. She offered to give her time to the supervision if the school board would assign one teacher and set apart a room. The offer was accepted and the "play school," as the school board called it, was started in 1873 at the Des Peres school with Miss Mary A. Timberlake as the paid assistant to Miss Blow.

The character of support which the Germans gave the public school system was illustrated about 1888. Up to that time German was an important part of the curriculum. When the language was dropped, friends of the system looked with some apprehension for the effect. The president of the board announced:

The unselfish devotion of our fellow citizens of German ancestry was signally illustrated in that the schools suffered no perceptible loss of attendance in any part of the city, and the most urgent demands for new school accommodations continued from what were known as distinctively German districts.

Forty years Professor Frank Louis Soldan was connected with the public schools of St. Louis, one-third of the time occupying the highest position—superintendent. When Professor Soldan died William T. Harris telegraphed from Washington:

Dr. Soldan has been a tower of strength all these years for wise education. His death is a great loss, not only to St. Louis but to the United States. Thousands who respect his memory will mourn with you today.

In 1883 Sir William Mather came to this country to investigate industrial education. The British government had suddenly become aroused to the unpleasant situation that her works, her great manufacturing establishments,

were under the supervision of men educated in France, Germany and Belgium. This was a blow to British pride. It was a revelation of the inadequacy of the British educational system. Sir William Mather was on a tour of investigation to discover the remedy which Great Britain might apply to the weakness in her system. He came to the United States and visited the eastern educational centers. He was soon told, "If you want to be thoroughly informed on the development of industrial education in this country, go out to St. Louis and see Doctor Woodward."

Sir William came to St. Louis and remained a week or more. What he found in the manual training school of Washington University so impressed the visitor that he was almost extravagant in his expressions of satisfaction and admiration. He said that in St. Louis he recognized the most practical forms of industrial education he had seen anywhere. After Sir William Mather returned home there came a pressing call for Dr. Woodward to visit Manchester. Dr. Woodward went, remained three or four months until he had started fairly an institution on the plan of the St. Louis school. When the doctor sent back to St. Louis the catalogue showing the plan and curriculum, Mr. Cupples wrote him: "I recognize every word. The only change you have made is to substitute 'Manchester' for 'Washington University.'"

The English are not slow to act when convinced. As a result of the Manchester experiment, introduced by Calvin M. Woodward after the model of the St. Louis school, Great Britain has appropriated a million pounds sterling every year since 1888 for industrial education. A manual training school for the Soudanese youth has been established at Khartoum by Sir William Mather, as a department of Gordon College.

Sir William Mather made a second visit to St. Louis five years ago to note the progress of St. Louis in educational lines. He was accompanied by Mrs. Mather. Mr. Cupples and Dr. Woodward took the visitors to the McKinley and Yeatman high schools and showed them a thousand boys and girls learning to use their hands as well as their heads, the boys in the manual training, the girls in domestic science. There is nothing better in high school architecture and equipment in the United States than St. Louis possesses. The English visitors had not seen the equal anywhere abroad. Then the party went to the colored school and saw the boys and girls receiving the same practical instruction.

"I am surprised," exclaimed the lady. "Wasn't this a slave state? I am surprised that you are doing so much for the negroes."

"Madam," said Mr. Cupples, "the only people who understand the negroes and who know how to make good citizens of them are those who lived in the former slave states."

Then Mrs. Mather insisted upon having some pictures of the colored school children of St. Louis at their studies and especially engaged in the manual training and domestic science work.

"When we go up to Khartoum," she said to Sir William, "I want to show what these people are doing for the little Africans in St. Louis."

The introduction of colored teachers for colored schools was one of the innovations which St. Louis tried with admirable results. It came about after Samuel Cupples and Dr. Calvin M. Woodward had become active in the public



THE NORMAL SCHOOL

Seventeenth street and Christy avenue, before the war



CONCORDIA COLLEGE IN 1860

On Carondelet Road, South of the Arsenal



school board. For a number of years the teachers of the colored schools were white. When a young white woman was assigned to teach a colored school there followed an indignant protest from her friends. White teachers failed to arouse the interest among their pupils necessary for best results. Mr. Cupples was a trustee of the Lincoln Institute at Jefferson City, a seminary for colored youth. He made inquiries as to the capabilities of the students who were being educated at the institute and proposed the trial of colored teachers in the St. Louis colored schools. Dr. Harris, Dr. Woodward and others favored the experiment. At that time the enrollment of children in the colored schools was about 2,000. Mr. Cupples, Dr. Harris and Dr. Woodward visited the colored schools, invited the parents to a conference, had refreshments and explained the purpose to better the educational facilities for the children. They urged that they must have the cooperation of the parents to obtain the improvement desired. Children must attend regularly, must not be kept out on Mondays to go after the laundry and at other times to run errands, but must be present five days in the week.

In a year the enrollment of the colored schools of St. Louis had doubled. The improved conditions under colored teachers has been so marked and gratifying that it brought the public school board to the conclusion to build in 1909 a colored high school to cost \$250,000, the best equipped high school for colored pupils in the United States.

The educational theory upon which manual training has been encouraged and developed in the public schools of St. Louis and in Washington University is well stated in these words by the recognized authority, Professor Woodward:

I do not believe it a good policy to keep a certain proportion of our youth relatively ignorant that they may be willing to fill what is called the industrial demand. It is said that boys from the mills and from the farms are needed there and should be so trained that they will remain in the mills and on the farms, hence they must not be taught or trained too much.

On this theory training shops and agricultural schools sometimes have been managed, but I question the policy. We are told it is best. Best for whom, and best for what? Best for citizenship or best for the consumer and the business? Would it be best for your son or mine, and would it have been best for us when we were boys?

I was a farmer's son, and at sixteen I was a good and able farmer, but my high school training enabled me to see over the fences, and I broke for pastures new. I believe in giving every boy a glimpse of the world's activities and opportunities, and in allowing him to make the most of himself, but at the same time he must be trained for usefulness of some sort.

One word in regard to an industrial training which best fosters our industries. I am decidedly of the opinion that they make a mistake who contract the range of one's education, in order to confine him to a limited range of work. Managers of our industries should realize that it is ultimately in the interest of their own business affairs to secure workmen of greater efficiency and intellectual as well as manual skill.

I believe the system of education which is of the greatest benefit to the youth of a community is also of the greatest benefit to the industries of a community, provided those industries are wholesome and desirable. It is impossible to raise the grade of citizenship all through the length and breadth of a community without increasing its value in every domain of labor, whether manual or mental, or both.

It may not be really fashionable to be a skilled workman, but a skilled workman may be a gentleman and a cultivated man. And when we look to the highest interests of the

community; when we look at the interests of the unschooled half of our boys, the most effectual way of making them cultivated gentlemen is by first making them skillful workmen. And it is high time that it should be understood in all our public schools, which aim first and last at the development of character, that, as Newton said, "the thrifty mechanic is the most moral of men" and, as Franklin said, "the best workmen are the best citizens."

Sir William Mather went on record with a remarkable tribute to St. Louis and Professor Woodward. He wrote that what he saw and learned on his first visit to St. Louis prompted him to take up the cause of manual training, or, as he called it, technical training, in England. In Parliament, Sir William stood sponsor for the Technical Education bill. He led the discussion in committee and in the House and was largely responsible for the passage. When success came he wrote to Dr. Woodward again, telling the result to show "how far one little candle throws its beams." Like testimony to the origin of the manual training movement was given by Grasby in his interesting volume on "Teaching in Three Continents—America, Europe and Australia." He found the source of the movement in the St. Louis manual training school of Washington University. Professor Chamberlain of Los Angeles once said that no educator ever comprehended so much of an educational creed in six words as Professor Woodward did when he said in an after dinner speech at the Vendome, Boston, 1885: "Put the whole boy to school."

A characteristic of St. Louis educational institutions in all forms has been steady progress. At no time have St. Louis educators rested content with accomplishment. The year 1911 found the universities and colleges putting forth effort to increase their facilities while the public school board was adding to the equipment new buildings which were unsurpassed anywhere in the country. Washington University, in 1908, came under the chancellorship of one of the foremost of the younger educators of the country, David Franklin Houston. A short time previously, St. Louis University received a new head in the person of one of the most talented Jesuits, Rev. John P. Frieden. The high literary standard always maintained by St. Louis University was illustrated in the spring of 1909 by the winning of three out of four prizes for English composition, for which ten universities and colleges of the Mississippi Valley competed. St. Louis University has entered upon a new era with an advisory board, composed of professional and business men and with a decision to increase its endowment. Washington University, in 1908, launched a movement to increase its endowment \$1,000,000. There is no relaxation from the strong support which St. Louis has for generations given to higher education but rather a raising of ideals.

By the light of a tallow candle, in his room at a boarding house of Jefferson City, the session of 1853, Wayman Crow wrote the charter of Washington University. He did it alone and of his own motion. He was a state senator. From time to time he had heard Dr. Eliot and others talk of the need of an institution above the high school for St. Louis. But no suggestion or request had come to him to obtain this legislation.

The charter was very brief, not as long as a lawyer might have written. But it went to the Supreme Court of the United States and was sustained. It gave the institution this distinctive character:

No instruction, either sectarian in religion or partisan in politics, shall be allowed in any department of said university, and no sectarian or party test shall be allowed in the election of professors, teachers or officers of said university, or in the admission of scholars thereto, or for any purpose whatever.

The creators meant what this non-sectarian, non-political section said. They provided for the strongest possible enforcement. In the very next section, the charter provided that if any violation of the foregoing was reported an investigation must be made. Any officer offending in the matter of political or sectarian instruction must be removed and he would be, thereafter, ineligible to any office in the university. If the board of directors failed to enforce the prohibition of sectarian and political instruction, the St. Louis circuit court was made competent to compel the board by mandamus to act.

Marshall S. Snow, coming up from Nashville, where he had been teaching, stopped over in St. Louis with Frederick N. Judson, in 1870. Mr. Judson was about to locate as a lawyer. Mr. Snow was willing to spend a few days en route to his New England home for vacation. The two young men made the acquaintance of Dr. Eliot. Almost before he realized it, Professor Snow found himself engaged as a member of the faculty of Washington University. He suggested that, possibly, Dr. Eliot might wish to make some inquiries about him in Nashville, but Dr. Eliot assured him he was ready to close the matter if the professor was. Then, when the arrangement had been closed, Dr. Eliot remarked:

"May I ask what church you attend? I never ask that question until after a member of the faculty has been engaged."

That was the non-sectarian spirit of Washington University in its practical application. Upon two men in those early days Dr. Eliot leaned for what he called "the intramural affairs" of the institution. These men were Snow and Woodward. To Professor Snow the relationship with Washington University recalled student memories of peculiar interest. Snow had been a student at Exeter under Hoyt, the much loved preceptor, and Hoyt had come west to be the first chancellor of Washington University, dying in the harness. During two considerable periods of the university's history Dr. Snow was called upon to perform the duties of chancellor in addition to the duties of his own professorship.

At the inauguration of Washington University in 1857 Edward Everett delivered an address, one of the most impressive, the most masterly of the many which made him the acknowledged foremost orator of his day. He was introduced to his St. Louis audience by Dr. Eliot. The meeting was held in Mercantile Library hall, the largest auditorium in the city. Prefacing his introduction, Dr. Eliot explained concisely why the name of "Washington University" had been chosen.

Under a happy coincidence, the charter had been approved on the 22nd of February, 1853, and the first meeting of the incorporators, at which the organization of the institution was accomplished, was held on the 22nd of February, 1854. By this coincidence of birth, the name of Washington University was suggested. It is also a name admirably adapted to the plan proposed, namely, the establishment of an American university, upon the broad foundation of republican and Christian principles free from the trammels of sect and party; a university for the people, whom Washington served; to educate the rising generations in

that love of country and of our whole country which the Farewell Address of Washington inculcates, and in that faithfulness to God and Truth which made Washington great.

Twenty-five years after the beginning Dr. Eliot in a reminiscent strain recalled the circumstances of the selection of title:

Some of us may remember the meeting when the name to be adopted for our embryo institution was under discussion, whether it should be seminary, or institute, or college, or school, and the suggestion of university was made by Judge Treat, indicating fairly, not what we were likely to be in our day, but the ultimate end, which was to be held constantly in view. It seemed to me, at the time, to savor not a little of grandiloquence, and, to say the truth, I have not entirely overcome that feeling yet; for university is a great word, and the first American university, in full significance of the terms, is yet to be established. But of late years I have begun to think that the way is opening before us, and that the road, though very steep, may not be very long.

The distinctive character of Washington University was, perhaps, never more forcibly stated than in the language of Rev. Dr. Truman M. Post. A Congregationalist, the first professor appointed to the collegiate department of the university, Dr. Post, at the inauguration, most happily stated wherein Washington University was a pioneer in a new educational era:

It seems to me also to augur, or at least to merit success for the institution inaugurated, that, while it is in especial sympathy with the masses, and aims to bless labor with culture, and unite in happy combination the speculative and scientific with the great practical issues of popular education, it is also placed on a broad and liberal basis on which men of different ecclesiastical or political schools can labor together. Such joint action for a noble object is, through its unitive influence, a public benefit as well as an augury of success.

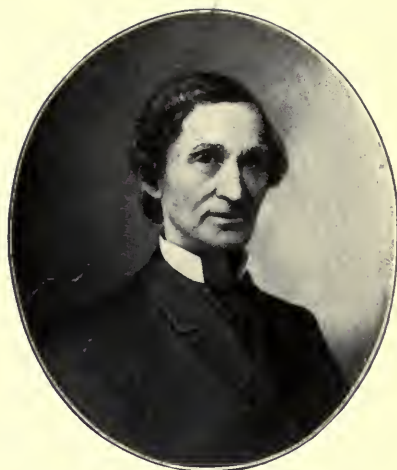
But though the institution is by its character pledged to be unpartisan and unsectarian, God forbid it should ever be unpatriotic or unchristian. And I am happy to believe there is a common ground on which, though with different partisan and ecclesiastical names and symbols, we can stand together in the great work of national education, without compromising or discarding those great and vital truths and principles, religious and political, which must constitute the ultimate warp and woof of all valuable culture and character. The tendency among us unquestionably has been too much toward division and subdivision in educational enterprises; until society is resolved into fragments so minute that hardly any one is strong enough to establish for itself a respectable system of institutions.

I am far from affirming that institutions distinctively ecclesiastical have not place and position, and are not doing a great and good work in American society. But while experiments are being made all around us, of institutions of that description, I am gratified to see in our young city an effort of such promise to establish a university on a catholic and general basis, on which fellow-citizens whose walk in life may be in other respects somewhat different, can unite. I believe such an institution has at this epoch in our history, a great, a good, a necessary work to do. Should this enterprise succeed as it promises, we may regard it as in some measure inaugurative of a new educational era among us.

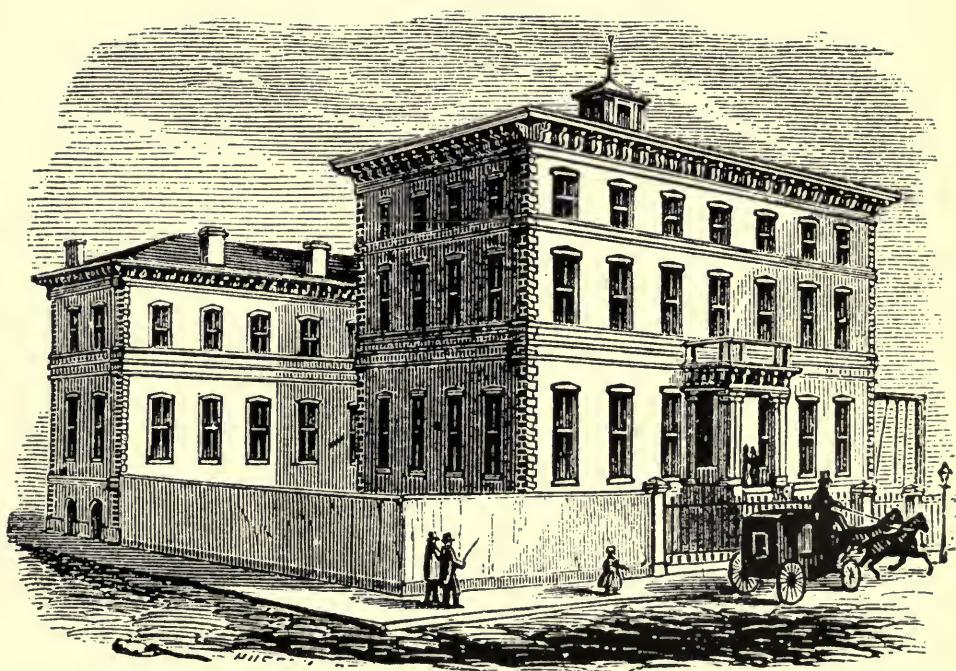
Perhaps only one time in its history has the non-sectarian character of Washington University been distorted to furnish ground for adverse criticism. In 1895 a number of ministers held a meeting and talked of starting a school for girls because the influences of Washington University were not orthodox. It was the opinion of some of these ministers that irreligious teachers were employed; that young people were encouraged to break away from the beliefs of their parents. A canvass of the faculties of the departments of the university showed that nearly all of the teachers were members of churches and that the denomination which had taken the lead in the adverse criticism of the



PROFESSOR SYLVESTER
WATERHOUSE



PROFESSOR B. T. BLEWETT



WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
Washington avenue and Seventeenth street, in 1861

institution had nearly twice as many representatives as any other denomination in the faculties. The distribution of professors and teachers of the university among the churches at that time was: Presbyterian, 10; Unitarian, 9; Lutheran, 2; Methodist, 6; Episcopal, 10; Baptist, 4; Catholic, 2; Congregational, 17; Swedenborgian, 1; not members of any church, 22. So far as was made public the ministers held but one meeting to find fault with the university's non-sectarian character. The movement met with no public sympathy and the proposed church school for girls was not heard of again.

Edward Everett's oration at the inauguration of Washington University in 1857 was a glowing, fascinating plea for educational advantages. But two paragraphs went home with peculiar, individual interest to the creators of the university. Around the orator, on the platform and in the front rows before him, sat the men who had taken up Wayman Crow's charter and of their thought and substance were making the institution. Four out of five of them had never sat in a college class room. Most of them had never enjoyed school training beyond the rudiments. To such men the thought could not have been better expressed than in the words which Mr. Everett gave it:

Nothing could be more abhorrent to my feelings than to speak disparagingly of self-taught men. I have neglected no fitting opportunity to eulogize them among the departed, or to manifest sympathy and respect for them among the living. I know of no spectacle on earth, pertaining to intellectual culture, more interesting than that of a noble mind, struggling against the obstacles thrown by adverse fortune in the way of its early improvement; no triumph more glorious than that which so often rewards these heroic exertions. It is because I appreciate the severity of the struggle, and deeply sympathize with those who have forced their way to eminence, in the face of poverty, friendless obscurity, distance from all the facilities for improvement, and inability to command their time, that I would multiply the means of education, and bring them into as many districts of the country, and as near the homes of as large a portion of the population as possible, in order to spare to the largest number of gifted minds the bitter experience by which those who succeed in doing so are compelled to force their way to distinction.

This premised, I have four words to say concerning self-taught men. The first is, that while a few minds of a very high order rise superior to the want of early opportunities, with the mass of men, that want, where it exists, can never be fully repaired. In the next place, although it is given to a few very superior intellects to rise to eminence without opportunities for early education, it by no means follows that, even in their cases, such opportunities would not have been highly beneficial, in smoothing the arduous path and leading to an earlier and more perfect development of the mental powers. Accordingly we find in the third place, that highly intelligent men, who have felt the want of early education themselves, are (without an exception, so far as my observation has gone) the best friends of academic education, as if determined that others should enjoy the advantages of which they were deprived. It would not be necessary to leave this platform to find the most striking illustrations of the truth of this remark. Lastly, this epithet, self-taught, is subject itself to great misconception. It is by no means to be supposed because eminent men, in any department of science or art, passed their first years and earned their first laurels without early opportunities of education, that they remained, more than other men, destitute to the end of their lives of instruction from abroad. Far otherwise; in all ordinary cases, the epithet in question applies only, with real significance, to the early stages of a distinguished career. As soon as a gifted person, however destitute of early culture, has possessed himself of the keys of science and literature, and gained access to books, he is no longer self-taught, he is a regularly entered pupil in the great high school of recorded knowledge, in which the wise and famous of every age are the masters.

Original in its theory, Washington University at the very beginning attempted the solution of the new problems in education. "The Practical department" was the first organized. That was the name which Dr. Eliot gave to this branch at the inauguration of the university in 1857. St. Louisans knew it as the O'Fallon Polytechnic Institute. John How, who was president of the board having special charge of the Practical department, explained the new field of education which his associates hoped to occupy and cultivate in St. Louis:

Our desire is to establish here in St. Louis an institution that shall have all of the advantages of the mechanics' institutes of our country, with those of the polytechnic institutes of Berlin, Vienna, and other cities of Europe; to have a building where, besides the library and reading rooms usually found in the mechanics' institutes, will be found a place for the model of the inventor, with the engine to work it, and for a school of design. The professors of the various branches of science treat of the mechanic arts, and there are few of these arts which do not need for their successful prosecution a scientific education.

Time has proven that the germ which John How, John O'Fallon, Samuel Treat and their associates, more than half a century ago sought to develop, was one of great possibilities for good. Financial stress, following the inauguration of the university, Civil war, misjudgment in the construction of a building in the wrong location were handicaps the idea encountered. The university never abandoned the theory but the practice of it did not begin to attain hoped for results until Calvin M. Woodward took hold of it. Professor Woodward was backed by a new generation of business men imbued with the same public spirit as the John O'Fallons of the fifties. Foremost among these friends of engineering and manual or "hand-and-head" education has been Samuel Cupples. Other notable contributors whose gifts enabled Professor Woodward to perfect his manual training plans have been Edwin Harrison, Gottlieb Conzelman, Carlos S. Greeley, Ralph and Timothy G. Sellew, William L. Huse, William Brown, William Barr and Emiline F. Rea.

Far beyond the perhaps dim theory of those who started the polytechnic idea in St. Louis, Professor Woodward carried his plans until the "Practical" features of Washington University became of more than national renown. The innovation was received with skepticism and even with some ridicule. Dr. Eliot was prompted to say of those who opposed:

A carpenter's shop and blacksmith's forge seemed to them a singular appendage to the college "humanities" and the schools of philosophy and advanced learning which dignify the university career. It seems to have been forgotten that the word "university" was itself borrowed from the "guilds" or trade associations which were known as universities two or three hundred years ago, as the "university of bakers," of smiths, of watch-makers, etc., in Rome and London. Already the prejudice is passing away, and it is recognized as a proper American-republic idea that skilled labor may command the same respect with intellectual development, and that the two should, so far as possible, go hand in hand.

As the experiment of manual training established beyond question its merits, Dr. Eliot said:

"It is in fact only a more systematic development of the educational ideas which lie at the foundation of our whole university enterprise."

"In a republic," he continued, "the head cannot say to the hand: I have no need of thee; nor can the hand say it to the head. The dependence is mutual, and the more frankly we recognize it the better for all concerned. If we can bring educated brains to the work-bench, and at the same time respect for skilled labor into the daily thoughts of the student, we shall be doing the best work of an American university."

"Surely," Dr. Eliot concluded, "it is not beneath the dignity of a western university, however high its standard, to inaugurate a new order of things by elevating skilled labor to its due respect among educated men."

Coeducation came naturally as a principle of Washington University in view of the relationship of the institution to the public school system of St. Louis.

"Equal advantages and the survival of the fittest should everywhere be the rule," was Dr. Eliot's theory and practice in respect to educational relationship of the sexes.

The practice was illustrated in the full graduation of a woman as LL.B. by the University Law School, the first instance in this country. As early as 1870, a St. Louis girl was a member of the freshman class of the college.

Always in view was kept the distinctive character of Washington University. The words in the charter and the expressions of the inaugural addresses were not uttered to be forgotten. Addressing the first graduating class in 1872 the acting chancellor, Professor Chauvenet said:

With no party connections, no sectarian bias, no dependence upon the uncertain patronage of state governments or legislatures, independent and self-sustaining, it stands before the world simply as the advocate and promoter of sound learning, true science and just moral culture. It may take years to develop its system in its full proportions, and to produce those results by which alone the mass of the community will judge of its merits. But they (the founders) are content to wait. They are content with having laid the foundations of an institution which is destined to be a great beating heart of the Mississippi Valley, sending forth by its annual pulsations new arterial blood into the social system.

In 1872 Dr. Eliot, who had been almost everything else to the university, was induced to take the chancellorship. In his inaugural he presented the ideal of the creators:

Washington University, in its ante-typal idea, prefigures an institution worthy of the great name it bears; a name which is the symbol of Christian civilization and American patriotism, and to which, therefore, no thought of sectarian narrowness or of party strife can ever be attached; an institution of learning, at once conservative and progressive, with foundations so broad that there is room for every department of human culture, and so deep that neither praise nor blame shall shake its allegiance to truth. We would found a university so strong in its faculty of instruction, so generous in its ideas, so thoroughly provided with all facilities of education, so hospitable to all comers, and so rich in its benefactions conferred, that it should gather round itself a constituency of learning and science, and give tone to the educational movement of the region in which we live. We would found a university so widely acknowledged in its influence, that St. Louis and Missouri should be honored throughout the world by its being established here; and the best class of citizens from all parts of the land, the intelligent, the enterprising, the philanthropic, the skilled laborer and artist, men of wealth and men of intellect, the true bone and sinew, the nerve-power and brain and controlling will of the republic, should be attracted here to find a favored home.

A business study of the subject of education was what Robert S. Brookings set about when he found himself at the head of the trustees of Washington University. Mr. Brookings was sixteen or seventeen years of age when he came out from Maryland to enter business life in St. Louis. He joined his brother who had preceded him in the house of Cupples & Marston. The secret of Robert S. Brookings's success in business is said to have been his habit of making a most thorough investigation and then of working intelligently. Mr. Brookings, Mr. Cupples said, never went into anything until he had given it an exhaustive inquiry. Satisfied as the result of his examination he went ahead with perfect confidence. This business trait Mr. Brookings applied to his investigation of educational matters. He made a study of the workings of American universities so thorough and so complete that his knowledge and conclusions have surprised many professional educators. Few men have such complete information of the operations of the higher institutions of this country as has Mr. Brookings, the result of his personal, tireless investigation. Upon a great chart, the president of Washington University has before him at all times the compiled information of what all of the large institutions are doing.

"A poor boy's college," President Brookings of the corporation recently called Washington University. And he told in glowing words how Washington University had supplied the advantages of higher education to boys of limited means from the high schools and from the Manual Training School who wanted to go on and who have become eminent in their callings. It was a story to stimulate the pride of all St. Louisans:

Washington University struggled along for nearly half a century, furnishing St. Louis with practically every branch of higher education. Having neither building, equipment nor funds enough for either a college or school of engineering, it managed to support both, and as evidence of the earnest quality of the work done, witness the following service:

In our civic life I think no one will question the overwhelming importance of the administration of our public schools. Superintendent Blewitt and his assistant, Mr. Bryan, are both Washington University men.

The next most important branch of public service is certainly the department of public improvements. Glance through the army of engineers that have administered or been connected with this department over a long period of years and you can scarcely lay your hand on a man that did not receive his training at Washington University. Holman, Flad, Burnett, O'Reilly and Adkins are all Washington University men. Probably the most important branch of this service is the Water Department, as it requires the greatest skill in nearly every branch of engineering. At the end of the term of the present Water Commissioner, Mr. Adkins, this department will have been administered by three Washington University men (Holman, Flad and Adkins) for twenty-four consecutive years. During this period the waterworks have been rebuilt and their capacity nearly quadrupled, and in this work of reconstruction there were employed as division and assistant engineers more than twenty graduates of Washington University. If the university had produced only two men, John T. Wixford, who by chemical experiment discovered a method for clarifying and purifying our water supply, and Commissioner Adkins, who solved the engineering problem of applying it, the city would be largely its debtor.

A glance at the eleemosynary institutions shows that Doctor Runge, late Superintendent of the Insane Asylum; Doctor Elbrecht, Superintendent of the Female Hospital, and Doctor Kirchner, Superintendent of the City Hospital, are all Washington University men. The Public Library, with its branches all over the city, has become no small factor in our educational life owing to the preeminent efficiency of the Librarian, Mr. Crunden, a graduate, who has served the city as librarian for more than thirty years.



WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY IN 1885



WAYMAN CROW



WILLIAM GREENLEAF ELIOT
From a Daguerreotype taken before
Washington University was founded



WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY IN 1909



In the little class of six which were graduated in 1870 was a man who fifteen years later served the city as mayor; four years later the state as governor; and still six years later the United States as secretary of the interior; and four years ago, as president of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, was the spirit of embodiment of that great enterprise. He is now a director of Washington University. What has Washington University given to the judiciary? More than one state has been furnished with a Supreme judge, while between twenty-five and thirty graduates have occupied seats on the United States and state circuit and district court benches.

In the everyday walks of life it would be impossible to gather together a group of professional men of any strength in either medicine, dentistry, law or engineering without being struck by the large proportion of Washington graduates. Two talented young engineers, Richard McCulloch, who has made an international reputation, and now practically superintends and directs the city's vast street railway system, and Harvey Fleming, who is chief engineer of the Chicago Street Railway company, are in the public eye at the moment.

For nearly half a century Washington graduated from the College and School of Engineering an average of only about ten students per year. What impression have they made on the outside world? Who is the most prominent civil engineer in the country? Some would probably say George Pegram, chief engineer of the New York subway and Brooklyn tunnel. Others, appreciating the skill of the bridge builder, would say Charles W. Bryan, chief engineer and manager of the American Bridge Company, which is the bridge department of the great steel corporation that is building bridges all over the world. Both of them are Washington University graduates, as is also F. C. McMath, president and chief engineer of the Canadian Bridge company, and William L. Breckenridge, chief engineer of the Burlington Railway system.

Those who read *The New York Evening Post* and *The Nation* are utterly ignorant of the fact that Paul Elmer More, literary editor of both these papers, is a Washington University graduate, as is Surgeon General Walter Wyman, of the United States Hospital Marine Service, and Samuel T. Armstrong, president New York Academy of Medicine, author, and superintendent of Bellevue and allied hospitals.

Go to the great mining camps of Colorado, and ask who is the most eminent mining engineer in that State. Some will probably say Regis Chauvenet, former president of the Colorado School of Mines. Others may say Seely Mudd, but it makes no difference to us, as they are both Washington University men. When John Hayes Hammond, acknowledged the most eminent living mining engineer, was leaving South Africa as a result of his connection with the famous Jamison raid, he was asked by the owners of the vast properties he had been managing to name the most capable man he knew as his successor. He named, and was succeeded by Pope Yeatman, a Washington University graduate.

In addition to Washington's public school service what has she done for that noblest of all causes—education? Conceding to the Institute of Technology of Boston first place among the technical schools of the country, the Worcester Polytechnic School is frequently mentioned as the second. Washington gave them Engler for their president. Rochester Ford, late president of the University of Arizona; Regis Chauvenet, former president of the Colorado School of Mines; William G. Raymond, dean of the engineering department of the Iowa State University; Doctor G. V. Black, dean of the Northwestern Dental School, at Chicago, probably the highest dental authority in the world; William S. Curtis, dean of our own law department; Professor McMillan, dean of the Western Dental College of Kansas City; Professor Miller, dean of the North Pacific Dental School of Portland, Oregon; Doctor McAlister, dean of the Missouri State University Medical College, and a long list of eminent professors, is the record of the university's contribution to education.

Practically every physician and surgeon of prominence in this city is a graduate of the medical department of Washington.

It is perhaps surprising to many that Washington University, with so small a student body, has made such an impression upon the life of the city and the nation. The explanation is simple. It has always been a poor boys' college, drawing its students almost entirely from the Manual Training School and the High School, more than a third of

whom, through scholarships, paid no tuition. They had no social conception of higher education, of being a "college man." They came for earnest training, and they received it from a staff of professors, every man of whom was a master. Think of a small school with a department of mathematics containing three such men as Woodward, Pritchett and Engler; a strong faculty giving its entire attention to a few earnest boys. The result was inevitable.

These boys went out into the world adequately equipped, and their record is the university's most valuable endowment, an endowment more precious than funds. Emerson truly says: "The best political economy is the care and culture of men."

Washington University is "a poor boys' college" in a sense other than that Robert S. Brookings had in mind when he, in terse, graphic sentences, told of the alumni and their achievements. The university stands today, in the majesty of its granite quadrangles, a monument to the honor and glory of "poor boys" of St. Louis who began with their unskilled hands in the industries, who swept out stores, who succeeded without the advantages of liberal education, who determined that any boy of St. Louis coming after them should have the opportunity to start better equipped than they did.

Late one night Dr. Eliot was preparing to retire. He had taken off coat and vest. A ring called him to the door. There stood James Smith holding a bundle in his hand. Between the doctor and the merchant, who had been warm friends for years, it was "William" and "James."

"Why, what is the matter, James? Is Persis sick?" asked Dr. Eliot.

"Persis" was Mrs. Smith. The young professors of Washington University called her "Aunt Persis."

"No," said Mr. Smith, "Persis is well. But Persis and I have been thinking and talking tonight about the university and its needs. We have concluded we ought to do something now. Here is this Boatmen's bank stock. I can't sleep and Persis can't sleep until it is in your hands. So I have brought it over to you."

"In that singular manner one early donation of thousands of dollars came to Washington University.

For the first quarter of a century of its existence the largest individual contributor to Washington University was James Smith. With his brother, William H. Smith, and his brother-in-law John Cavender, James Smith came from New Hampshire to St. Louis in 1833. The three young men started the grocery house of Smith Brothers & Co. It is tradition that the partners in the struggling period were not above doing any part of the work. They handled the goods, waited on customers and kept their own books. The house they founded became nearly twenty years later Partridge & Co. When James Smith died childless, it was found that he had bequeathed one-half of his estate to his wife and the remainder, except minor bequests, was left to William G. Eliot without conditions or instructions. This was in accordance with an understanding that the greater part of the property should go to Washington University. It was a fine illustration of one St. Louisian's absolute confidence in another. Smith Academy perpetuated the memory of James Smith. William Henry Smith, the brother of James Smith, was the founder of one of the best endowed lecture courses, giving \$27,000 for this purpose.

James Smith had the New England thrift in material things and the New England hunger for education. Circumstances of his youth had prevented him from satisfying that hunger. He lived and worked to make possible for other young men what had been denied him. The Smiths lived on Olive street near Seventeenth. One day Dr. Eliot called there and was met by Mrs. Smith.

"Persis, where is James?" the doctor asked.

"You'll find him in the cellarway blacking his boots," said Mrs. Smith.

Sure enough! There was James Smith, who was giving more than any other man in St. Louis to place Washington University on its feet, putting a polish on his boots.

"Why, James," exclaimed Dr. Eliot. "Why don't you let one of the servants do that?"

"Well, William," replied the old son of New Hampshire, with a little smile, "the servants are so wasteful with the blacking."

Wayman Crow was a giver to the university from the beginning. He subscribed \$10,000 in 1860. He gave \$138,000 to establish the Art Museum. He sustained the indefatigable Halsey C. Ives in the creation of the Art school. He established a scholarship fund. He provided other funds for special purposes. How often and how much he helped when emergencies arose during the many years he was a director will, perhaps, never be known. The men who were Mr. Crow's partners and successors in business gave. They had started, as he had, from the ground, even below the first round of the mercantile ladder. As early as 1860 William A. Hargadine and Phocion McCreery were two of twenty who subscribed \$192,500 to the support of the young university. Hugh McKittrick, of the same house, began giving a little later, but with the same sense of devotion to the institution. It was a frequent act of Dr. Eliot to hand to the treasurer a check with the remark: "Mr. McKittrick has given me \$1,000."

Wayman Crow had at least one experience which convinced him that college education does not spoil a young man for business. In 1857 he employed an Illinois youth, from Beloit College, as office boy. In eight years the young man won his way, grade by grade, to a junior partnership in the great house of Crow, McCreery & Co. He was David Davis Walker, born of English and Maryland parents on a farm near Bloomington, named for David Davis, the friend of Lincoln and the eminent jurist of United States Supreme Court fame, whose home was in Bloomington. With Frank Ely and others, David Davis Walker added, in 1880, to the group of wholesale houses the Ely & Walker Dry Goods company.

From the so-called border states, neither north nor south, came some of the men who became the most successful merchants in St. Louis. The Crows were of North Irish origin; the Waymans were an English family; but Wayman Crow was from Kentucky, the son of a Virginia father and a Maryland mother, his name combining those of the two families. He was the youngest of twelve brothers and sisters. His education was begun in a log cabin. When he was twelve years old he was apprenticed to what was in 1820 "assorted dry goods, grocers and hardware," at Hopkinsville. He slept on a cot in the store, carried water from the spring, opened, swept and closed. For his services he received

"victuals and clothes." When his apprenticeship ended he was considered by his employers to be worth \$300 a year to them.

With his Kentucky experience, Wayman Crow, having for a partner his cousin, Joshua Tevis, started at St. Louis, in 1835, the dry goods house of Crow & Tevis. Twelve months ago this house had been in continuous existence three-fourths of a century. It has passed successfully through six national panic periods. In 1857 Mr. Crow borrowed money at 2½ per cent a month and pledged his fortune to protect the firm's obligations. In an address to his creditors he wrote:

To us our commercial honor is as dear as our lives; to preserve it we are prepared to make any pecuniary sacrifice short of impairing our ability to pay ultimately every dollar we owe.

Every year Wayman Crow postponed departure for his summer home in order that he might attend the closing exercises of all of the departments of the university. As he came out, after the distribution of the diplomas and the other formalities, he would say to Dean Snow or to some other member of the faculty:

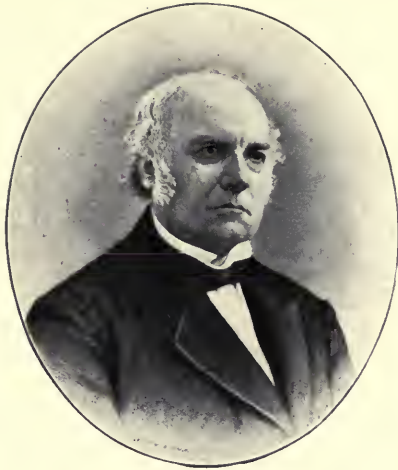
"Well, professor, another baby spanked."

Regularly the trustees of the pioneer period attended the commencement exercises. They could be depended upon for the lecture courses. Watching over the finances, making up the deficits by no means fulfilled their obligation or satisfied their interest. If now and then, one slept peacefully through a Fiske lecture on American history, it did not deter him from attendance at the next.

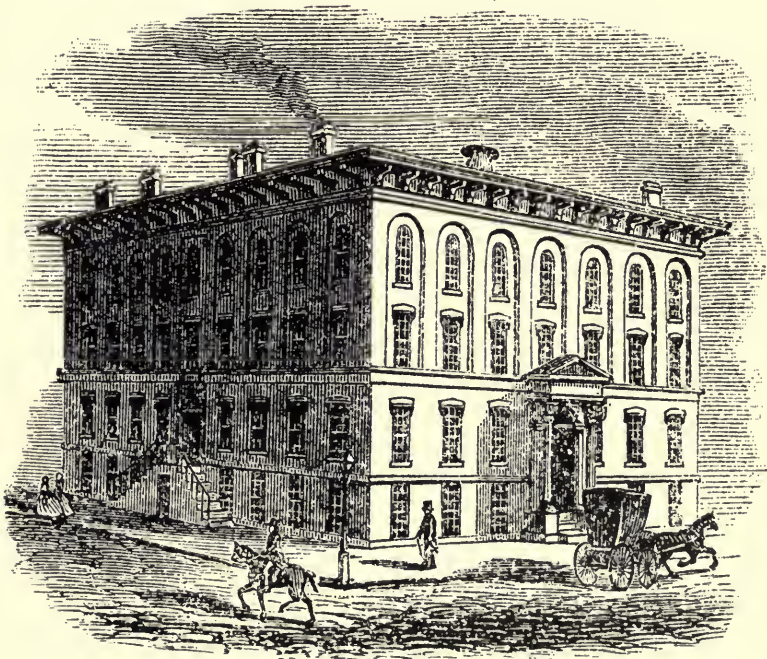
A red letter day in the calendar of Washington University has been the 22d of February. When that day in 1871 came around, Hudson E. Bridge arose at a meeting of the board and announced a gift from himself of \$130,000. This was one of several complete financial surprises which have come in the history of the university. Not a hint had Mr. Bridge given of his intention. He divided the gift—\$100,000 to endowment and \$30,000 toward the polytechnic or scientific department for building purposes.

Hudson E. Bridge left his New Hampshire home with \$6 in his pocket. To economize he walked to Troy. There he worked in a store until he had saved enough to take him to Columbus. His early career in St. Louis was a curious but marvelously successful combination of venture and caution. Mr. Bridge pioneered the way in the stove manufacturing business by bringing the plates from the Ohio river and putting them together in a little foundry attached to the store with which he was connected. Old stove dealers in St. Louis said the experiment was foolish and tried to discourage young Bridge. Foreman and salesman by day and bookkeeper by night, Mr. Bridge went on making stoves until he had proven his theory to be profitable. But while he was venturesome in experiment of manufacturing, he would never borrow capital for his growing business.

Some of these early friends of the university gave in large amounts, evidently after careful deliberation. Others carried their interest in the university as a continuous or current obligation. There was George Partridge, who was "always giving." He was a sterling business man, but was never classed as wealthy. Keeping in close touch with the university's needs, Mr.



RALPH SELLEW



CITY UNIVERSITY IN 1857

Sixteenth and Pine streets

Partridge would come around just at the time when Dr. Eliot felt the situation becoming urgent and give his check. These timely gifts ran as high as \$5,000. In the aggregate, Mr. Partridge gave about \$150,000 to Washington University. One of his last gifts was a house and lot on Washington avenue, which the university still owns.

When George Partridge came to St. Louis, about 1840, he formed a company in the wholesale grocery business. One of the stipulations in the articles of partnership was that the house should never sell any alcoholic liquor. Mr. Partridge had built up a larger business in Boston, starting with a capital of \$13, and working at first for \$50 a year and board. He had gone through the panic of 1837 without breaking, but he had discovered that a wholesale grocer in Boston at that time must sell liquor if he wanted to hold his own in the trade. He sold out, came west, and kept groceries which did not include "wet goods."

Looking backward, after Washington University had been firmly established, Dr. Eliot said:

At that first meeting, when the seventeen incorporators were called together in a private parlor, they had not a dollar in hand; there was little or no wealth among them; their conjoined property would not have reached half a million in value; they had no social or religious organization to back them; no definite plan of action; no reasonable assurance of success. There was probably not an individual outside of their own number who thought they would succeed, and the most sanguine among themselves were only half convinced. But beginning with a grammar school on a small scale, they worked with just enough faith to keep them alive, and by deserving success gradually gained it.

"Mechanic princes," Dr. Eliot once called a class of self-made St. Louisans. When he looked around the room on the first board of directors, or trustees, assembled to give life to Washington University, he saw only here and there one who had received educational advantages. The most of them had been "poor boys" who had gone from a few months in the log school house to learn trades, to sweep out stores. Stephen Ridgely, whose memory is preserved in the new library building of Washington University, taught the rest of the country the use of "spirit gas." This was a preparation made from alcohol by Mr. Ridgely. It was used in lamps with tin tubes two inches high, through which ran long wicks. This St. Louis spirit light was a great improvement on the lard oil which was used in lamps. It was popular until kerosene came into use. Profits of the spirit lamp are represented to the amount of \$60,000 in the present library of the university.

The four sons of George Collier united in a gift of \$25,000, which was made an endowment bearing their father's name. In token of their esteem for Professor Waterhouse, the endowment was made applicable to the chair of Greek until such time as the university might require it for other purposes. The Colliers chose Washington's birthday, the fifteenth anniversary of the granting of the charter, as the date to make their gift.

Individuality entered into the condition governing some of the donations. Professor Sylvester Waterhouse, who filled the chair of Greek for many years, by strict economy and careful investment acquired considerable means. He gave \$25,000 to the university to be held and invested until it had increased to \$1,000,000, when it would become available. The professor carefully estimated that the gift would be multiplied by forty if principal and compound

interest were preserved one hundred years. The Waterhouse fund is now \$34,000 and growing.

With perhaps two exceptions, the financial support of Washington University has come through individuals or families from fortunes accumulated in St. Louis. Mrs. Mary A. Hemenway was one of the exceptions. This excellent Boston lady took deep interest in American history. She founded in her city the famous Old South lecture course. Desiring to extend the interest in the history of this country, Mrs. Hemenway gave to Washington University \$15,000 for a lecture course, stipulating that so long as he lived, Professor John Fiske should deliver the lectures. During twenty years Professor Fiske came to St. Louis almost annually to deliver these lectures. To found the Tileston professorship of political economy as a memorial for her father, Mrs. Hemenway gave \$25,000. Nathaniel Thayer, the Boston philanthropist, was the other non-resident contributor, giving \$25,000 in 1860. In recognition of this substantial gift, "The Nathaniel Thayer Professorship of Mathematics and Applied Mechanics" was created in 1870. Professor Calvin M. Woodward held this position for forty years.

Twenty-five years after the inauguration, Dr. Eliot, speaking of the financial support given by the friends of the university, said:

In all the years since our beginning, an annual deficiency, varying from \$2,000 to \$10,000, has been made up by gifts for that purpose. The men who have done this are the true founders of the university, although their names have been scarcely known.

He told of one supporter of the institution, who, not having the principal to give, regularly paid 7 per cent on \$10,000. There were professional men like John R. Shepley, who gave from current income almost as regularly as the years rolled around. Henry Hitchcock presided over the law school. For a long period he turned back into the university treasury the sum allowed him for his services. And in addition when special funds were to be raised, he gave generously. In 1871 the university faced a crisis before which even Dr. Eliot quailed. He said: "There seemed to be a gulf of difficulties that we could not pass. But from unexpected sources, unsolicited, there came, in the three months that followed, gifts amounting in all to \$215,000."

Two generations of St. Louisans gave Dr. Eliot the credit of being the most useful citizen to raise money for the public good. But Dr. Eliot's ways were not those of direct solicitation. They were more effective. They aroused interest. They inspired the first step. They fostered the habit of giving.

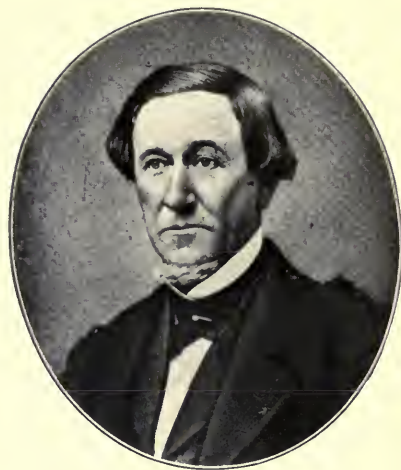
"Gentlemen," Dr. Eliot would say to the board at the end of the year, "I am sorry to tell you we have an alarming deficit. I don't know how we are to meet it, but I trust Providence will provide some way."

Then those business men would go over the accounts methodically, arriving at the exact financial situation. One after another of them would write a check. The university would enter upon another year out of debt.

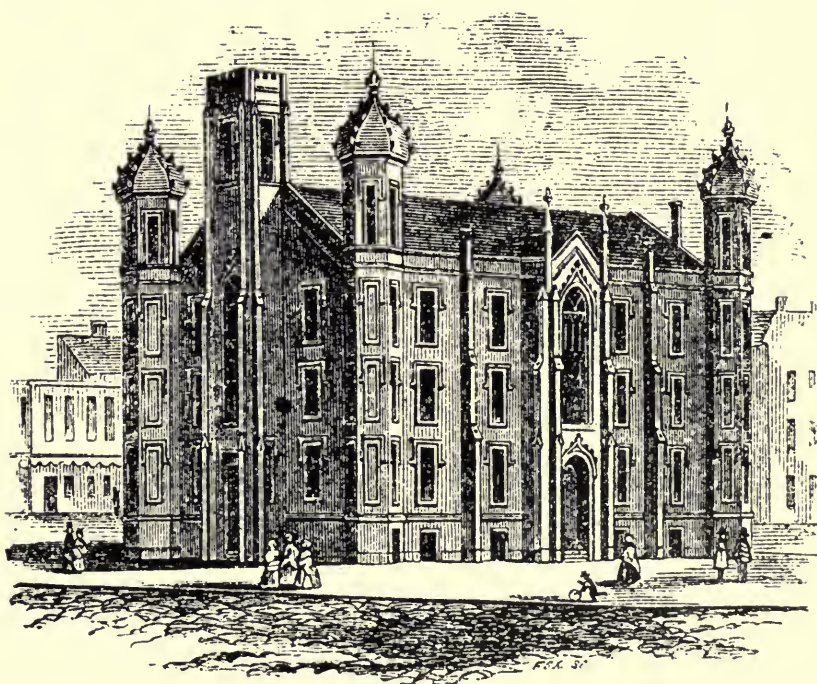
Late in his career, Dr. Eliot remarked that he had never asked any one directly for money in behalf of Washington University. The look of questioning surprise which met this assertion the good doctor answered with a trace of a smile and a story about a friend who held that it was sometimes "necessary to economize truth." The doctor said he thought it was at least "very handy



JAMES SMITH



J. C. WAY



ST. LOUIS HIGH SCHOOL
Olive and Fifteenth streets, in 1860



sometimes to economize truth." And with that he let his declaration about raising money for the university rest.

At one annual meeting of the board, after congratulations on the fine progress of the year, the doctor concluded:

And yet, to prove how the ghost of the impecuniousness will not "down," the treasurer reports the usual skeleton in the closet, a deficiency of \$5,000, upon which the usual unguent of charity must be poured.

When, in 1883, St. Louisans had invested over \$1,000,000 in Washington University, with seven departments, sixty-five professors and 1,200 students, Dr. Eliot put to the supporters the question: Will it pay?

"I believe in getting money's worth for every dollar we spend," said he, "whether for ourselves or others. No man is justified in throwing it away in visionary schemes of philanthropy, any more than in foolish speculation or extravagant living. But I believe that, tried by the strictest test of wise utilitarianism, the work you have in hand is worth its full cost and will justify every sacrifice to be made."

And then, in a few words, the prophetic chancellor pointed out what the evolution of Washington University would mean to St. Louis and to the world:

It is to build up on the foundations already well laid a university which will be to St. Louis and the western valley what the great universities of Europe and America have been to their respective surroundings; to make our city the center of educational interests, as it must be that of manufacturers and commerce; so that the civilization of science and art and polite literature may keep even pace with the growth of wealth. Is not that worth doing, at whatever cost?

It is to establish an American university from whose walls the bitterness of party spirit shall forever be excluded, but in which love of country, loyalty and that allegiance to law which alone can educate men to perfect liberty shall be taught as sacred duties; in whose instructions the narrowness of sectarianism can have no place, but the principles of Christian morality and reverential regard for truth as the voice of God shall be the axioms held above all dispute; a group of colleges and schools, including all departments of learning, from those which deal with pure abstractions and the most subtle scientific research, to the most practical recognition of the living interests of daily life and the just rewards of industry; providing all needful facilities for the highest and best education both of men and women, to fit them for the best work they are naturally capable of doing. Can we measure or rightly estimate the value of such an institution in a region like that in which we live?

The generation of 1911 does not realize the boldness of the non-sectarian position taken by the founders of Washington University. In that period state universities, with perhaps a single exception, were little known. The leading colleges of this country were under denominational control or patronage. This Washington University movement was viewed as dangerous by many good people. Public sentiment was apprehensive that non-sectarianism might mean irreligion. The first graduating exercises were opened with prayer. Dr. Eliot pronounced the invocation. The newspapers of St. Louis estimated that action as perhaps the feature most interesting to their readers. Dr. Eliot was requested to write out the prayer and he did so. The prayer was printed with the newspaper comment that it expressed "the spirit of the institution." Dr. Eliot prayed thus:

"May the principles upon which this university was founded be sacredly regarded and inviolably kept. From these walls may all party spirit and sectional strife be forever banished while the duties of patriotism and loyalty are faithfully and plainly taught. From these hallowed precincts may all disputes of

sectarian zeal be kept away, while the authority of the Divine Master is daily acknowledged, and the laws of Christian morality and righteousness (rectitude and holiness) are held supreme. May the teachers and scholars of this university thus learn to walk at liberty, by keeping Thy precepts."

Washington University is the gift of individuals to the cause of education. In the more than fifty years of its life, the institution has received nothing from public funds, national, state or municipal. No money has come from denominational sources. The givers have been numerous. There have been several princely contributions to buildings and endowments, such as those of Samuel Cupples, Adolphus Busch, Robert S. Brookings, William K. Bixby, the Liggett family, the McMillan family, and Mrs. Graham. But the university has received in the past two generations from several hundred St. Louisans donations aggregating a great amount. The multitude of supporters has included every creed and every nationality represented in the city's population. The amounts have varied with the abilities of the contributors. But the long lists attest a good will toward the university, a civic pride, a devotion to the highest and best in education.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE CULTURE OF ST. LOUIS

Auguste Chouteau's Scientific Theories—The Story of the Prehistoric Footprints—Dr. Saurin's Laboratory—Sulphur Springs, Near the River des Peres—John Bradbury's Animal Stories—Varied Vocations of Dr. Shewe—Lilliput on the Meramec—An Exploration for a Lost Race—Discovery of Coal in the Illinois Bluffs—Les Mamelles, Near St. Charles—Movement to Preserve "the Big Mound"—Early Mound Theories Disputed by Modern Science—The Barkis Club—Henry Shaw's Reminiscences—The Eden of St. Louis—Wyman's Museum—Dr. Engelmann's Meteorological Record—Adventurous Career of Adolph Wislizenus—The St. Louis Philosophic Movement—William T. Harris, Henry C. Brockmeyer and Denton J. Snider—Foreign Guests and St. Louis Hospitality—Jubilee of Archbishop Kenrick—Origin of Mercantile Library—The Public Library—Houdon's Washington in Lafayette Park—The St. Louis Fair—Lottery Privileges and a Moral Uplift—When Jenny Lind Came—Seventy Years of Musical Interest—Old Salt Theater—Playhouses Before the Civil War—Sol Smith's Epitaph—Ben DeBar—The Reign of the Veiled Prophet—A Third of a Century of Popular Pageants.

Shall we expect others to think well of a city of which we do not think well ourselves, whose history we are willing to drop from themes of human interest, whose institutions for cultivation and improvement we are unwilling to maintain?—*George E. Leighton.*

The boy of thirteen who felled the first tree on the site of St. Louis was a student. Cultivation of the mind began with the founding. Those who came afterwards and sought to solve nature's problems, of which St. Louis had many, discovered that Auguste Chouteau was a scientist. Henry M. Brackenridge said: "I made a visit to the elder Chouteau, a venerable looking man, with a fine intellectual head, and was introduced to one of the largest private libraries I had seen, Monsieur Chouteau offered me the free use of this library, of which I gladly availed myself. Here I found several of the early writers of travels and descriptions of Louisiana and Illinois, such as La Houton, Lafiteau, Hennepin, Charlevoix."

The Duke of Saxe, one of the earliest of the European travelers to visit St. Louis, was much impressed with Auguste Chouteau's theories:

The conversation with this aged man, who received us like a patriarch surrounded by his descendants, was very interesting. He was of the opinion that the people from whom the Indian antiquities have come down to us, either by pestilential disease or by an all-destroying war, must have been blotted from the earth. He believed that Behring's Straits were more practicable formerly than at present—at least they must have been Asiatic hordes that came to America. How, otherwise, asked he, could the elephants, since there have been none ever upon this continent, have reached the American bottom, where their bones are now found? This bottom is a very rich body of land running south opposite to St. Louis. Mounds and fortifications are found there. Here the elephant bones are not scattered about, but found lying in a long row near each other, as if they had been killed in a battle or at the assault of some fortification.

Scientific thought in St. Louis, according to the traditions, received its first stimulus when Laclède and Auguste Chouteau selected the site. Flagg, the newspaper man of 1836, recorded this tradition:

It is related that when the founder of the city first planted foot upon the shore, the imprint of a human foot, naked and of gigantic dimensions, was found enstamped upon the solid limestone rock and continued in regular succession as if of a man advancing from the water's edge to the plateau above. By more superstitious people this circumstance would have been deemed an omen, and as such commemorated in the chronicles of the city.

Mr. Flagg had the spirit of the scientific investigator. He made a study of these footprints on the shore of St. Louis and developed his theory.

The impressions are, to all appearances, those of a man standing in an erect posture, with the left foot a little advanced and the heels drawn in. By a close inspection it will be perceived that these are not the impressions of feet accustomed to the European shoe; the toes being much spread, and the foot flattened in the manner that is observed in persons unaccustomed to the close shoe. The probability, therefore, of their having been imparted by some individual of a race of men who were strangers to the art of tanning skins and at a period much anterior to that to which any traditions of the present race of Indians reaches, derives additional weight from this peculiar shape of the feet. In other respects the impressions are strikingly natural, exhibiting the muscular marks of the foot with great preciseness and faithfulness to nature. The rock containing these interesting impressions is a compact limestone of a grayish, blue color. This rock is extensively used as a building material in St. Louis. Foundations of dwellings and the military works erected by the French and Spaniards sixty years ago are still as solid and unbroken as when first laid.

Major Long and his party of scientists, on the government expedition of 1819-20, devoted attention to the footprints. As early as that time the slab had been quarried out and was considered a scientific treasure:

This stone was taken from the slope of the immediate bank of the Mississippi below the range of the periodical floods. To us there seems nothing inexplicable or difficult to understand in its appearance. Nothing is more probable than that impressions of human feet made upon that thin stratum of mud, which was deposited upon the shelvings of the rocks, and left naked by the retiring of the waters, may, by the induration of the mud, have been preserved, and at length have acquired the appearance of an impression made immediately upon the limestone. This supposition will be somewhat confirmed, if we examine the mud and slime deposited by the water of the Mississippi, which will be found to consist of such an intimate mixture of clay and lime, as under favorable circumstances would very readily become indurated. We are not confident that the impressions above mentioned have originated in the manner here supposed, but we cannot by any means adopt the opinions of some, who have considered them contemporaneous to those casts of submarine animals, which occupy so great a part of the body of the limestone. We have no hesitation in saying that, whatever those impressions may be, if they were produced as they appear to have been, by the agency of human feet, they belong to a period far more recent than that of the deposition of the limestone on whose surface they are found.

In addition to impressions of the human foot, there were upon the stone irregular tracings as if made by some person holding a stick. The local theory was that these marks were made by a human being walking on a limestone when it was in a plastic state. The stone passed into the possession of George Rapp, founder of the society of Harmonites. Rapp was from Wurtemberg. His sect believed in communism. The members practiced primitive Christianity as Rapp conceived it to have been. Harmony, Pennsylvania, and New Harmony, Indiana, had been established. Rapp moved about making converts. The "pre-historic footprints" at St. Louis appealed to his imagination. Later generations of scientists gave less consideration to the St. Louis footprints.

In the first decade of the century the leading scientist of St. Louis was Dr. Saugrain. He was described as "a cheerful, sprightly little Frenchman, four feet six, English measure; a chemist, natural philosopher and physician." The few newspaper and literary St. Louisans of that day were fond of Dr. Saugrain, and visited him. One of them left this description of the first laboratory in St. Louis:

The doctor had a small apartment which contained his chemical apparatus, and I used to sit by him as often as I could, watching the curious operations of his blowpipe and crucible. I loved the cheerful little man and he became very fond of me in turn. Many of my countrymen used to come and stare at his doings, which they were half inclined to think had too near a resemblance to the black art. The doctor's little phosphoric matches, igniting spontaneously when the glass tube was broken, and from which he derived some emolument, were thought by some to be rather beyond mere human power. His barometers and thermometers, with the scale neatly painted with the pen, and the frames richly carved, were objects of wonder, and some of them are probably still extant in the west. But what most astonished some of our visitors was a large peach in a glass bottle, the neck of which could only admit a common cork; this was accomplished by tying the bottle to the limb of a tree, with the peach when young inserted into it. His swans, which swarm around basins of water, amused me more than any of the wonders exhibited by the wonderful man.

The doctor was a great favorite with the Americans as well for his vivacity and sweetness of temper which nothing could sour, as on account of a circumstance which gave him high claims to the esteem of the backwoodsmen. He had shown himself, notwithstanding his small stature and great good nature, a very hero in combat with the Indians. He had descended the Ohio in company with two French philosophers who were believers in the primitive innocence and goodness of the children of the forest. They could not be persuaded that any danger was to be apprehended from the Indians; as they had no intention to injure that people, they supposed of course that no harm could be meditated on their part. Dr. Saugrain was not altogether so well convinced of their good intentions, and accordingly kept his pistols loaded. Near the mouth of the Big Sandy, a canoe with a party of warriors approached the boat; the philosophers invited them on board by signs, when they came too willingly. The first thing they did on entering the boat was to salute the two philosophers with the tomahawk; and they would have treated the doctor in the same way, but that he used his pistols with good effect; killed two of the savages, and then leaped into the water, diving like a dipper at the flash of the guns of the others, and succeeded in swimming to shore with several severe wounds, the scars of which were conspicuous.

An object of attention by the early scientists of St. Louis was Sulphur Springs. This was in the valley of the River des Peres, not far from what became Cheltenham. When John Bradbury, the English naturalist, decided to make his home in St. Louis, he built his house near this spring. The members of Long's expedition found Bradbury living there in 1819. They included mention of the water in their report to the government. At that time horses and cattle at pasture went a long distance to drink the sulphur water in preference to any other. When thirty years later the Missouri Pacific began building westward there was a station at Sulphur Springs. A wooden hotel was built and a resort was maintained. The spring boiled up in the channel of the River des Peres. When that stream became an open sewer, as the city extended westward, the spring was polluted, and the use of its water was abandoned. John Bradbury made expeditions with the fur traders and trappers. He brought back to St. Louis marvelous stories about animals:

I will here state a few of what I certainly believe to be facts; some I know to be so, and of others I have seen strong presumptive proofs. The opinion of the hunters respecting the beaver go much beyond the statements of any author whom I have read. They state that an old beaver which has escaped from a trap can scarcely ever afterwards be caught, as traveling in situations where traps are usually placed, he carries a stick in his mouth with which he probes the sides of the river, that the stick may be caught in the trap and thus save himself. They say also of this animal that the young are educated by the old ones. It is well known that in constructing their dams the first step the beaver takes is to cut down a tree that shall fall across the stream intended to be dammed. The hunters in the early part of our voyage informed me that they had often found trees near the edge of a creek in part cut through and abandoned; and always observed that those trees would not have fallen across the creek. By comparing the marks left on these trees with others, they found them much smaller. They not only concluded they were made by young beavers, but that the old ones, perceiving their error, had caused them to desist. They promised to show me proofs of this, and during our voyage I saw several, and in no instance would the trees thus abandoned have fallen across the creek.

I myself witnessed an instance of a doe, when pursued, although not many seconds out of sight, so effectually hide her fawn that we could not find it, although assisted by a dog. I mentioned this fact to the hunters who assured me that no dog, or perhaps any beast of prey, can follow a fawn by the scent. They showed me in a full grown deer a gland and a tuft of red hair situated a little above the hind part of the forefoot, which had a very strong smell of musk. This tuft they call the scent, and believe that the route of the animal is betrayed by the effluvia proceeding from it. This tuft is mercifully withheld until the animal has acquired strength. What a benevolent arrangement!

Of the trappers with whom he traveled, Bradbury said: "They can imitate the cry or note of any animal found in the American wilds so exactly as to deceive the animals themselves."

An eccentric character in the early coterie which represented the culture of St. Louis was Dr. Shewe, as Brackenridge described him:

He had been a traveler all his life, having begun by making the tour of Europe as tutor to the young Count Feltenstein; and was in Paris during the first scenes of the French revolution. He used to show a mark on his leg occasioned by a shot at the taking of the Bastille. He related many anecdotes of the great Frederick and of his generals, which he had picked up at Berlin. Mr. Shewe officiated at the Dutch church as a preacher; whether he was ever ordained I know not, but he certainly was not remarkable for his piety. I knew him afterwards as a mineralogist, as a miniature painter and as a keeper of a huckster shop. The last was the occupation he loved best, for he had always before him the two objects upon which his affections were finally concentrated—tobacco and beer. He used to express philosophically the same sentiment which I have heard from Achilles Murat in jest, that whiskey was the best part of the American government.

In his card which appeared in the Gazette, 1810, Dr. Shewe announced that he would continue to give lessons in French, and that he had "a quantity of candles molded from the best deer's tallow which he will sell cheap for cash." One of Dr. Shewe's students in French was Thomas H. Benton.

Before they left St. Louis to go up the Missouri river scientific members of the Long party made some local investigations. Mr. Say and Mr. Peale went down the river to the mouth of the Meramec and up that stream about fifteen miles. They had been told of the discovery of many graves in that locality. The graves were said to contain skeletons of a diminutive race. So much had the story impressed the neighborhood, that a town which had been laid out bore the name of Lilliput. In one of the graves a skull without teeth had been found. This had been made the basis for another local theory



THE BIG MOUND AT BROADWAY AND MOUND STREET
From a Daguerreotype taken in 1850



THE REMOVAL OF THE BIG MOUND
From a Daguerreotype taken before the Civil war

that these prehistoric residents of the Meramec had jaws like a turtle. The scientists found that the graves were walled in neatly, and covered with flat stones. They opened several and saw that the bones were of ordinary size, seemingly having been buried after the flesh had been separated from them, according to the custom of certain Indian tribes. The skull with the turtle-like jaw was that of an old man who had lost his teeth. The scientists satisfied themselves that there was nothing extraordinary in the contents of the graves. As the narrative ran, they "sold their skiff, shouldered their guns, bones and spade, and bent their weary steps toward St. Louis, distant sixteen miles, where they arrived at 11 p. m., having had ample time, by the way, to indulge in sundry reflections on that quality of the mind, either imbibed in the nursery or generated by evil communications, which incites to the love of the marvelous, and, by hyperbole, casts the veil of falsehood over the charming features of simple nature."

Not all of the scientific investigations at St. Louis turned out as discouragingly as the expedition to Lilliput. John Bradbury was well satisfied with a trip inspired by the report of coal discovered:

In the year 1810 the grass on the prairie of the American bottom in the Illinois territory took fire and kindled the dry stump of a tree, about five miles east of St. Louis. This stump set fire to a fine bed of coal on which it stood, and the coal continued to burn for several months, until the bottom fell in and extinguished it. This bed breaks out at the bottom of the bluffs of the Mississippi, and is about five feet in thickness. I visited the place, and by examining the indications found the same vein at the surface several miles distant.

Brackenridge also reported upon this chance discovery of coal:

On the east side of the Mississippi, in the bluffs of the American bottom, a tree taking fire some years ago, communicated it by one of its roots to the coal, which continued to burn until the fire was at length smothered by the falling in of a large mass of the incumbent earth. The appearance of fire is still visible for several rods around. About two miles further up the bluffs a fine coal bank has been opened; the vein as thick as any of those near Pittsburg.

John Bradbury explored the caverns in the vicinity of St. Louis and told of the encouragement they offered to a new industry:

The abundance of nitre generated in the caves of this country is a circumstance which ought not to pass unnoticed. These caves are always in the limestone rocks; and in those which produce the nitre the bottom is covered with earth which is strongly impregnated with it and visible in needle-like crystals. In order to obtain the nitre, the earth is collected and lixiviated; the water after being saturated is boiled down and suffered to stand until the crystals are formed. In this manner it is no uncommon thing for three men to make one hundred pounds of saltpetre in one day. In the spring of 1810 James McDonald and his two sons went to some caves on the Gasconade river to make saltpetre, and in a few weeks returned with three thousand pounds weight to St. Louis.

A locality, in the vicinity of St. Louis, which was visited by the early scientific explorers and which charmed all of them was across the Missouri river and along the west bank of the Mississippi. Brackenridge, in a newspaper letter, described the place graphically:

The tract called Les Mamelles, from the circumstance of several mounds bearing the appearance of art projecting from the bluff some distance into the plain may be worth describing as a specimen. It is about three miles from St. Charles; I visited it last summer. To those who have never seen any of these prairies, it is very difficult to convey

any just idea of them. Perhaps the comparison to the green sea is the best. Ascending the mounds I was elevated about one hundred feet above the plain; I had a view of an immense plain below, and a distant prospect of hills. Every sense was delighted and every faculty awakened. After gazing for an hour I still experienced an unsatiated delight, in contemplating the rich and magnificent scene. To the right the Missouri is concealed by a wood of no great width, extending to the Mississippi the distance of ten miles. Before me I could mark the course of the latter river, its banks without even a fringe of wood; on the other side the hills of Illinois, faced with limestone in bold masses of various hues and the summits crowned with trees; pursuing these hills to the north, we see, at the distance of twenty miles, where the Illinois separates them in his course to the Mississippi. To the left we behold the ocean of prairie with islets at intervals, the whole extent perfectly level, covered with long waving grass, and at every moment changing color, from the shadows cast by the passing clouds. In some places there stands a solitary tree of cottonwood or walnut, of enormous size, but from the distance diminished to a shrub. A hundred thousand acres of the finest land are under the eye at once, and yet on all this space there is but one little cultivated spot to be seen. The eyes at last satiated with this beautiful scene, the mind in turn expatiates on the improvements of which it is susceptible, and creative fancy adorns it with happy dwellings and richly cultivated fields. The situation in the vicinity of these great rivers, the fertility of the soil, a garden spot, must one day yield nourishment to a multitude of beings. The bluffs are abundantly supplied with the purest water; those rivulets and rills which at present, unable to reach the father of waters, lose themselves in lakes and marshes, will be guided by the hand of man into channels fitted for their reception, and for his pleasure and felicity.

The scientists devoted a great deal of time to the Indian mounds of St. Louis. They located twenty-seven along a line leading north of the city and on what they called the second bank of the river. Each of these mounds was measured with care. Several of them were from four feet to five feet in height. The largest was thirty-four feet high. Some were round; others square or oblong. Some were arranged to form a partial enclosure. Several were in a curve. On the Illinois side of the river, within five miles from the river bank opposite St. Louis, the scientists found seventy-five of these mounds. Long's expedition reported on them:

Tumuli and other remains of the labors of nations of Indians that inhabited this region many ages since are remarkably numerous about St. Louis. Those tumuli immediately north of the town, and within a short distance of it, are twenty-seven in number, of various forms and magnitudes, arranged nearly in a line from north to south. The common form is an oblong square, and they all stand on the second bank of the river. It seems probable that these piles of earth were raised as cemeteries, or they may have supported altars for religious ceremonies. We cannot conceive any useful purpose to which they can have been applicable in war, unless as elevated stations from which to observe the motions of an approaching enemy; but for this purpose a single mound would have been sufficient, and the place chosen would probably have been different. We opened five of them, but in only one were we fortunate in finding anything, and all that this contained was a solitary tooth of a species of rat, together with the vertebrae and ribs of a serpent of moderate size, and in good preservation. But whether the animal had been buried by the natives or had perished there, after having found admittance through some hole, we could not determine.

Every St. Louisian of scientific bent liked to talk about the mounds. Every tourist visited them and wrote of them as being the greatest of natural curiosities. Edmund Flagg found in them not only the field for investigation but the opportunity for the preservation of a most attractive civic feature. He wrote:

They stand isolated, or distinct from each other, in groups; and the outline is generally that of a rectangular pyramid, truncated nearly one-half. The first collection originally consisted of ten tumuli arranged as three sides of a square area of about four

acres, and the open flank to the west was guarded by five other small circular earth-heaps, isolated and forming the segment of a circle around the opening. This group is now almost completely destroyed by the grading of streets and the erection of edifices, and the eastern border may alone be traced. North of the first collection of tumuli is a second, four or five in number, and forming two sides of a square. Among these is one of a very beautiful form, consisting of three stages, and called the "falling garden." Its elevation above the level of the second plateau is about four feet, and the area is ample for a dwelling or yard. From the second it descends to the first plateau along the river by three regular gradations, the first with a descent of two feet, the second of ten, and the lower one of five, each stage presenting a beautiful site for a house. For this purpose, however, they can never be appropriated, as one of the principal streets of the city is destined to pass directly through the spot, the grading for which has already commenced. The third group of mounds is situated a few hundred yards above the second, and consists of about a dozen eminences. A series extends along the west side of the street, through the grounds attached to a classic edifice of brick, which occupies the principal one; while opposite rise several of a larger size, upon one of which is situated the residence of General Ashley, and upon another the reservoir which supplies the city with water, raised from the Mississippi by a steam force pump upon its banks. Both are beautiful spots embowered in forest trees; and the former, from its size and structure, is supposed to have been a citadel or place of defense. In excavating the earth of this mound, large quantities of human remains, pottery, half-burned wood, were thrown up, furnishing conclusive evidence, were any requisite further than regularity of outline and relative position, of the artificial origin of these earth heaps. About six hundred yards above this group, and linked with it by several inconsiderable mounds, is situated one completely isolated, and larger than any yet described. It is upward of thirty feet in height, about one hundred and fifty feet long, and upon the summit five feet wide. The form is oblong, resembling an immense grave; and a broad terrace or apron, after a descent of a few feet, spreads out itself on the side looking down upon the river. From the extensive view of the surrounding region and of the Mississippi, commanded by the site of this mound, as well as its altitude, it is supposed to have been intended as a *vidette* or watch tower by its builders.

From the Big Mound, as it is called, a cordon of tumuli stretch away to the north-west for several miles along the bluffs parallel with the river, a noble view of which they command. They are most of them ten or twelve feet high; many clothed with forest trees, and all of them supposed to be tombs. In removing two of them upon the grounds of Colonel O'Fallon, immense quantities of bones were exhumed. It is evident from these monuments of a former generation that the natural advantages of the site upon which St. Louis now stands were not unappreciated long before it was pressed by the European footsteps.

It is a circumstance which has often elicited remark from those, who as tourists have visited St. Louis, that so little interest should be manifested by its citizens for those mysterious and venerable monuments of another race by which on every side it is environed. When we consider the complete absence of everything in the character of a public square or promenade in the city, one would suppose that individual taste and municipal authority would not have failed to avail themselves of the moral interest attached to these mounds and the beauty of their site, to have formed in their vicinity one of the most attractive spots in the west. These ancient tumuli could, at no considerable expense, have been enclosed and ornamented with shrubbery, and walks, and flowers, and thus preserved for coming generations. As it is, they are passing rapidly away; man and beast, as well as the elements, are busy with them, and in a few years they will have disappeared. The practical utility of which they are available appears the only circumstance which has attracted attention to them. One has already become a public reservoir, and measures are in progress for applying the larger mound to a similar use, the first being insufficient for the growth of the city.

Public sentiment in favor of preservation of the Big Mound became active at one time. The movement contemplated the transfer of title to the city. There were several owners. It was proposed to have transformed, into a

public garden or park, three or four blocks of ground, the central part of which would be the Big Mound. Upon the Mound was to be constructed a pavilion. A committee of public-spirited citizens undertook to secure the transfer of the land to the city. A. B. Chambers, editor of the Missouri Republican, was one of the foremost advocates of the plan. Mr. Benoist was the owner of a considerable part of the ground desired. The committee waited upon him and presented the arguments in favor of the Big Mound park. Mr. Benoist declined to transfer his part to the city. The movement was abandoned.

After three generations of scientists had made much in the way of speculation about the mounds of St. Louis and vicinity, there came geologists who studied the soil and the rocks and advanced natural theories to account for most of these landmarks. Away back, in the ages when the Mississippi Valley was being formed, there was drift clay and loess, these later scientists said, covering St. Louis and the valley roundabout so that the surface was from fifty to sixty feet above the present level. Loess is almost anything ground up tolerably fine. As the great rivers wore out their channels and diminished in volume through the ages they left many elevations in and around St. Louis "locally known as 'mounds,' the formation of which has generally been referred to human agency." The quotation is from Worthen of the Illinois geological survey, whose theory has been accepted widely by latter day geologists. Support to this theory is given in a thesis by Henri Hus upon whom Washington University in 1908 conferred the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Worthen said further of these mounds:

These elevations vary in height from ten to sixty feet and more above the level of the surrounding bottom, and when carefully examined are found to consist of drift clay and loess, remaining in situ just as they appear along the river bluffs, where similar mounds have been formed in the same way by the removal of the surrounding strata by currents of water. We had an opportunity of seeing a good section of the large mound in the upper part of the city of St. Louis exposed by digging into the upper end of the mound for material to be used in filling adjacent lots. It was found to consist of about fifteen feet of common chocolate brown drift clay, the base of which was overlaid by thirty feet or more of ash-colored marly sands of the loess, the line of separation between the two deposits remaining as distinct and well defined as they usually are in good artificial sections of the railroad cuts through these deposits.

The professor concluded, ruthlessly disposing of the theories and discussions of the generations of scientists who had measured and dug into and described these prehistoric landmarks:

Hence, we infer that these mounds are not artificial elevations raised by the aboriginal inhabitants of the country, as has been assumed by antiquarians generally, but on the contrary they are simply outliers of loess and drift, that have remained as originally deposited, while the surrounding contemporaneous strata were swept away by denuding forces. They are not found to occupy any fixed relative position in relation to each other, or to have any regularity of size or elevation, and hence antiquarians appear to have inferred that they were raised simply to serve as burial places for the dead. But the simple fact that they were used for this purpose by the aborigines, which seems to be the main argument relied on as proof of their artificial origin, seems to me entirely inadequate to sustain such a conclusion, and they were perhaps only selected by them for this purpose on account of their elevated position, for the same reason that they selected the highest point of a bluff in preference to any lower point, to serve as the last resting place for the earthly bodies of their relatives and friends. I have very little doubt that many of the so-



Excavating mastodon bones in the suburbs of St. Louis



Opening an Indian mound in Forest Park



Museum of mastodon relics excavated near St. Louis
SCIENTIFIC PROBLEMS OF ST. LOUIS

called Indian mounds, in this state at least, if carefully examined, would prove to be only natural elevations produced by the causes above named.

The Barkis club was a before-the-war organization of thirteen members, of intellectual attainments, who sought no publicity. Each member dined the other twelve members once a year. Henry Shaw was the leading spirit if not the organizer. Dr. Thomas O'Reilly was the last survivor. Henry Shaw wrote an account of his arrival in St. Louis and of the impressions of the town, for St. Louis then had not been incorporated as a city. He left New Orleans the 14th of March, 1819, on a Philadelphia built steamboat, "The Maid of Orleans." Although she met with no serious detention coming up, the boat did not reach St. Louis until the 4th of May. Mr. Shaw wrote:

We were fourteen passengers in all. I knew them well. Among them were Firmin Desloge, John Pilcher, Charles Sanguinet, Louis Benoist and others. At early morning we came in view of the then village of St. Louis, rounding the sandbar that then protruded far into the river and landed above. In passing, the town had a cheerful appearance, some of the houses being elegantly built with verandahs in the Louisiana style. The vessels at the landing were some half a dozen barges and Mackinaw boats. There were no buildings on the river, but on top of the bank were gardens with fruit trees in blossom, forming a pleasing contrast compared to the swampy land and moss covered trees of the lower Mississippi. Few of the cross streets were then open to the river landing. Access to the part of the city on the hillside was by narrow, winding pathways, some wide enough for the water carts used to come to the river for that necessary element. The market was on the river shore at the termination of Market street. Opposite in a commanding position stood the stately residence of Mr. Auguste Chouteau, one of the founders of St. Louis, then a venerable old gentleman. His brother, Pierre Chouteau, Sr., lived higher up the street, his garden wall enclosing a whole block. Besides the Chouteaus many old and respectable citizens had their residences on Main street. Among these were Mr. Bernard Pratte, Sr., Mr. Cabanne, Mr. Gratiot, Mr. Sarpy and Mr. Berthold. Mr. Soulard and Mr. Saugrain had their residences and gardens in the lower part of the village. I have always had the greatest pleasure in recalling to mind the kindness, courtesy and politeness of these old citizens, and from my knowledge of the French language I was on terms of intimacy with many of them. There were some eight or ten brick houses of modern style west of Main street. The principal one was the residence of Governor William Clark, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, with council house attached. Major William Christy lived a short distance above town. Mr. J. B. C. Lucas lived at the outskirts, now Seventh street. Judge W. C. Carr had a fine residence on the prairie about a mile west of the river. Joseph Charless, Sr., had a house and garden on Market street opposite the present court house. The two last named had a fine taste for horticulture and raised superior grapes and other fruits in their garden. The kindness of these gentlemen to me, then comparatively a youth and a stranger, as also the other named American gentleman, is remembered with the greatest pleasure.

"The Eden of St. Louis" was the name given to Shaw's Garden by Prof. J. D. Butler, who visited the place and was the guest of Mr. Shaw in 1871. At that early day was pointed out by an intelligent observer the great benefit which Mr. Shaw's experiments might be to western forestry. Prof. Butler advised those interested in tree planting throughout the west to look to Shaw's arboretum "to learn how and what to plant." He spoke of the good influence already evident upon the growth of St. Louis. He made a very interesting statement obtained from Mr. Shaw himself upon the inception of the garden, including the reason for the location at St. Louis. Prof. Butler said of Mr. Shaw:

He first spent about six years in travel, penetrating into other countries and surveying them laboriously but systematically. Meantime, however, he had begun to realize

the garden which from childhood had been his ideal. He planted his paradise at St. Louis, not merely because he there owned 800 acres of land, but because of the latitude, the golden mean between heat and cold—the best in America for the most various and vigorous vegetation.

When Edward Wyman established his school in 1843, he set about the formation of a museum of natural history. This work was entrusted to a naturalist of no mean ability, Mr. Bates. The collection was not confined to this country. It was especially rich in ornithology. In 1850 this museum was said to contain the finest department of ornithology in the United States. The variety, rarity and arrangement attracted scientific attention widely. A paleontologist and geologist of international reputation, Dr. Benjamin Franklin Shumard, of a scientific family in Pennsylvania, came to St. Louis to live in 1853. This city was his home while he carried on scientific exploration in the southwest.

In February, 1909, was observed the centennial of a St. Louisian whose work drew the attention and excited the admiration of the old and the new world. George Engelmann came to St. Louis in 1834, and for a full half century his explorations, his investigations, his papers, made this city respected as a home of the sciences among men of learning far and wide.

Dr. Engelmann was versed in all of the natural sciences, but his favorite study was botany. The work that he began and pursued in and about St. Louis for many years was developed under the encouragement given by Henry Shaw in his magnificent bequests, until today the St. Louis School of Botany, under Director William Trelease, is recognized in Europe as well as in the United States as one of the great institutions in that branch of study and research.

In 1843, George Engelmann, William Greenleaf Eliot, Adolph Wislizenus and a few others met in the law office of Marie P. Leduc to form the Western Academy of Science. These young men bought a piece of ground of several acres near Eighth street and Chouteau avenue, started a botanical garden and experimented in forestry. The organization was a pioneer in the scientific field of the United States; it disbanded after a few years, but the members of it went on individually with their scientific work. In 1856 the present Academy of Science was organized, and Dr. Engelmann, one of the leading spirits in the movement, became the president, holding the office fifteen years.

Engelmann studied at Heidelberg with Agassiz. When he graduated in medicine he wrote a paper on plant monstrosities which showed such knowledge of botany as to attract widespread attention. In that early period a graphic writer named Duden was exploring the vicinity of St. Louis, and sending back to Germany fascinating accounts of the climate, the soil and the natural resources. He was the prompter of much of the early German immigration to St. Louis and to the vicinity on both sides of the river. George Engelmann at 23 came out to St. Louis to make a thorough investigation of conditions, acting as the agent of many of his countrymen who contemplated coming if Duden had not pictured the country too highly. Accompanied by a hunter who acted as guide and helper, Dr. Engelmann was engaged most of the time for several years in the scientific study of the region around St. Louis, carrying his investigations to Southern Illinois, to Southern Missouri and into Arkansas.

Besides reporting in a practical way on the country, he made scientific reports on the botany and on the minerals. One of his explorations was a tour into Arkansas, looking for a silver mine which a St. Louis company thought must be somewhere in the Ozarks.

The reports which Dr. Engelmann made upon the resources of the Mississippi Valley in the vicinity of St. Louis were considered so important that they were made the principal features of a periodical called *Westland*, several numbers of which were published at Heidelberg, leading to the migration of many educated Germans. Settling in St. Louis after his earlier explorations, Dr. Engelmann practiced medicine, aided in the publication of the first German newspaper, the *Anzeiger*, and joined in the establishment of a German high school. That was several years before the first public school was opened in St. Louis. And with all of these engagements Dr. Engelmann carried on his scientific labors from time to time, leaving home on journeys of exploration.

He became famous on both sides of the ocean as the great American authority on the cactus, the United States government publishing his report on the subject. By reason of the exhaustive and critical character of his study, his publications were accepted as the authorities in many lines of investigation.

St. Louisans, without regard to scientific attainments, took great interest in a long series of meteorological records which Dr. Engelmann kept with infinite patience and care. Dr. Enno Sander, coming to St. Louis in the fifties, became an intimate friend of George Engelmann and his associate in the Academy of Science. Speaking of Engelmann's position in the scientific history of this country, Dr. Sander said:

He inaugurated as early as 1835 at St. Louis, with good and reliable instruments, a series of meteorological observations which he continued scrupulously three times a day during nearly fifty years. Such was his zeal that a short time before his death, Dr. Engelmann, himself, swept the snow from the walk leading to his instruments, and even during his last days refused assistance in making his observations. His journal was kept so thoroughly and faithfully that it has become the only reliable source of information on the climatology of the Mississippi Valley for that period. Engelmann's tables prepared from these observations are now authentic records. The officers of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington early recognized the greatness of Engelmann as a scientist and the officers and scientists of government exploring expeditions, fitting out at St. Louis, came to him for advice and aid. Engelmann's instruments, always carefully and faultlessly kept, gave the government scientists the opportunity to compare and regulate their own. To Engelmann these scientists looked for counsel as to collection and preservation of specimens. They came to him to help them determine and classify when they encountered doubt. There are very few of those government exploring reports in which the parts relating to botanical observations and the descriptions of plants were not written by Dr. Engelmann.

To the credit of the medical profession it can be said that humanity always went hand in hand with science. When Dr. George Engelmann had served two generations of St. Louisans there came a ring at his doorbell one winter night, with sleet falling. The call was an urgent one. The venerable physician had retired. The son, Dr. George J. Engelmann, prepared to go, rather than arouse his father. The latter had heard the call. He hurried into his clothes, saying in reply to the younger's protests: "Am I already useless, to be cast aside? I would rather die in harness than rust out." He accepted help down the icy steps and was away to the patient.

Associated with Dr. Engelmann in the earlier years of his career in St. Louis was Adolph Wislizenus, who came from Germany in 1840, leaving behind him the record of having been one of the students who seized Frankfort when it was the capital of the German empire in 1833. Wislizenus was the son of a clergyman. He escaped after the failure of the students' uprising, completed his medical studies in Switzerland and France and arrived in St. Louis in 1839. Scientific exploration lured him from practice and Dr. Wislizenus went out from St. Louis with one of the fur trading expeditions, reaching Oregon. The report of his observations brought him recognition among scientific men throughout the country. Coming back to St. Louis, Dr. Wislizenus settled down to practice with Dr. Engelmann, but after five years he was off again on scientific exploration, this time to the southwest, and into northern Mexico. The war clouds were darkening. The St. Louis scientist was taken prisoner at Chihuahua and conveyed to a remote place in the mountains. There he remained until Doniphan and his adventurous Missourians came marching down as if there was no such thing as an enemy's country, when he was released. Wislizenus returned to St. Louis with the "conquistadores," as the conquering heroes of that day were called. His scientific report upon Northern Mexico became authority and has so remained until the present day.

In 1872 Captain Silas Bent delivered before a large audience in Mercantile Library hall a presentation of his polar theory which attracted considerable attention and discussion by scientific men all over the world. Captain Bent was the discoverer of the Behring Straits current and he held to the theory of an open Polar sea.

"The St. Louis Movement" had its beginning with Dr. W. T. Harris and Henry C. Brockmeyer in 1857. Dr. Harris was a native of Connecticut, an educator by profession. He came to St. Louis at the age of twenty-two and became connected with the public schools, advancing through the positions of assistant teacher, principal of a district school, and assistant superintendent to superintendent.

Henry C. Brockmeyer was seven years older than Dr. Harris. He came to this country from Prussia when he was sixteen, passed through St. Louis in 1848, and settled on a farm in the interior of the state. Coming to St. Louis in 1857 to make this his home, Mr. Brockmeyer met Mr. Harris and the Philosophical society was started.

To the leaders of the cult, the school of philosophy, established by William T. Harris, was a serious, earnest movement. Some of the younger Americans who attended from mixed motives found amusement in the discussions. The Hegelian society, as it was called, about 1869, met in the old Tivoli, a very respectable place and at the same time thoroughly Bohemian in that the visitor could drink beer, listen to music, order a German meal and talk philosophy. The Tivoli was on Fourth street opposite the Southern hotel. It was one of the distinctive institutions of downtown St. Louis. There, weekly or oftener, the Hegelians met to discuss the correlation and conservation of forces. Perhaps no one was more fluent in the statement and support of the philosophical propositions than Dr. John W. Waters, who was said to bear a striking resemblance, phrenologically, to Darwin. Dr. Adam Hammer, one of the most assertive and combative members of the medical profession of his generation in St.



DR. GEORGE J. ENGELMANN



HENRY SHAW



DR. ENNO SANDER



THE BOTANICAL GARDEN AND HOME OF DR. SAUGRAIN
THE CULTURE OF ST. LOUIS

Louis, was a student of Hegel, Kant and Fichte. He seldom missed a meeting of the Hegelians. One of the younger members of the coterie quoted Dr. Waters as laying before the society a problem for discussion, with this prelude:

Here is a grain of corn; it was taken out of the body of a mummy. This body died 6,000 years ago. Death is a mighty and universal truth when only the mortal part is left behind. Here bring ye reason to bear, reason which is mistress and queen of all things. Now, gentlemen, is this grain of corn taken from this mummy's body dead or alive? It is not alive, since there is no evidence of life, only form. It is not dead, for if this grain of corn be planted in the earth where it gets heat, light and moisture, it germinates again, and we have a new crop of corn. If it is neither dead nor alive, it is dormant, and dormancy is neither life nor death, but a state of condition. Nothing exists except what conditions make. Come! Let us place our problem! This grain of corn,—it is not alive; that is A. It is not dead; that is B. But it is dormant; that is X, and X is both and neither. Now then, state the problem! You cannot tell A from B, or B from A, without the intervention of X which is both and neither, and 'tis condition which makes it exist.

“Naturlich!” ejaculates Dr. Hammer, and the philosophical free-for-all is on.

“The St. Louis Movement” attracted a great deal of attention. It brought here on visits Ralph Waldo Emerson, A. Bronson Alcott, Julia Ward Howe. It meant to some who used the expression “a remarkable awakening of interest in metaphysics.” It was used by others to describe what they believed to be a marked increase of intellectual activity in St. Louis. Possibly both views were well founded. Dr. Harris, in response to an apparent demand from a circle wider than the Philosophical society, began to publish the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*. With the love of wisdom on the part of the limited number, the intellectual activity of the many St. Louisans increased so that it seemed to justify in 1875 the publication of a magazine, which even in later days would be called high class. The name of the magazine was *The Western*. The earliest associates with Dr. Harris and Henry C. Brockmeyer in “The St. Louis Movement” were Denton J. Snider, William C. Jones, Dr. Hall, Dr. Walters, C. F. Childs, Professor Howison, Dr. Adam Hammer and Britton A. Hill.

About 1835 St. Louis entertained royalty in the person of King Otho of Greece. The King was out for a good time. He did not make scientific explorations like Prince Max. He did not record his observations like the Duke of Saxe-Weimar. John Jacob Astor sent the King to St. Louis with a request to Pierre Chouteau to show him attention. Mr. Astor and Mr. Chouteau were then leading spirits in the American Fur company. The King was a blonde giant, over six feet in height, with a big moustache and some bad table manners. Mr. Chouteau gave several dinner parties and St. Louis people tried to entertain his royal highness. The load was rather heavy. King Otho loafed about town, drank wine, played cards, shot at pigeons and rode with anybody who was willing to give up time to his entertainment. Mr. Astor's hospitality toward this visitor cost him about fifteen thousand dollars.

The visit of General Henri Gratien Comte Bertrand occurred about 1842. The aid-major general of Napoleon, had shared the emperor's exile and had been with him at his death on St. Helena. The typical St. Louis welcome was bestowed. A deputation of citizens, in which the old French families were well represented, went to the boat and presented to the general an address of welcome. Then with the St. Louis Chasseurs, the Montgomery Guards and

the St. Louis Grays for an escort the committee and the guest proceeded to the Planters'. At the hotel the United States army officers from Jefferson Barracks took charge of the general and conveyed him to the Barracks for a banquet. Later the general was the guest of a committee of citizens on an excursion up the Mississippi to the mouth of the Missouri. Whenever he appeared in public during his St. Louis visit, General Bertrand was received with cheers. He was deeply moved by the enthusiasm of the St. Louis reception. At that time many of the descendants of the old French families still spoke the language and wherever he went General Bertrand was greeted in his own tongue. He found in St. Louis a veteran of the Imperial army of Napoleon in the person of Rev. Father Dahmen. Conscripted while a student in a seminary of Saxony, Father Dahmen had served as a cavalryman in several campaigns. He had returned to his studies, had become a superior in the order of Lazarists and was in the seminary at St. Louis fitting young men for the priesthood. Father Dahmen never lost his military bearing. He was one of the first priests to preach in German in St. Louis.

The Grand Duke Alexis of Russia arrived on the 5th of January, 1872, and was the guest of honor at a ball in the Southern hotel on the 8th.

In its day the Maffitt mansion on Lucas place contained a grand reception room probably the largest of any residence in the city. This room, or hall, was the scene of one of the most notable receptions in the history of the city. The occasion was the jubilee of Archbishop Kenrick. To honor the occasion Cardinal Gibbons came to St. Louis. Half a hundred bishops, several hundred priests and two thousand of the prominent people of St. Louis, including all creeds, came by invitation to extend their congratulations. Not the presence of the dignitaries, not the throng alone made the affair notable. The details were carried through in strict accordance with a carefully arranged programme. There was no crowding, no confusion. Every guest was presented with courteous dignity. At one end of the reception hall a low dais was placed. Upon the platform Cardinal Gibbons and Archbishop Kenrick sat. The elevation was just sufficient to bring them face to face and within easy hand-shaking distance of the people. The guests were kept in line and passed along by the masters of ceremonies William C. Maffitt, Theophile Papin, Jr., Pierre Chouteau and Frank D. Hirschberg. Each guest was announced by name distinctly and given time to express to the archbishop congratulations.

The origin of Mercantile Library illustrated the public spirit of 1840-1850. James E. Yeatman gave Robert K. Woods and John C. Tevis the honor of being the originators. "One afternoon in the fall of 1845," Mr. Yeatman said, "while we were standing chatting at our doors on Main street, which were adjoining, the subject of forming a mercantile library was first broached between Mr. Robert K. Woods and myself. Mr. Woods and I resolved to make an effort at least by calling in person upon some few active and enterprising citizens who agreed to meet with us and discuss the matter, which they did one night at the counting room of Tevis, Scott & Tevis on Main street. John C. Tevis was a Philadelphian by birth and a man of liberal education and genial manners and habits, and at that time a prosperous merchant. The first meeting was held at night, December 30, 1845. There were eight persons present,—A. B. Chambers, Peter Powell, Robert K. Woods, John F. Franklin, R. P. Perry, William F. Scott, John Halsell and John C. Tevis."

Ira Divoll in 1860 suggested the St. Louis Public library. As superintendent of public schools, Mr. Divoll found himself in possession of "forty-two volumes of the annals of Congress and a collection of school and miscellaneous books, amounting, altogether to about 100 volumes and worth perhaps \$100." Mr. Divoll's idea was to establish a public school library maintained by the public school board. The war time was unfavorable for beginning. The proposition was not acted upon until 1865 when an organization was formed separate from the public school board but with close relationship. The first board of trustees of the library was headed by Stephen D. Barlow, president of the school board.

James Richardson was one of the earliest and most steadfast supporters of the Public Library. A school teacher in his native State, New Hampshire, he came to St. Louis in 1857 after twelve years of success in business at Pittsburg, and built up a wholesale drug house, then the largest in the West and with but one exception the largest in the country. Associated with the development of the public schools in the formative period. Mr. Richardson became from the first, one of the most active supporters of the library. When he left the school board he devoted himself to the upbuilding of the library, "which," he once said, "I regard as of more widespread influence than anything in St. Louis except the public schools themselves." In 1881, Mr. Richardson's portrait by Eichbaum, was presented to the Public Library.

In 1867 a St. Louis business man had developed the appreciation of art which prompted him to pay \$10,000 for a single canvas. Erskine Nicol's famous "Paying the Rent," which had taken next to highest honors in its class at the Paris Exposition, was brought to this city and hung in the collection of Franklin O. Day. Mr. Day was of Vermont birth. The family was originally from Wales, but was established in this country as early as 1634. With \$200 capital, Franklin O. Day came to St. Louis about 1840 and obtained employment in T. S. Rutherford's wholesale dry goods house. He was advanced to partnership within three years and accumulated a fortune in the business.

The statue of George Washington which stands in Lafayette park was located in an honorable position only after much discouragement. It was one of six casts made by W. J. Hubbard, a Virginian, from the original marble at Richmond. The sculptor was Houdon, of the highest rank in Europe. He came to this country at the solicitation of Jefferson and Franklin, while they were in Paris, to undertake the work. He was welcomed by Washington at Mount Vernon and during his stay took a cast of the head of his host. In that way he obtained a perfect likeness of Washington. Returning to France he carved the statue in marble. The commission was given by the legislature of Virginia in 1780, when Benjamin Harrison was governor of the state. The act of the legislature stipulated that the statue of General Washington was to be "of the finest marble and of the best workmanship." When the marble statue was completed, Hubbard obtained permission from the Virginia legislature to have a bronze statue cast from the original. He brought workmen from Munich and made six casts. One of the six went to New Orleans, one to Richmond, one to Montgomery, Ala., one to Charleston, S. C., and one to New York. The sixth was brought to St. Louis by Mr. Hubbard in 1860 and was exhibited in Spencer's art emporium on Fourth street. The artist had been

led to believe that the city council of St. Louis would purchase the statue, but when he arrived the council had changed through a new election and refused to make the purchase. The statue stood for a long time in the yard. It was then removed to the Accommodation bank on Chestnut street. Mr. Hubbard after remaining here some months became disappointed and went to New York. His price for the statue was \$10,000. Being embarrassed he borrowed \$1,500 on it from Erastus Wells, H. T. Blow and Dr. M. M. Pallen, giving a note for ninety days. The note fell due, the statue was sold under the trusteeship and bought in by the holders of the deed. It passed into the possession of the commissioners of Lafayette Park for \$5,000. The difference between the amount borrowed on the statue and the amount paid by the commissioners was sent to the widow of the artist in Richmond. The Lafayette park commissioners thus secured the statue of Washington. This commission was composed of Charles Gibson, W. H. Maurice and Chas. F. Meyer.

As early as 1822 St. Louis began to hold agricultural fairs. In 1841 there was held an agricultural fair at the race track. A mechanics fair was conducted in buildings near Fourth and Pine streets; that was the first exposition in St. Louis. The agricultural fairs and the mechanical expositions were held separately until their combination in the Agricultural and Mechanical Fair Association in 1856. When the Prince of Wales was touring the United States shortly before the Civil war, he spent a day at the Fair. It is a tradition that the chairman of the reception committee desiring to call the attention of His Royal Highness to a particularly fine specimen of horse flesh, slapped him on the back and said genially:

"Prince! what do you think of that?"

When, in 1909, the Fair grounds became a public park, recollections inspired the following lines by Clark McAdams:

Don't you remember the old Fair Grounds!
The arch above the gate.

The stalls and the merry-go-arounds,
And the windmills tall and straight
That spun around at a merry rate

When the autumn wind would blow
And the season was grown soft and late
In the long, long time ago!

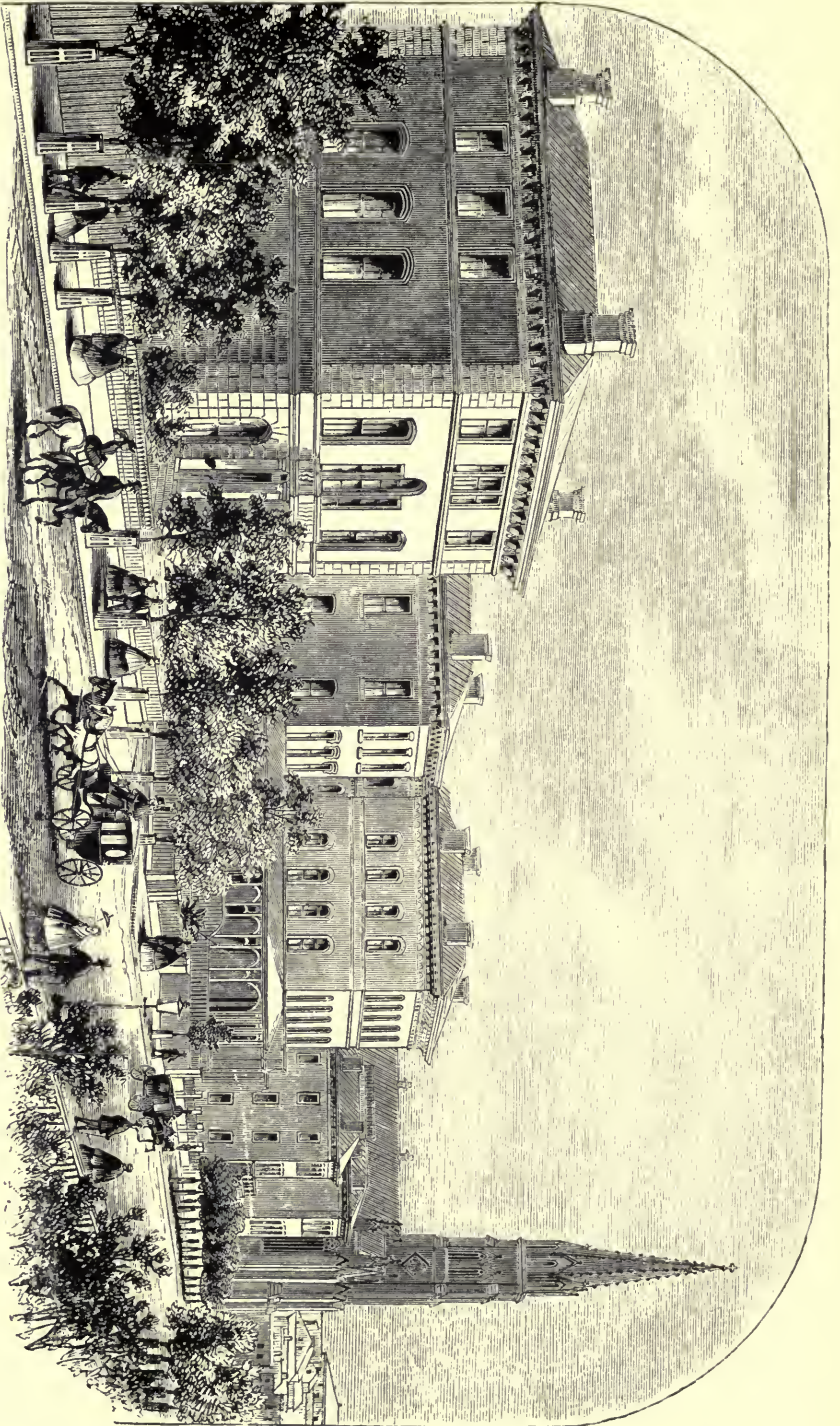
The prize ring and the circling seats,
The sulky's flashing wheels,
And the gaited saddler's matchless feats
With the sunlight on his heels!

The music, whinnies, moos and squeals,
The judges stern and gray,
And the monkey cage with its mighty peals
Of joy on children's day!

Don't you remember the display
Of beauty and its wiles

In those old stalls, and that one day
A Prince basked in its smiles!
The showmen in their high silk tiles,

The barker and the clown,
And the planters following the styles
In roadsters up and down!



Courtesy of Missouri Historical Society

LUCAS PLACE, BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR

The Thursdays when we all went out
 And gamboled on the green,
 And no gallant was there without
 His girl in that gay scene?
 The pumpkin, squash and the butterbean,
 The big prize-winning cake,
 The broad-backed hogs, and the silver sheen
 Upon the sylvan lake?

ENVOY.

Ah me! The Prince sits on his throne,
 The hallowed landmarks disappear,
 And the beauty of a day is flown—
 Where are the fairs of yesteryear?

Rural free delivery was given a successful trial at St. Louis in 1835 according to a newspaper of that time. Ringrose D. Watson was a merchant on Main street near Olive. His home was at Watson's Fruit Hill about seven miles out. Monday mornings Mr. Watson came into town bringing with him a black pony. If there was mail for other members of his family Mr. Watson fastened the letters to the mane and turned the pony loose to make the run home where a servant was waiting to take the mail.

In 1838 St. Louis began to urge Congress by memorials to build a post-office. William Renshaw presided over a public meeting which adopted resolutions. A dozen years went by before the government acted. The site at Third and Olive was purchased. George I. Barnett, a young Englishman, the son of a clergyman who was a writer of considerable note, came to St. Louis in 1839 and opened the first office of an educated architect. In 1850 he went to Europe for professional study and observation. When he returned the new postoffice was started on plans prepared by him. That first postoffice was not finished until 1859. St. Louis outgrew it while it was building. In 1872 Erastus Wells, in Congress from St. Louis, was able to make such a good case of the city's needs that a new postoffice was located on the block bounded by Eighth and Ninth, Olive and Locust.

The present generation can hardly realize that there was a time when the legislature of Missouri granted lottery charters. The motive was to raise money for some public purpose. About 1831 the legislature authorized a lottery to raise \$10,000 toward the building of a hospital in St. Louis for the Sisters of Charity. The commissioners provided for in the act sold the privilege of conducting the lottery to James S. Thomas. Charges were made in the newspapers that the management of this lottery meant great gains to the purchaser and comparatively small revenue for the hospital. A committee was chosen to look into the methods Mr. Thomas proposed to adopt. On the committee were such well known citizens as N. H. Ridgely, David H. Hill, George K. McGunnegele, D. Hough, Augustus Kerr, John F. Darby and Bernard Pratte, Sr. They made an elaborate report, the conclusion of which was:

Your committee then, after an attentive review of the subject, are of the opinion that the charge made against this scheme, that it affords the manager an opportunity of realizing a great and unusual proportion of profit, is not sustained.

Sentiment against the grant of lottery privileges by the legislature grew so strong that the passage of such acts ceased. But lotteries continued to operate openly under old charters. The business was gradually consolidated into what was known as the Missouri State lottery. This institution had many offices. Drawings were held regularly in a public hall. The winning numbers were advertised in St. Louis papers.

The business was based on an old act of the legislature authorizing a lottery to build a plank road from the town of New Franklin to the Missouri river. New Franklin was near Boonville. It had passed almost out of existence. The plank road, a considerable part of it, had slipped into the Missouri river. The Missouri Republican opened war on the Missouri State lottery. It exposed the plank-road myth. It kept up the opposition until by legal and by legislative action the end came not only to the Missouri State lottery but to all open lottery business in this state. The fight was not one of days or weeks, but of years. It required the making of public sentiment, for in 1871 not only lottery offices were conducted as openly as cigar stores are now, but faro and keno houses occupied the most prominent locations on lower Fourth street and were places of common resort. Perhaps there has not been in all the history of St. Louis a moral movement of such magnitude and complete success as this one against lotteries. It led up to the supplemental movement successfully conducted by Charles P. Johnson against gambling. This moral reform was made effective at St. Louis several years before the general government at Washington took up the movement and made it national by barring all lottery business from the United States mails.

The coming of Jenny Lind made one of the notable days of St. Louis. Early in the morning of the 17th of March, 1851, a group of prominent citizens of St. Louis stood on the levee awaiting the arrival of the Lexington. In that day and long afterwards, Duncan's island was a landmark on the river, off the lower part of St. Louis. Steamboats were in view when they turned the head of Duncan's island. When the Lexington was sighted, the committee of citizens distinguished on the hurricane deck a tall, stout man, who was promptly identified as Phineas Taylor Barnum, the great showman of his generation. Beside Mr. Barnum stood a little lady in a long cloak. This was Jenny Lind. When the carriages reached the Planters house, a carpet had been spread down the staircase and across the sidewalk to the curb. The hotel manager, Mr. Scollay, appeared, bareheaded and bowing with old school graciousness. He opened the door of the carriage and escorted the songstress to her rooms. Assembled in the hotel to extend greeting, were city officials and representatives of the newspapers.

Mr. Barnum was escorted a little later by Sol Smith and Mr. Balmer to Wyman's hall, which had been selected for the concerts. Mr. Balmer explained that a hall was deemed more appropriate for the concerts than a theater, which might have been obtained. Mr. Barnum replied at once with the acumen of the born showman: "Very true. Besides an overcrowded small hall, where the late comers must be turned from the door is always better in its effect on the public than a great hall with scattering, tell-tale vacant chairs."

Five concerts were given in St. Louis. The price of admission was five dollars. A limited number of tickets for standing room only, behind the seats



WASHINGTON AVENUE, WEST FROM LAKE STREET



WESTMINSTER PLACE

in the balcony, was sold at four dollars. After the audience had been seated, chairs were brought in and sold at five dollars. There was great demand for seats. The choice was disposed of by auction. Every morning the auction was held in the concert hall. An admission price of ten cents to attend the auction was charged and the receipts from this admission were sent by Mr. Barnum to Mayor Kennett, with the request to devote the money to charitable purposes. The highest price paid for first choice the first night was \$50.00. The buyer was a man named Byron, who kept a saloon.

Wyman's hall was on Market between Fourth and Fifth streets. As early as six o'clock people began to assemble in the street. By eight o'clock the block was filled with spectators waiting to see the ticket holders arrive. The programme of the opening night is reproduced:

PROGRAM.

PART I.

Overture—Massaniello	Auber
Aria—"Sorgete" (Mometto Secondo)	Rossini
Signor Belletti.	
Recitative—"Care Compagne"	
Aria—Come per me Sereno (Somnambula)	Bellini
Mlle. Jenny Lind.	
Rondo Russe, on the violin	De Beriot
Mr. Joseph Burke.	
Duetto—"Per Piacer all Signora" (Il Tureo in Italia)	Rossini
Mlle. Jenny Lind and Signor Belletti.	

PART II.

Overture—Crown Diamonds	Auber
Aria—Paventar (Il flauto Magico).....	Mozart
Mlle. Jenny Lind.	
Cavatina—Largo al factotum (Il Barbiere)	Rossini
Signor Belletti.	
Trio, for voice and two flutes, composed expressly for Mlle. Jenny Lind (Camp of Silesia)	Meyerbeer
Mlle. Jenny Lind.	
Flutes, Messrs. Kyle and Siede.	
Grand Wedding March from Midsummer Night's Dream	Mendelssohn
The Herdsman's Song, commonly called "The Echo Song".....	
Mlle. Jenny Lind.	
Conductor, Mr. Julius Benedict.	

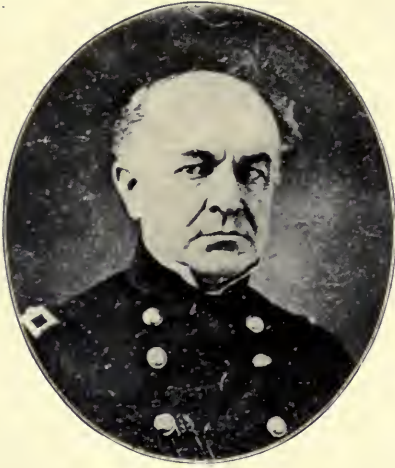
For the second night the sale of tickets was rather disappointing. Late in the afternoon a representative of Mr. Barnum called at the newspaper offices and music stores and distributed passes in large numbers for the evening performance, stipulating that the ladies for whom they were intended must come in evening dress. The result was one of the most fashionable and brilliant audiences of the series. After the second night there was not even standing room. Thus St. Louis was given an illustration of Barnum tactics. During the season of the concerts, according to the newspapers of that time, so many strangers came to St. Louis that the hotel accommodations were exhausted and the steamboats at the levee converted their cabins into dormitories.

In front of Wyman's hall and across the street were several large trees. Boys took possession of these before the first concert and did a thriving busi-

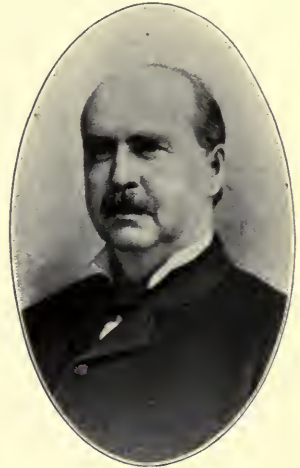
ness, charging five cents a person for the privilege of a seat in the trees. The evenings were warm. Windows were open. The audience in the trees could both hear and see. When Jenny Lind sang the bird song, the applause was taken up in the street, and especially by those in the trees, who shouted repeatedly, "Encore," "encore." Jenny Lind looked through the windows, saw the outside audience, nodded with a smile and repeated the song. The St. Louis concerts yielded between \$35,000 and \$40,000. In the troupe was a flute player named Siede. He created great enthusiasm among the St. Louis audience by his performance and by his manner. He possessed extraordinary power of blowing continuously an unusual time without drawing his breath. On the last day Mr. Barnum met Mayor Kennett, and referring to the contribution from admission to the auction sales, said that Jenny Lind had been so pleased with the reception she had received from St. Louis that the mayor would hear from her again before her departure. The next day Mayor Kennett received \$2,000 from Jenny Lind and P. T. Barnum jointly, to be devoted to charitable institutions, which were named. One half of the amount, \$1,000, was "for relief of distressed emigrants of every nation." Professor Waldauer accompanied the troupe back to New York and then returned to St. Louis. As he parted from Jenny Lind, the little lady handed him a check for \$1,200 "to pay the expenses of your journey back to St. Louis." During the stay in St. Louis, social and musical honors were bestowed upon the songstress. A serenade was given by the Polyhymnia society, the leader of which was Jacques Ernest Miguel. Jenny Lind was so much pleased with this serenade that she expressed a desire to hear the society in a concert. This was complied with, the concert being given at Xaupi's hall on Market street. Jenny Lind during her stay, visited several times at the home of Charles Balmer, who lived in "Rose Cottage" on Fourth street between Cerre and Gratiot, then a fashionable neighborhood.

Professor Waldauer described Jenny Lind's singing as heard in St. Louis in this way: "Such was the purity and flute-like quality of her upper notes that it was difficult to distinguish between the notes of the singer and those of the flutes. The cadenzas with which she concluded her song were the most wonderful climaxes ever heard on the stage. Apparently disregarding all limitations, whether of written music or vocal possibility, she soared away like a skylark, giving runs and passages of almost incredible scope and difficulty." One of the best descriptions of the Swedish nightingale as she appeared in St. Louis was written by Theophile Papin, Sr. He was, at that time, a young newspaper man, attached to one of the St. Louis newspapers:

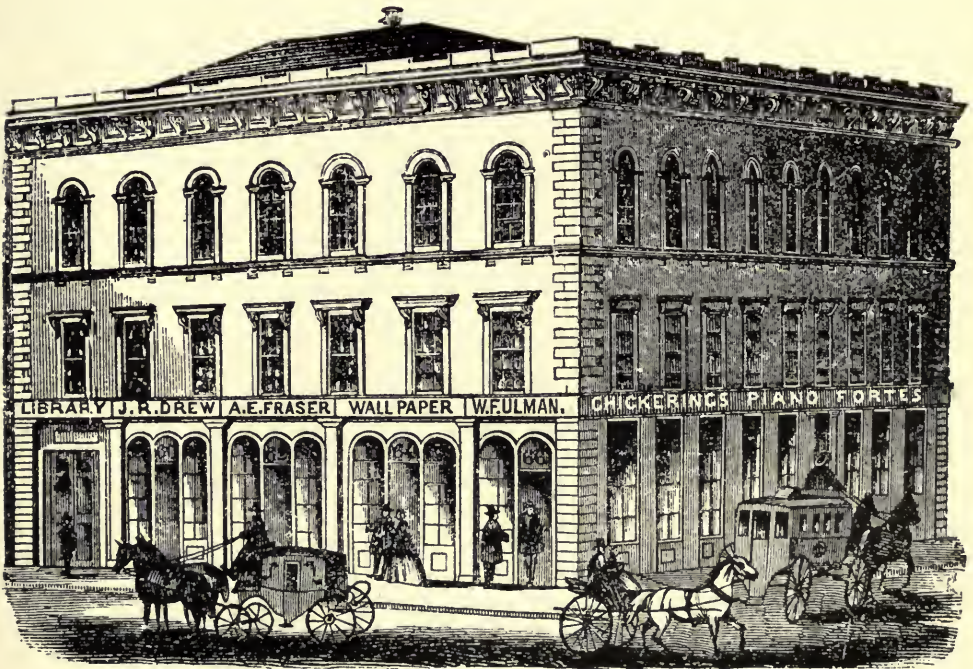
Her features were regular, and her expression in repose rather pensive, but she often smiled in response to the encouragement of her audience, and then her face lighted up, bespeaking, as it seemed, an unaffected, artless nature. She was essentially of the German type, having rather a light complexion and auburn hair, dressed with inverted puffs in a peculiar style of her own, made familiar to the readers of all the prints and magazines of the day. There was nothing dashing in her deportment, but while singing she was under constant inspiration. It appeared, however, more from the earnest effort to perform her part well than from an appeal for applause. She never coquetted with her audience. Her staple was the solid gold itself. The songstress, with her, must be valued by the song, and nothing else. Throughout this concert, and through all the subsequent entertainments, Jenny Lind was greeted at her every return to the stage by the rapturous



GEN. ETHAN ALLEN HITCHCOCK



JAMES RICHARDSON



THE MERCANTILE LIBRARY
Fifth and Locust streets, before the war

applause of her auditors. Notwithstanding that they had been well prepared in advance for extraordinary vocalization, her performance exceeded all the previous promises of her eulogists.

Seventy years ago musical education and musical interest in St. Louis received the earliest impetus. And the names of those new comers who introduced into the city of a few thousands this added charm of life are familiar through their descendants to the present generation. When Wilhelm Robyn came from Germany to St. Louis, in 1837, he expected to find a city with developed musical taste. To his surprise the community of about 15,000 persons afforded a scanty support to one music teacher, a Mr. Cramer. There were very few pianos in St. Louis. The best that the first Professor Robyn could find to do was the double bass at twelve dollars a week in an orchestra which played at Ludlow's performances. The only church which had a choir and gave special attention to music was the Cathedral. An Italian named Merilano, whom Bishop Rosati had induced to come to America, played the organ. Among the principal singers were two young lawyers, Britton Armstrong Hill and Wilson Primm.

Robyn's coming aroused musical interest here. A musical society was organized. Rene Paul took the presidency of it. Concerts were given. Wilson Primm and Wilhelm Robyn played together—one, the violin; the other, the piano. Primm didn't know a word of German and Robyn hadn't learned English, but music was a universal language. St. Louis University added music to the curriculum and appointed Robyn the teacher. Monthly recitals were given. Music became the fashion. Robyn trained his pupils and gave the masses of Haydn and Mozart.

Two years after Robyn's arrival, Charles Balmer came from Germany. Robyn had organized a brass band, writing and arranging the scores. The band gave a concert with local talent for the benefit of a new hall. Balmer, the German, was the pianist. Carriere, graduated from the Paris conservatory, played the flute. An Irishman named Farrell handled the violin. Martinez, a Spaniard, picked the guitar. Theresa Weber was the soprano. Theresa and her brother Henry were members of the famous musical Webers, of Germany. They came to St. Louis about the same time that Balmer did. Theresa Weber married Charles Balmer. Henry Weber became the partner of his brother-in-law in the music publishing business. In 1840 Henry Weber started a singing academy in St. Louis.

Three years after Balmer and the Webers, came another who was to be a notable factor in the city's musical growth—Nicholas Le Brun, from France. The Germans of St. Louis organized a military company. They had their own band and at the head of it marched "Nick" Le Brun, then twenty-three years old. The fame of Le Brun as a composer as well as a player spread through the country. In his earlier years he traveled during the season with circuses but he always came back to St. Louis. After he settled down, toward 1850, he was the great band leader of St. Louis.

Henry Robyn came in 1845 to join his brother Wilhelm. He was not so prominent personally but the musicians of the city yielded to him the palm as the organist. He played in the Cathedral. The Institution for the Blind wanted to encourage musical education. Henry Robyn invented a method for

printing music so that the blind could read it by touch. The method was employed long after the inventor went down on the Pomerania.

The decade 1840-1850 saw great progress for St. Louis in musical matters. Dr. Johann Georg Wesselhoeft, one of the leading German journalists in this country, came to St. Louis in 1845 and organized the Polyhymnia, the most ambitious musical movement the city had known. Henry Kayser was president. Dr. George Engelmann, Dr. Adolph Wislizenus, Dr. S. Gratz Moses, and Emile Karst were among the young members of the Polyhymnia. Inspired by the enthusiasm of the Polyhymnia, Balmer got together the singers of the city and produced the whole of "Creation" in a manner which made the performance the musical event of a generation.

Miguier, Fallon and Carriere were French musicians of high ability in St. Louis during the decade before the war. Sobolewski became prominent as a leader about the time the Philharmonic society was organized just before the war. He was a very eccentric man but he brought together at one time in united effort the best musical talent of all St. Louis. He wrote an opera which Liszt praised warmly. He named the production "Courola," after one of his ten children. Egmont Froehlich came from Germany to lead the Philharmonic. The society went to pieces. The Arion and the Liederkrantz became the leading musical organizations among the Germans of St. Louis. Sobolewski led the Arion for a time. Egmont Froehlich was connected with the Liederkrantz. The Musical Union was the American organization, with Dabney Carr at the head of it.

The decade 1880-1890 developed many composers and musicians in St. Louis. William H. Pommer came into more than local note as an author of songs and comic operas. Waldemar Malmene, E. M. Bowman, E. R. Kroeger, A. G. Robyn, the Kunkels, Wayman McCreery, Spiering, Waldauer, Anton, Weil, Poppen, Bode, Poepping, Miss Lina Anton are some of the names entitled to mention in connection with the city's musical growth in the past quarter of a century.

On the west side of Second street, perhaps 100 feet north of Olive, was a building used for storage, known as "the Old Salt House." This structure belonged to Scott and Rule. In 1827 James H. Caldwell leased it, added fifty feet for a stage and transformed the interior into a playhouse. Thereafter, for a decade, "the Old Salt Theater," as it was called, was the place of amusement to St. Louisans. A very interesting event in St. Louis theatricals was the appearance of Charles Keemle, the newspaper proprietor. At a benefit to be given Mr. Ludlow, Colonel Keemle consented to take part in "The Poor Gentleman" for one night only.

In 1836 St. Louis attained the metropolitan dignity which is associated with high class amusement. On the afternoon of May 24th the cornerstone of the St. Louis theater, at the corner of Third and Olive streets, was laid with ceremony. This theater cost \$60,000. In design and finish it was considered one of the finest amusement houses outside of New York City. The men who headed the enterprise were: N. M. Ludlow, E. H. Beebe, H. S. Cox, Joseph E. Laveille, C. Keemle and Meriwether Lewis Clark. The opening of the theater created great local enthusiasm. The patronage, however, was not sufficient to maintain a playhouse of such elaborate character. This theater



BEN DE BAR



MRS. BEN DE BAR
(Florence Vallee)

stood where the postoffice was subsequently located, on the southeast corner of Third and Olive streets. The lot was sixty feet front on Third street by one hundred and sixty feet deep on Olive street. For it the syndicate paid, in 1837, \$3,000, which was considered an enormous price at that time. The building was designed by George I. Barnett. The front was a copy from the temple of the Erectheum at Athens. Six great columns supported the portico. Over the front was a figure of Shakespeare. A parquet and three tiers of galleries contained 1,500 seats. Before the work was undertaken subscriptions amounting to \$65,000 were obtained. When the charter was obtained and the company was organized, a public meeting was held in the town hall. Books were opened for popular subscription. The enterprise was an ambitious one for a community of only 17,000 people. At the inaugural performance a comedy was played. Then came a "tambour major jig." And then followed the farce of "Simpson & Co." St. Louisans in 1840 went to the theater to be amused. This opening performance was given the 3d of July. In those days the summer season was much favored for theatrical entertainment. This theater was built with very large windows on the southern side to catch the prevailing air currents. As a prelude to the opening performance an address which won the \$100 prize in competition with eighteen or twenty efforts was recited by Joseph M. Field. In the company which opened the theater were the Fields and Sol. Smith.

At the laying of the corner stone of the Varieties Theater, on the 18th of August, 1851, Sol Smith officiated as "the oldest man of the theatrical profession in St. Louis." Many roving characters have found St. Louis a good place to settle down. Solomon F. Smith was one of them. He was born in Norwich, N. Y., the first year of the century, the son of a fifer in the Revolutionary war. While he clerked in an Albany store, he read Shakespeare and was a supernumerary in the local theater. Then, for several years, he was a wandering printer and an amateur actor. After a trial of the stage, professionally, he began to read law. For thirty years he mixed newspaper, legal and theatrical business, spending more and more of his time in St. Louis. In 1853 he settled permanently in St. Louis, practiced law and politics and was an Unconditional Union member of the Missouri state convention of 1861. From his own point of view Sol Smith was not very proud of his career in his closing years but with his earlier profession he passed into history as one of the famous comedians of his generation. Upon a plain slab in Bellefontaine cemetery is engraved:

Sol Smith, Retired Actor.
1801-1869.

"Life's but a walking shadow, a poor player,
That struts and frets his hour upon the stage,
And then is heard no more."

"All the world's a stage
And all the men and women merely players."

Exit Sol.

Matilda Heron, the great Camille of fifty years ago, first appeared in that character before a St. Louis audience. She played the part four weeks in 1856.

Her benefit night brought together the largest attendance that had been seen at a theatrical performance in St. Louis up to that time.

Benedict De Bar, for thirty years connected with the theatrical profession in St. Louis as actor or manager, was the son of a bookkeeper in the Bank of England. When he died his body lay in state in Masonic hall. The city mourned for the Falstaff who had so often amused.

Another actor of the old days who considered himself a St. Louisan and lived here until his death was Mark Smith, a son of Sol Smith. He played "Tom Thumb" in St. Louis during the season of 1836, when he was eight years old. When he was a little older, he was apprenticed to learn iron finishing in a St. Louis foundry, but got back to the stage and became a comedian.

An entertainment that left an impression on this community was given by a Miss Cushman in 1851. "Female pedestrianism," the bills announced. Miss Cushman undertook to walk 500 miles in 500 hours, wearing pink bloomers and a hat trimmed with cherry colored ribbon. The walking drew large crowds.

The Olympic Theater had its origin with Moses Flannigan of St. Louis, who proposed to build what he called a "hippo theatron." The present location on Fifth street, opposite the Southern, was chosen in 1865. The plans were drawn for a theater in form but adapted for either circus ring or theatrical stage performances. The opening of a new place of entertainment in St. Louis was an occasion of considerable formality. The inaugural performance at the Olympic on the 23d of April, 1866, was introduced with an address by L. M. Shreve, the lawyer. Then followed the "grand equestrian entree" of Levi & North's circus. After that came "single acts of equitation, fancy and comic." The indoor circus did not appeal to St. Louisans. Flannigan borrowed \$30,000 from Dr. Gilbert R. Spaulding and David Bidwell, who were managing a string of theaters. The Olympic passed into the possession of the creditors and was made a variety theater in 1867. Two years later it was established as a legitimate playhouse and has been held strictly to that field by Charles Spaulding, and nearly a lifetime was under the active management of Patrick Short.

In tragic and heroic roles a St. Louisan won international fame. Charles R. Pope was the son of an architect in Saxony, a friend of Goethe, one of the Republicans of the Saxon Switzerland. The father's name was Roehr and that was the boy's name after the family moved to this country in 1840 and settled in Rochester. The father designed several of the public buildings and churches of that city. The youth, like some of the best of the actors of that early day, entered the theatrical profession by way of the printing office. When he decided to go on the stage he took his mother's name—Pope—and kept it all of his life. He was twenty-three years of age when he first appeared here in 1855. After starring in this and other countries twenty years, he built Pope's Theater, where the Century building is on Ninth and Olive streets. Pope and Julia Dean were schoolmates in Rochester. The father of Julia Dean moved to St. Louis. The daughter grew up in St. Louis and became one of the most famous of American actresses in her generation.

In 1878 the Veiled Prophet first appeared in St. Louis. The long series of mystic pageants constitute an extraordinary test of the temperament of the city. Before the war, seventy years or more ago, Mobile originated this kind



N. M. LUDLOW



CHARLES R. POPE



ADELINA PATTI
As she appeared in St. Louis



JULIA DEAN

of entertainment. New Orleans followed. St. Louis came next. Memphis and Baltimore experimented in the field of mysterious organizations, masked paraders and tableaux on wheels. But both Memphians and Orioles were short lived. Kansas City and Omaha imported the idea at later dates with the Priests of Pallas and Knights of Aksarben.

Two conditions seem vital to success—secrecy of organization, charm of spectacle. But coupled with these must be a third essential, as necessary as the others, and that is favoring temperament of the community. The Mystic Krewe of New Orleans and the Veiled Prophet of St. Louis have been eminently and continuously successful through long series of years, because they met the two primary conditions and because they found in these two cities the distinctive temperament of population. The Cowbellion de Rakin of Mobile chose New Year's eve as the calendar opportunity for its efforts to amuse. Comus, Momus, Nereus and the Revelers of New Orleans discovered in the Mardi Gras period an encouraging public sentiment. The Veiled Prophet selected as the time of his annual coming the second night of what had been to St. Louisans for a generation "fair week." Here the test of temperament was instantaneously promising. The Veiled Prophet has missed no year since 1878.

The Veiled Prophet, and all of his retinue, to the humblest member, are shrouded in mystery. No member may reveal to those outside his own or another's connection. In New Orleans, membership in the Mystic Krewe is reached through membership in a well known social club as a preliminary step. In St. Louis the Veiled Prophet receives the individual directly into his following, rather than through another organization. This membership is limited in number. Candidates are passed upon by a secret committee with rigid scrutiny from two points of view. The personal quality and the business or professional standing are seriously considered. One so fortunate as to find himself duly enrolled is surprised to discover that, no matter what his calling or his associations, as a follower of the Veiled Prophet he is in the midst of his friends.

This policy of careful selection of members contributed not a little to the powerful and enduring character of the organization. Followers of the Veiled Prophet seldom resign. Membership passes from father to son. Vacancies on the list are few from year to year and quickly filled. There is no organized body of public purpose, membership in which is so highly prized. Neither politics nor religion cuts any figure in the availability of the candidate. To be accepted is no ordinary tribute to a man's standing in the community. A measure of success in his calling, undoubted respectability, a degree of public spirit—these are qualifications without which none enters.

Assigned to duty on the night of the pageant, the follower of the Veiled Prophet sheds his personality with his raiment. He becomes a number. As such he receives his costume. His instructions are given to him by his number. His place in the pageant is indicated by number. His belongings are stored in a locker which bears the corresponding number. His name is not spoken until the service of the night is finished.

The issue of invitations to the Veiled Prophet ball is a matter of careful detail. A policy as purposeful as that which hedges about the membership is applied. The good of the order dominates in the discrimination which is exer-

cised in the secret censorship of the invitation list. The Veiled Prophet has the memory of an Indian. And this applies to good or ill. The families of those who have been loyal followers of the Veiled Prophet in their lifetimes are remembered with the gratifying courtesy of the annual invitation.

Each member submits a limited list of friends for whom he desires invitations. He enters the names and addresses upon a blank form. This form in no way indicates to the uninitiated the purpose for which it is intended. It indicates a quota of names. By the briefly worded direction it is to be sent to a numbered postoffice box. Later, although he may have sent in his full list, the member may receive notice that his quota permits one or more additional nominations. This may mean that the member has duplicated a nomination sent in previously by another member. It may mean that his list contained a nomination decided by the secret censorship to be ineligible for an invitation to the ball. No explanation is asked or offered. The Veiled Prophet's following is established upon mutual confidence and loyalty. No decision of the secret tribunal on invitations is questioned.

To the list of invitations no society test, in the common use of the term, is applied. But the elect of the Veiled Prophet must be of good character. The list from year to year shows a wide representation of the social life of the city. It represents all good elements of society. It is rigidly exclusive of those who are not in good repute. No business or professional circle dominates the membership. No social set dictates the annual distribution of invitations and souvenirs. The guests are representative of the city in the best sense.

In 1856 the St. Louis Fair was inaugurated. With the exception of the Civil war period, when the buildings and grounds were occupied for a great camp, the Fair was given each year, with growing prestige, until it became known widely, drawing exhibitors and visitors from all parts of the Mississippi Valley. To this Fair the citizens of St. Louis devoted the first week in October. Thursday of that week was observed as a municipal holiday. Street illuminations and festivities were added in 1870-1880 to the attractions of Fair week. Early in 1878 the idea of a night pageant was suggested. October of that year the experiment was tried. It more than stood the test of popular approval. Tuesday night of Fair week was chosen for the event.

The St. Louis Fair flourished nearly half a century and then languished. The city had outgrown an agricultural exhibition. A down town exposition created by business men, headed by Samuel M. Kennard, was attended with great success for a period of nearly twenty years. This absorbed the mechanical features of the Fair. The last of the annual Fairs was held just before the World's Fair of 1904. The Veiled Prophet's pageant survived the Fair. It was given the year of the World's Fair and proved to be one of the most attractive events.

When it is stated that each year the twenty or more floats presented by the Veiled Prophet, together with the ball which follows, cost nearly \$50,000, an impression of the elaborate character of the event is received. During the thirty years the subjects chosen for illustration have varied widely. The first year the Creation was pictured in moving illuminated tableaux. Then came The Progress of Civilization, The Four Seasons, A Day Dream of Woodland Life, Around the World, Fairyland, The Return of Shakespeare, Arabian Nights, American History, History of the Bible.

It will be observed that the underlying motive of these themes was something more than passing delight to the vision.

The Most Popular Authors, The History of the Louisiana Territory, The Holidays, The Flight of Time, Visions of Childhood, Rulers of Nations, Lyric Opera, Humor, Fairy Tales—these have been among the subjects illustrated.

The construction of the floats was a matter of elaborate detail. Work upon the floats began early in the year and continued without interruption up to the night of the parade. In the beginning it was necessary to import the costumes from Paris. Later all of the construction work, not only upon the floats but upon the costumes, was done in St. Louis. The Grand Oracle's robes were of heavy satin, trimmed with gold, and lined with silk. Every article he wore was the finest procurable and every article was made new each year.

The stranger, blase with the sights of the world, marvels at the popular hold of the Veiled Prophet. He sees the population of a great city densely massed along a route of five miles. He hears but few loud shouts of applause. The long line of floats passes through hedges of humanity almost as mute as the costumed figures in the tableaux.

The multitudes come. They wait patiently. They greet decorously the Veiled Prophet at the head of his retinue. They stand absorbed until the last float has passed. They melt away. Twelve months later they are back again, with their cousins from out of town, to gaze on the mystic spectacle. No diminution of the people's interest in the Veiled Prophet is discernible. On the contrary the throngs on the streets grow with the years. The urgency of requests for invitations increases.

✓ The actual money cost of these pageants in St. Louis, from 1878 to 1911, has been considerably more than \$1,000,000. But dollars do not tell of the time and thought given in the months of preparation each year. The Veiled Prophet is not a repeater. Most certainly he is not a fakir in romance or history. He exacts originality. He insists upon high ideals. A general theme must be selected. The subject of each of the twenty or more tableaux must be determined. It must be a consistent chapter in the general theme. Then each tableau becomes a topic of concern, as to detail, personal as well as sentimental. And finally the living characters, as well as the inanimate figures, the architecture and the decorations must be fitting.

✓ In every detail of costume and movement historical accuracy must be observed. The Veiled Prophet is critical in the extreme. As the years go by, as the viewing multitudes become experienced, the Veiled Prophet grows more exacting. One year poetic license was given scope. History was sacrificed. The theme was "The Old-Time Songs." In the illustration of "Comin' Thro' the Rye," the Veiled Prophet sanctioned the common misinterpretation and presented a field of rye, instead of the Scottish stream named Rye. The comment of erudite critics upon the historical lapse grieved the Veiled Prophet sorely. No liberties with history have been taken since that year.

St. Louis was a city of horse cars, of gas lamps, of 330,000 population, when the Veiled Prophet bumped and creaked his first journey over a mile and a half of macadamized and wooden paved streets. The route was from Lucas Market place to the Chamber of Commerce. In 1911 the distance traversed is three or four times as great. The floats roll along asphalt streets

which had neither pavement nor sidewalks in those early days. The electric current from the trolley is the illuminant. It has taken the place of the oil lamps, the flambeaux and the Roman candles which lighted the pageant for twenty years. The Veiled Prophet has kept pace with the city's growth and improvement.

The wheels of the floats are now iron and flanged like the street cars. They roll smoothly on the tracks. The application of the trolley was the solution of a difficult electrical problem; first, to insure personal safety of the Veiled Prophet and his retinue from dangerous shock; second, to guard against destruction of floats from short circuiting. From year to year the electrical application has been improved upon, until now the system includes an arrangement of shades and reflectors which prevents the light from dazzling spectators and concentrates it upon the tableaux.

The temperament of the community! Without that favoring, the organization and the preparation would be powerless to compel success. The Veiled Prophet is not more popular with one element than with another among the people of St. Louis. Wide-eyed and wondering, the ranks of faces of every hue and nation which enter into the population of the city are raised with like degree of interest when the Veiled Prophet passes. The mystic pageant temperament pervades all St. Louis. It is lacking in most other cities of approximate latitude. It does not exist to any degree on the Atlantic coast or on the Great Lakes. It is unknown beyond the Rocky Mountains. But here, in the heart of the country, with the most thoroughly composite population, the most typical Americans, the Veiled Prophet is at home.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE MEN OF ST. LOUIS

Early Blending of Population—Weimar's Painting of "The Landing"—St. Louis the Converging Point of Migration—First Families of St. Louis—Ortes, the Companion of Laclède—Four Sarpy Brothers—The Papins—Spanish Officers Who Became St. Louisians—The Yostis and the Vigos—Founder of the House of Souldard—William Bissette's Generous Will—Why Guion Wouldn't Wear a Uniform—Personal Honor a Century Ago—Americans Who Came Before the Flag—The Easton Family—Major William Christy and His Seven Daughters—The Father of North St. Louis—Coming of the McKnights and Bradys—Refugees of the French Revolution—Connecticut's Notable Contribution—Erin Benevolent Society of 1818—The Farrars—The Gratiots—Missouri Lodge in 1815—The Billons—The Morrisons—St. Louis Sociologically in 1835—German Immigration—The Blow Family—Emigres from the West Indies—Friendships Kossuth Renewed in St. Louis—When One-third of the Population Was of German Birth—Census Returns Analyzed—"Most American of Cities"—The Marylanders—Army and Navy Influences—The Group of Octogenarians in 1895—Moral Fibre of St. Louisians Tested in Several Generations.

There never was so much talent, so much ability in all branches of life as was connected with the building up of St. Louis. The merchants, the mechanics, the lawyers have left their names on the pages of history. There were determination and purpose with them such as have never been united in the same number of men in the building up of any other town. You may say that St. Louis was most fortunate after the acquisition of Louisiana. All proud spirits, the men of ambition, men of spirit and determination flocked here.—*John F. Darby.*

"Municipal history, or state history, or national history," said George E. Leighton, one of the most thoughtful citizens of St. Louis in his generation, "is in its last analysis but the record of the men who have conceived and executed projects that lift the city, or state, or nation over the years and push it forward in the march of civilization."

Blending of the population of St. Louis began early. Creation of the typical American has been progressive through the generations since "the first thirty" landed. In the first thirty were those who had come from New Orleans with the expedition, a few from Ste. Genevieve, several from Fort Chartres and vicinity. As he passed through Cahokia on his way by the wagon road to join Auguste Chouteau on the site, Laclède was joined by several families.

Gallic strains most virile entered into the earliest blending to populate St. Louis. Laclède was of noble family, but of hardy vigorous stock developed in the valleys of the Pyrenees. The first thirty were "mechanics of all trades." They dragged their boat up the Mississippi and began the building of St. Louis in the middle of February. What better proof of their physical qualities could be given!

In the panels of the dome of the court house are historical paintings made by Weimar. The east panel Mr. Weimar devoted to a sketch of the landing of "the first thirty." He endeavored to be historically accurate. He consulted with an aged Frenchman of Carondelet, named LaConte. This local authority claimed that the boat which brought the party was in use for some years following the arrival, and that he saw it frequently. The boat, he said, was known as the one which brought Laclède's advance force. LaConte made a sketch

of the boat as he remembered it, and from the sketch Mr. Weimar painted the boat in the picture. LaConte also gave a description of Laclede. Mr. Weimar painted Laclede in the party on the boat, following the description given by Mr. LaConte. The presence of Laclede was not historically accurate, as the boat was in charge of Auguste Chouteau, who had been sent on by the founder to begin the settlement. Weimar represented the boat as nearing the bank. Large forest trees were growing almost at the edge of the water. The Indians were pictured as standing on the bank in welcoming attitudes. A spring of water flowed out of the rocks near the landing place. The great unwieldy craft was dragged up the ice-bordered river from Fort Chartres in five days. The next morning these pioneers were out with their axes building St. Louis. They spoke French. But most of them had never seen France. They traced back their family descent to ancestors who had come from various provinces of the mother country, some by way of the mouth of the Mississippi; more, to the St. Lawrence.

One of the oldest members of the little party which, under the leadership of Auguste Chouteau, dragged the boat along the Mississippi river shore from Fort Chartres to the site which Laclede had selected for St. Louis was Joseph Taillon. He was forty-nine years of age when he took his turn at the cordelle rope in hauling the boat. He lived in St. Louis to be ninety-two years old and to see the flag of the United States raised over the fort. Joseph Taillon died one year before the incorporation of St. Louis. He was a Canadian by birth, as was his wife, Marie Louise Bossett. There were eight children in the Taillon family; four of them were daughters. Old Joseph Taillon lived on Main and Market streets, which was in the next block to the government headquarters. His popularity and standing are attested by the fact that he was chosen one of the *sindics*, or village overseers, of St. Louis. Not long after coming to St. Louis the spelling of the family name was changed from Taillon to Tayon. The son of old Joseph Tayon, Charles, was a lieutenant in the militia company. He became the first commandant at St. Charles.

The four daughters of Joseph Tayon married Jacques Chauvin, Etienne Daigle, Paul Gregory Kiersereau and Louis Chevallier. A granddaughter of Joseph Tayon, Pelagie Kiersereau, was the first wife of Pierre Chouteau, Sr. The name of Tayon was given to one of the avenues of St. Louis a great many years ago. There are several scores of descendants of Joseph Tayon of this generation in St. Louis.

Nicholas Beaugenou was a man well advanced in years when he came to St. Louis with "the first thirty." His wife's name was Henrion. Both Nicholas Beaugenou and his wife were born in Canada. They had seven children, of whom five were daughters. These five daughters were: Maria Josepha, who married Toussaint Hunaut, according to the archives, the first marriage celebration in St. Louis; Helen, who married James Brunel La Sabloniere; Therese, who married Joachim D'eau; Agnes Frances, who married Joseph Huge, and Elizabeth, who married Alexis Loise. Nicholas Beaugenou's oldest son, named after him, lived for sixty years in and about St. Louis. He was known in his boyhood as Fifi. What is now called Fee Fee Creek, in the western part of St. Louis county, took its title from Nicholas Beaugenou, Jr., whose favorite occupation was riding about St. Louis county and trading farms.

One of the largest groups of descendants of the founders of St. Louis now living in the city came from the Mainville-Chancellor family. Joseph Mainville was one of "the first thirty" and with him came two youngsters, Louis Chancellor and Joseph Chancellor, twelve and fourteen years of age at that time. The Chancellor boys were brothers of Annie Chancellor, wife of Joseph Mainville. Mainville was a carpenter. The family lived on Main and Locust streets. Joseph Mainville had seven children, five of them daughters. All five of them married. One of them, Theresa, had two husbands, Joseph Desautelle and Louis Lemonde. The second daughter had three husbands—Pierre Gagnon, P. D. Joliboix and Charles Cardinal. Julie Mainville married Joseph Hubert. Pelagie Mainville married Joseph Lagrave. Marie Anne married Auguste Filteau.

The two Chancellor boys left families. Joseph married Elizabeth Becquet, who was a daughter of John B. Becquet, the miller. There were three daughters born to Joseph Chancellor. After the death of the husband Mrs. Joseph Chancellor married Antoine Gauthier, of St. Charles. Louis Chancellor married Marie Louise Deschamps. He died leaving an infant son. His widow followed the example of her sister-in-law and took a second husband, from St. Charles, Joseph Beauchamp.

John B. Gamache was one of "the first thirty." He was a farmer and lived in St. Louis and Carondelet until after the American transfer of the Louisiana Purchase to American sovereignty. He left four children, three of them sons, and was not only one of the founders of St. Louis, but the founder of one of the best known families.

Rene Kiersereau was a middle-aged man. He was the leader of the choruses which "the first thirty" sang as they dragged the boat up the river. After the settlement was founded Rene Kiersereau became the church chorister or "chantre," and when there was no priest in St. Louis he officiated at various church ceremonies. Rene Kiersereau was a native of France. He married Marie M. Robillard. He had five children, four of them daughters. One of the daughters married Louis Aubuchon, a large family preserving the name. The other three Kiersereau girls married Francois Faustin, Pierre Choret and Gabriel Latreille. Rene Kiersereau had two brothers, Paul and Gregory, who settled in St. Louis, but they came shortly after "the first thirty."

Two Martigny brothers, John B. and Joseph L., came in with the first boat. John Baptiste Martigny was born in Canada. His wife was a native of Fort Chartres, Illinois. He became one of the solid citizens of St. Louis, building a stone house at Main and Walnut, into which the Spanish governor moved. John B. Martigny was better known as Captain Martigny. He commanded the militia organization of the settlement. He left no children, his property going to Mrs. Martigny's niece, who was the wife of Hyacinthe St. Cyr. Joseph Lemoine Martigny was an Indian trader. No record of any descendant has been found.

Another Indian trader numbered among "the first thirty" was Jean Salle Lajoie. He was a native of France and unmarried when he came to St. Louis, a member of "the first thirty." He married here Marie Rose Vidalpano, who was a native of Taos, New Mexico. There was one daughter, Helen, who married Benjamin Lerou, one of the first merchants. One of her two daugh-

ters, Marie Angelique, married Peter Primm, from Virginia, and from them descended the Primm family. Another daughter, Helen Salle Lajoie, married James Lafferty. The wife of Lajoie, or Jean Salle, as he was also known, lived on Elm street between Fourth and Fifth streets, as late as 1830, attaining the age of one hundred and seven years, according to Billon, the historian.

Gabriel Dodier was one of the two blacksmiths in "the first thirty." The Dodier and the Becquet family were connected by marriage, Francoise Dodier being the wife of John B. Becquet, the blacksmith. There were two John B. Becquets, the second being John B. Becquet, the miller. The latter moved to St. Genevieve. John B. Becquet, the blacksmith, built his home and shop on Main and Myrtle streets and lived there thirty-two years.

Julien LeRoy was a young man. He had come with his wife, Marie Barbara Saucier, from Mobile, Alabama, to Fort Chartres, Illinois, about nine years before the founding of St. Louis. He became one of the most active house builders in St. Louis, building and selling to those who came after the founders. He had seven children, all sons but the second, Madelaine. The daughter married Francis Hebert. The LeRoy family dropped the Le and became known by the name of Roy. Descendants of Julien LeRoy are numerous, especially in the southern part of the city.

John B. Riviere was one of the youngest of "the first thirty." He was only twelve years of age at the time he came. He married Margaret Vial. A few months later the father of John B. Riviere came, driving the cart which conveyed Madame Chouteau and her children. Besides Antoine, the father, and John B. Riviere, the son, there were several other members of the Riviere family who settled in St. Louis and vicinity. They became prominent in the early history of Florissant. Antoine Riviere died at Florissant at the age of one hundred and ten.

As early as its first year, 1764, St. Louis was a converging point of migration seeking permanent homes. Generations of these pioneer people in America had softened the speech, had added to the vocabulary, had supplemented the customs. While branches of these families, at home in France, were thinking the way to republican theories, the American offshoots were breathing free air and practicing liberty by instinct. There was little that was Parisian, and nothing of degeneracy, physical or mental, in the first families that settled St. Louis.

About the time Pierre Laclede, in the family chateau of Bedous, was dreaming his plans to found a colony in the New World, another family of France, near Agen on the Garonne, was preparing to divide its energies between the mother country and New France. There were six brothers and four sisters in the house of Charles Sarpy. Five of the brothers came to America and four of them were among the earliest residents and business men of St. Louis. The oldest, the first John B. Sarpy in this country, was a merchant in New Orleans when Laclede lived there. Two years after St. Louis was founded this John B. Sarpy came here. He was a merchant in the settlement for twenty years. Silvestre Delor Sarpy and Pierre Lestamp Sarpy came later. The head of the Sarpy family, which became numerous and influential in the development of St. Louis, was a fourth brother, Gregoire Berald Sarpy. He arrived here, a young man of twenty-two, in 1786. He married a granddaughter of

the founder, Pelagie Labbadie. The eldest son of this union, John B. Sarpy, was the man of great reserve force, the director of the internal affairs of the fur house of Pierre Chouteau & Co. in 1830-1840. Berthold, died in 1831, Pratte in 1837, John P. Cabanne in 1841. John B. Sarpy entered the house when he was nineteen. As the elder partners passed away, and as Pierre Chouteau gave more and more attention to outside business, being absent from the city, the responsibilities of the internal management devolved upon John B. Sarpy. Unlike some of the other descendants of early French settlers, John B. Sarpy took a deep interest in national politics. In 1824, St. Louisans cast their first votes for presidential electors. Only 295 votes were recorded in St. Louis. Of the voters only thirty-nine were of the French families. One of them was John B. Sarpy. He was one of 125 St. Louisans who voted for Henry Clay. For the Adams elector, St. Louis gave ninety-nine votes. The Jackson elector received seventy-one votes.

One of the pioneer settlers had followed the fortunes of Laclede from earliest manhood. John Baptiste Ortes was born in the province of Bearne, near the Pyrenees. He was thirteen years younger than Laclede. The elder brother of Laclede was a high official of the District of Bearne. When Pierre Laclede came to Louisiana in 1755, John Baptiste Ortes, a boy of eighteen, accompanied him. Ortes was with Laclede at the founding of St. Louis. He had learned the trade of a carpenter. He married in St. Louis and lived here until 1814. His wife, who was Elizabeth Barada, born in Vincennes, lived in St. Louis until 1868, dying at the age of one hundred and four years. She was brought to St. Louis by her parents in 1768. She lived here one hundred years. A large picture of Madame Ortes hung in the old Southern hotel. Ortes, like some other pioneer settlers, did not leave his name to posterity. His children were daughters.

Three generations of Papins had lived in Canada when St. Louis was founded. Joseph Papin was at Fort Chartres when Laclede came up the Mississippi with the expedition. His son, Joseph Marie Papin, was in France receiving his education. Joseph Papin arranged to join Laclede's settlement of St. Louis, and went to France to bring out his son. The family was one of the earliest to take residence at St. Louis. The son married the second daughter of Laclede.

One of the Spanish officers who came to St. Louis with Governor Piernas was Benito Vasquez. That was in 1770. Vasquez was so well satisfied with St. Louis that he made the settlement his permanent residence. He married a French wife, Julie Papin. In 1783 Baronet Vasquez was born of this union. He was one of twelve children, six boys and six girls. When American sovereignty was established over the country west of the Mississippi, Baronet Vasquez was just of age. He was picked out as one of the young men of St. Louis to receive recognition from the United States government. He was made an ensign in the United States army and rose to the position of first lieutenant. When General Pike made his expedition across the plains to the Rocky Mountains, Baronet Vasquez accompanied him. Pike took a great liking to the young Spanish-Frenchman who had become an American. In his report of the expedition he refers to him frequently as "Barony." Antoine Bareda was a cadet in the Spanish garrison. He sued his superior officer, Lieutenant

Gomez, for calling him "an ass," left the army, became a citizen of St. Louis and married into one of the French families. A member of the Spanish garrison, who became a man of importance in St. Louis, was Joseph Alvarez Hortiz. He married into the Becquet family, acquired property, was the secretary to Governors Trudeau and Delassus, and had charge of the public records at the time of the American occupation. One of his daughters was Madame Landreville. Another of these Spanish soldiers who married a French wife and remained in St. Louis was Eugenio Alvarez.

The Yosti and Vigo families, of Italian origin, were akin. The former family came to St. Louis in 1777. Both the Yostis and Vigos were strongly sympathetic with the American movement for independence. Emilien Yosti, a younger member of the family, owned and occupied the building on Main and Walnut streets, where Spanish sovereignty ceased in 1804. He was a member of the first grand jury organized after the occupation. In his home the court of quarter sessions held the first meeting.

Antoine Chenie was one of the valuable citizens St. Louis obtained from Canada. He came in 1795, bringing capital to engage in the fur trade, and a spirit of enterprise which was important to the community. Soon after his arrival Monsieur Chenie was surprised to learn that St. Louis had no bakery. He sent back to Canada, engaged a good baker and set him up in business. The shop ran without competition for some years, making money. It was bought out by Daniel D. Page, who also made money. The Chenies settled in Quebec a hundred years before St. Louis was founded. They belonged to a family of high position in France. Antoine Chenie received a good education at the College of Montreal before he came to St. Louis. He married Marie Therese Papin, a granddaughter and namesake of Madame Chouteau.

Moses Austin came to Missouri from Connecticut, by way of Virginia. He had operated lead mines at Wytheville. When he arrived, in 1799, the Spanish governor at St. Louis conferred upon Mr. Austin the grant of one league square of the Potosi lead field on condition that Mr. Austin erect a furnace and apply other ideas, the result of his experience in Virginia, which were new to the province. Mr. Austin erected the first ash furnace, and in three years had obtained a monopoly of the smelting of the district. He showed the French lead miners how to make sheet lead on a flat rock. He built a shot tower in 1799 on the Mississippi river and made bullets for the Spanish arsenals at New Orleans and Havana.

When Antoine Soulard came to St. Louis, by horseback to Pittsburg, and then down the Ohio by keel boat about 1795, Upper Louisiana was very much in need of some one with the scientific ability to lay out the grants which Zenon Trudeau, the Spanish governor was issuing to encourage American settlement. Soulard came of a military family in France. His father was captain in the French Royal navy and lost an arm, shot off by a cannon ball in a sea fight with the English. Antoine Soulard was a lieutenant in the Royal army, and was compelled to flee to escape the guillotine when the revolution came. He succeeded in reaching Marblehead by a sailing vessel, and hearing that St. Louis people were mostly French, he started across the country for this settlement. Governor Trudeau welcomed the refugee to his house. As

soon as he learned of Lieutenant Soulard's scientific knowledge he made him surveyor general of Upper Louisiana. When Governor Delassus succeeded Trudeau he continued Surveyor General Soulard in office. When the province was transferred to the United States, in 1804, the American captain confirmed Mr. Soulard in his position, and when General Harrison took charge of the province he also retained the surveyor general. Mr. Soulard at length gave up the position voluntarily and retired to his farm, which is now a thickly built portion of the city from Park avenue to Lesperance street, and from the river west to Carondelet avenue. The Soulard farm became famous for the finest fruit orchard in St. Louis. Marriage to Julia Cerre, the daughter of Gabriel Cerre, made Antoine Soulard the brother-in-law of Auguste Chouteau, who had married Therese Cerre. Three sons of Antoine Soulard, who died in 1825, were James G. Soulard, Henry G. Soulard and Benjamin A. Soulard.

John Lewis was one of the first of the Virginians who settled in St. Louis. He came in 1797 and took a farm near the village. One of his daughters married a son of Daniel Boone and another was Mrs. Corbin, who owned "Stoddard addition."

One of the wealthiest of the first settlers was William Bissette. He was of Canadian origin. Bissette had been in business at Fort Chartres several years when Laclede came to found St. Louis. Such was his admiration for Laclede that he chose him to distribute his estate to his nine brothers and sisters. The old bachelor left five hundred livres to buy ornaments for the little log church, which had been recently erected. He left several handsome bequests. He gave a thousand livres to his clerk, Juan La Montague. He directed that his business be allowed to go on for two years with La Montague as a partner, receiving half of the profits "to give La Montague a chance to establish himself in business."

Hyacinthe St. Cyr, a Canadian, and Helen Hebert, of Illinois, were married in St. Louis in 1783. They had fifteen children. One of their daughters married William Christy. Hyacinthe St. Cyr built houses and handled property. He was one of the most active and enterprising inhabitants of the colonial period.

The case of the Guion family illustrated the early commingling of strains which made the St. Louis stock sturdy and independent. The founder of the family was born on the Illinois side of the river half a century before St. Louis was settled. He came to this side with Laclede to establish St. Louis. The Guions were Scotch and French. One of the descendants was James Amabel Guion, for twenty years an official upholder of law and order, part of the time as a police officer and part of the time as city jailer. He was chief of police. When the ordinance requiring police officers to wear uniforms went into effect, he resigned. He said it was un-American. He held that policemen were purely civil officers and that only soldiers should be uniformed. This sturdy character dealt vigorously with the disturbances of his period.

"Amongst their virtues, we may enumerate honesty and punctuality in their dealings, hospitality to strangers, friendship and affection amongst relatives and neighbors," wrote Brackenridge of these people who were Spaniards one day, French the next day, and Americans the third day. The first settler

to put a lock on his smoke house in the country north of the settlement was an American. The act was considered an affront to the neighborhood. There was great indignation. Threats were made to remove the lock forcibly.

The high sense of personal honor and justice which characterized St. Louisans in the early period of St. Louis was illustrated by an incident in the family of Joseph Charless, the founder of the first newspaper. Joseph Charless, the second, learned the trade of his father, that of printer, but did not follow it. He went into the wholesale drug business. When the elder Charless died, in 1834, he wanted to leave his estate to his namesake and trusted son, following the old world custom. Joseph Charless, the second, persuaded his father, while the latter was in his last illness, to make equal distribution of the property interests to all of the heirs.

Perhaps the earliest realization of what financial panic meant came to St. Louis, the town, in 1819. It brought out a good illustration of the official integrity which was standard in those days. Pierre Didier was treasurer of the territory of Missouri. He had \$20,000 of public money. The funds would not be needed for six months. Pierre Chouteau and Bernard Pratte were Didier's bondsmen. They went to the treasurer, told him they were hard up for cash and wanted to borrow \$1,000 apiece for ninety days. Didier seemed very sympathetic, but said he didn't have the money. Pratte and Chouteau suggested that the amounts might be taken from the territorial money.

"My friends," said Didier, "it is not my money. You cannot get him. Here is my house and lot, my horse, my cow, and my bed. Take them and sell them at auction and relieve yourselves."

It seems that Pratte and Chouteau had gone to Didier to try him rather than to get the loans. According to the story which was preserved by William Grymes Pettus and deposited with the Historical society, the bondsmen wanted to assure themselves that the territory funds, for which they had given security were all right. They went away, Mr. Pettus said, "perfectly satisfied that Didier was an honest man."

When the American flag went up at St. Louis, 1804, the population of the town was about 1,000. In the immediately surrounding country were 2,000 people. Before these figures are dismissed as of little consequence, let it be recalled that four years earlier, the United States had taken its second census. The population of the entire territory, which is now Illinois, Indiana, Michigan and Wisconsin, was only 4,875, in 1800. In the sixteen states and three territories of the Union were 5,305,366 people. By comparison St. Louis had a place on the map more important than the number of inhabitants would indicate to this generation. It was not an assemblage altogether alien which the American captain faced when he raised the flag. Americans had been settling in St. Louis. Calvin Adams had brought his wife and boys from Connecticut. His home was at Main and Plum streets. John Boly and his three sons and three daughters were from Pennsylvania. John Gates, an American, had married into the Morin family. William Sullivan had lived among the French pioneers so long that General William Henry Harrison thought it good policy to make him the constable and coroner under American authority. Sullivan also kept the jail for several years and rose to the dignity of justice of the



JOHN K. RYCHLICKI



CHARLES P. CHOUTEAU



THE FIRST BENOIST RESIDENCE ON MAIN AND ELM STREETS
Built about 1790



FRANCIS W. THOMPSON



HENRY T. MUDD

STRONG TYPES OF ST. LOUISANS

peace when Missouri became a full fledged territory of the United States. James Ranken was another American resident under three flags. He was the first sheriff. David Rohrer and John Biggs were Americans living in St. Louis in 1804.

When Governor William Henry Harrison and the Indiana judges visited St. Louis in 1804 to frame laws for the new addition to the United States, Rufus Easton came with them. He was a young lawyer in search of an opening. Born in Connecticut he had studied law in Litchfield. With his license to practice he had tried an interior town in New York. Forming the acquaintance of DeWitt Clinton, he went to Washington and passed the winter of 1803-4. There he met Vice-President Aaron Burr. Encouraged by the general interest that the Louisiana Purchase aroused, Rufus Easton determined to go to New Orleans and open a law office. He started by way of the Ohio, but stopping over in Vincennes to familiarize himself with territorial laws and practice he decided to make St. Louis instead of New Orleans his place of settlement.

There are few names connected officially with the history of St. Louis in more ways than are those of Rufus Easton and Alton R. Easton, his son. Rufus Easton was named by President Jefferson as one of the first judges. He was next appointed United States attorney. He was elected and reelected Delegate to Congress. He was the first postmaster of St. Louis and held the position nine years, until he was tired of it. President Monroe made him United States district attorney.

Alton R. Easton was one of the younger children of Rufus Easton. He was sent to West Point. When he returned he studied medicine with Dr. Samuel Merry. Later he held a position in what was then a government office of great importance—receiver of public money. His military training led to the selection of young Easton to command the crack local military company, the St. Louis Grays. At the outset of the Mexican war the St. Louis Legion went into service under Colonel Easton, who became, in succession, assistant treasurer of the United States at St. Louis, a member of the county court, inspector general of the state during the Civil war, assessor of internal revenue and pension agent. The Easton family has the distinction of having given the name to one of the most important thoroughfares of the city. Many streets were named to honor pioneer citizens of prominence. Some of them, in the evolution of the city, have not fulfilled expectations of importance.

Meriwether Lewis and William Clark came back from their marvelous expedition to the mouth of the Columbia to make their homes in St. Louis. Against ties of family in Virginia and Kentucky, in the balance opposed to opportunities for political preferment at Washington and for military advancement in the army they put the attractiveness of St. Louis as a place of residence and the association with development of the Louisiana Territory. There is nothing to show that either regretted the choice. Meriwether Lewis did not leave posterity, but the descendants of Clark multiplied and many of them have known no other home than St. Louis.

"Wise in council and swift in action" was the way Meriwether Lewis described Major William Christy when he appointed him commander-in-chief for the Territory of Louisiana and major-commandant of Louisiana Rangers

in 1809. Major Christy was of Pennsylvania birth. His ancestors were Scotch. His father was a captain under Braddock, and was with George Washington in the retreat. William Christy served as an officer in frontier campaigns until his health was shattered. He married Martha Thompson Taylor, of Kentucky, who was related to two presidents of the United States, Madison and Taylor, and moved to St. Louis in 1804. He was, during his thirty-three years residence in St. Louis, a conspicuous figure, six feet high, erect and soldierly in figure, dignified in movement. He combed his hair straight back from the forehead, after a fashion of his own, and it fell to the coat collar. Three of the daughters of Major William Christy married officers of the United States army, who became well known residents of St. Louis—Captain James H. Dean, Major Thomas Wright and Major Taylor Berry. There were seven of these Christy girls. Their descendants in St. Louis number hundreds. Major Christy was the father of North St. Louis. He was the pioneer in the city's movement up the river. His son-in-law, Major Thomas Wright, joined him in these extensive real-estate transactions. A partner was Colonel William Chambers, who came from Kentucky. Major Christy was very patriotic. When he laid off his real estate in North St. Louis he chose for many of the streets such names as Madison, Monroe, Warren, Montgomery.

The coming of the McKnights and the Bradys was an event of 1809. John McKnight and Thomas Brady were the leading spirits in this lively crowd. Of the McKnights there were John, Thomas, James, Robert and William. The McKnights and the Bradys bought a boat at Pittsburg. They rowed down the Ohio and up the Mississippi to St. Louis. The boat carried a stock of goods as well as the two families. The store of McKnight & Brady was opened. For a short time after the arrival the McKnights and Bradys were spoken of as "the Irish crowd." Before the second year was out the McKnights and Bradys were a power in the community. The second season after their arrival they were able to buy a lot, sixty feet front, on the corner of Main and Pine streets, in the business heart of the city. Here they did business successfully until they were able to erect, in 1816, an imposing structure of brick, the first in St. Louis, for a business house. There were stores downstairs, a hotel upstairs, where was held, in 1817, the first celebration west of the Mississippi of Washington's Birthday. McKnight & Brady amassed enough money at trade to go into real estate. They laid out what is now part of East St. Louis, and called it Illinoistown. McKnight served on the grand jury. Brady presided at the first meeting of Irishmen to organize the Erin Benevolent society. Thomas Brady married a daughter of John Rice Jones, who became chief justice of the Supreme court of Missouri. One of Thomas Brady's daughters married Ferdinand Rozier, the second. The standing which the McKnights and Bradys quickly obtained in the community was shown by the selection of Thomas Brady to be one of the commissioners to receive subscriptions to the first bank established under charter from the territorial legislature in 1813. John McKnight was a commissioner to receive subscriptions to the second bank chartered, and Thomas Brady was elected a member of the first board of directors of the bank. St. Louis never had occasion to regret the coming of the McKnights and Bradys. The McKnights were enterprising in many directions. Robert, one

of the four brothers, in 1817, went on a trading expedition to Santa Fe and Chihuahua. This was at the same time that Jules DeMun and Auguste P. Chouteau went out with a stock of goods to do business with the Mexicans. The three young men from St. Louis were robbed of their goods and thrown into jail. There they remained two years. Their treatment was made the basis of a claim against Mexico by the United States. An indemnity of about one hundred thousand dollars was paid by Mexico. Another of the McKnights, John, a nephew of Robert, went out to Chihuahua in 1826 and accumulated a fortune in trade there. When he returned to make his home near St. Louis he brought with him ten thousand dollars which Governor Armijo had given him to place to his credit. As the Mexican handed the money he declined a receipt, saying "all that I want is your word." The McKnight road, one of the thoroughfares in the western suburbs of St. Louis, was named in honor of this family.

A city of refuge, in the best sense, St. Louis has been. Political troubles in Europe have contributed many desirable citizens. A little boy, Jules De Mun, was concealed in a cellar of Paris at the time of the French Revolution. His father, member of a noble family, had been forced to fly to save himself from the block. A faithful servant hid Jules and his brother Auguste, for a time, then dressed them as the children of the poor and took them out of the city. They passed near the guillotine. Jules began to cry. The older, Auguste, shook him and warned him that they must not attract attention. The boys joined their father in England and were brought to America. After the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty, royal letters sent through the French ambassador at Washington invited the return of the De Muns to France. The boys had grown to manhood. They came to Missouri. Jules De Mun became a resident of St. Louis. In 1811 he married Isabelle Gratiot. Born in San Domingo, educated partly in France and partly in the United States, Jules De Mun took rank as one of the most scholarly men in the city. In the latter part of his life he was secretary and translator for the commissioners engaged in the adjustment of the French and Spanish grants. He was register of the government land office, and at the time of his death, in 1843, he was filling, by election, the office of recorder of deeds.

So far back runs the lineage of the Pratte family that it may be called ancient, so far as St. Louis is concerned. The first Bernard Pratte in St. Louis history was titled General Pratte. He was here and prominent in the life of the settlement before the American acquisition. His mother was a native of Missouri, born in Ste. Genevieve. General Bernard Pratte, in his youth, was sent to Canada to be educated, because Ste. Genevieve was lacking in educational advantages. Such was the standing of General Pratte that after the American acquisition he was made one of the territorial judges. Born under another flag, a citizen of the United States only eight years, General Pratte won his military title in the War of 1812. He headed an expedition which went from St. Louis up the Mississippi to Fort Madison to resist British aggression. He served in that war until peace was established. Such was the character of General Bernard Pratte that President Monroe selected him, although he was not a candidate, to be the receiver of public moneys at St. Louis when that was one of the most important federal offices west of the Mississippi.

When the War of 1812 began, the Kentuckians who had settled in and about St. Louis, were among the first to volunteer for service. They were chips of old blocks who had fought in '76. A body of 1,500 horsemen was raised in St. Louis, and in the settlements of St. Louis county and along the Missouri river. Nathan Boone, son of Daniel, was the colonel of this command. The horsemen decided to cross the Mississippi and join Governor Edwards. They did so by riding their horses into the river and swimming across. John Sappington led them. The Sappingtons came from Kentucky, a family eighteen children strong, in 1806. In the colony, for such it may be called, were forty families from Kentucky, but of those families the Sappington family was the largest in number. After looking over St. Louis, which had been an American city barely two years, the Kentuckians decided to locate outside, in what is now the county of St. Louis. The Sappingtons bought 640 acres, for which, it is tradition, they paid in whiskey, at the price of one gallon per acre. John Sappington had eleven children.

Connecticut was no small contributor to the life of St. Louis. In 1811 Stephen Hempstead came with his family and relatives, a colony numbering twenty. He was a patriot as well as a pioneer. A Revolutionary soldier, he had been left for dead in Fort Griswold. While he farmed where Bellefontaine cemetery is, Stephen Hempstead made it his "daily business to converse with prominent and leading heads of families on the necessity there was of having stated and regular worship in the place." In 1816, Salmon Giddings, another Connecticut man, freshly ordained to preach and determined to be a missionary, came riding on horseback 1,200 miles, to formally organize the first Protestant church in St. Louis. Edward Hempstead had preceded his father, his brothers and his sisters. He rode down to the ferry, on the Illinois side, before the first summer's rains had dimmed the colors of the American flag raised over St. Louis in 1804. Such was the impression the Hempsteads made on the community that when the time came to choose the first delegate to represent the Territory in Congress, Edward Hempstead was elected. When he was an old man, nearing the close of his career, Thomas H. Benton paid this tribute to Stephen Hempstead, the patriarch:

Mr. Hempstead was a true and brave man, a man pure and without reproach, fearing God and discharging every public and private duty with scrupulous exactness. He united benevolence with true piety, and in him patriotism was sublimated to the highest degree. In the words of Scripture he has been blessed in all his generation.

In 1818 there were enough Irishmen in St. Louis to organize. The Erin Benevolent society was formed. The leading spirits were Jeremiah Connor, who had been sheriff of St. Louis, the Rankens, John Mullanphy, James McGunnege, Joseph Charless, Thomas Brady. Two years later "the Erins" demonstrated their strength. They celebrated St. Patrick's Day, 1820. That was the first observance of the anniversary in St. Louis. The society paraded. After the procession there was a dinner with toasts.

From night watchman to bank president the career of Sullivan Blood led. At the age of 21, in 1817, Sullivan Blood came to St. Louis from the state of his birth, Vermont. Of sturdy physique, he was just in time to be selected for one of the watchmen. His services were so efficient that the town made him captain of the watch, and he bore the title of Captain Blood the rest of his life.

He was a constable ten years, a deputy sheriff and then an alderman. In the business of steamboating, commanding boats built for him, he made a reputation which prompted his selection as president of the Boatmen's Savings Institution.

The Farrars were Virginians, the founder of the family in this country coming to Farrar's Island in the James river, a short distance below Richmond in 1621. Three years after the acquisition, in 1808, the founder of the St. Louis Farrars, a young doctor, just past his majority, settled in St. Louis. He became allied with the Clarks, George Rogers, "the General," and William, "the Governor," through marriage with their niece, Ann Clark Thruston. He had four sons and one daughter. One of those sons followed in his father's professional footsteps and left seven sons and two daughters.

The four sons of Charles Gratiot led lives of activity and prominence. Charles Gratiot, the oldest and the namesake of his father, went to West Point immediately after the American occupation of St. Louis. He graduated with the honors which gave him a place in the corps of engineers. After he had served in the War of 1812, he advanced through the grades to be engineer-in-chief. He built Fort Gratiot on Lake Huron. His great work was the planning of Fortress Monroe. He was engaged for years in superintending the construction. The wife of General Gratiot was Miss Ann Belin, of Philadelphia. One of the daughters of General Gratiot became the wife of Charles P. Chouteau, of St. Louis.

The second son of Charles Gratiot, Sr., was Colonel Henry Gratiot. He lived for a time on a part of his father's great tract of land, known as the Gratiot league square, a part of which is now Forest Park. Henry Gratiot married Miss Susan Hempstead, one of the daughters of Captain Stephen Hempstead, the Connecticut patriot. A daughter of Henry Gratiot, Adelle, became the wife of Elihu B. Washburne, member of one of the famous families of the United States. Mr. Washburne was a member of Congress from the Galena district of Illinois. He was appointed secretary of state by President Grant, but relinquished that position to become minister to France. During the Franco-Prussian war, Minister Washburne remained alone of the foreign ministers at his post, making the legation an asylum for refugees and earning the gratitude of European governments. With him through that trying ordeal the great granddaughter of Madame Marie Therese Chouteau performed her part. The Washburns were a Maine family. Elihu B. added an "e" to his name. One of his brothers was governor of Maine. Another was a United States senator from Minnesota. A third commanded a squadron in the Civil war. Elihu B. Washburne met Miss Adelle Gratiot while her father was engaged in lead smelting at Gratiot Grove, fifteen miles from Galena.

John P. B. Gratiot and Paul B. Gratiot, the third and fourth sons of Charles Gratiot were educated in Bardstown College, Kentucky. John went to Gratiot Grove with his brother Henry and engaged in the lead smelting. The youngest of the Gratiot brothers, Paul, went into the fur trade with Berthold & Chouteau, and was sent to the Upper Missouri. When he returned he joined his brothers at Gratiot Grove. John Gratiot married Miss Perdreauxville, whose parents left France after the abdication of Napoleon. His oldest daughter mar-

ried Edward Hempstead, who moved to Arkansas and became a prominent resident of that state, Hempstead county being named in his honor. John Gratiot was a member of the Missouri legislature. At the time of his death he was residing in St. Louis. Paul Gratiot married Miss Virginia Billon. After his return from the Fevre river lead mines he lived in the vicinity of Forest Park. Between 1850 and 1860 he was a member of the St. Louis County court.

Early records of Masonry in St. Louis illustrate how widely distributed in respect to former residences were the new comers. Missouri lodge was granted a charter by the Grand Lodge of Tennessee in 1815. This charter was issued to Joshua Norvell, who had moved from Nashville to St. Louis, to take charge of the Western Journal, Thomas Brady, a St. Louis merchant, who had come from Ireland, and John A. Pilcher. Among the Masons in St. Louis who joined the lodge, presenting credentials from lodges elsewhere, were Major Thompson Douglass, from Maryland, paymaster U. S. A.; Risdon H. Price, eastern shore of Maryland, merchant; Nathaniel B. Tucker, Virginia, judge of the Circuit court; Thomas H. Benton, Nashville, Tenn., lawyer; Captain Peter Ferguson, Norfolk, Va., who became judge of probate; Dr. Edward S. Gantt, surgeon, United States army; John Rice Jones, Ste. Genevieve, Mo., judge Supreme court; Captain Henry S. Geyer, Hagerstown, Md., lawyer; Sergeant Hall, Cincinnati, lawyer and editor; Jonathan Guest, Philadelphia, merchant; William H. Hopkins, Philadelphia, merchant; William Renshaw, Sr., Baltimore, merchant; David B. Hoffman, New York, merchant; Abraham Beck, Albany, N. Y., lawyer; Moses Scott, Ireland, justice of the peace; George H. C. Melody, Albany, N. Y.; Joseph C. Laveille, Harrisburg, Pa., architect; Daniel C. Boss, Pittsburg, merchant; William G. Pettus, Virginia, secretary of the Missouri Constitutional convention.

When, in 1820, the Royal Arch Masons wanted to organize a St. Louis chapter they needed nine petitioners. The town could supply only four. Two were found in St. Charles and two more in Edwardsville. The ninth was Clement C. Fletcher, who was in business at Herculaneum, having come from Maryland two years before. For several years Mr. Fletcher rode thirty miles across the Meramec and up the river to attend the monthly meetings of the chapter. He was the father of Governor Thomas C. Fletcher.

The Billons came from Philadelphia. Frederic L. Billon was a boy of seventeen when his father and he came west to seek a new home. The year was 1818. The Billons came by stage coach from Philadelphia to Pittsburg, down the Ohio by keel boat to Shawneetown, overland to Kaskaskia, up the Mississippi by canoe to St. Louis. The journey required sixty days. That was about the schedule of the period. After the father and son had found a home and had arranged to start the business, which was dealing in watches and clocks, the older went all of the way back to Philadelphia to bring out the mother and other eight children. "Moving west" meant something in those days. The father of this family was a Swiss, descended from a family of watchmakers, the best in the world. The mother was of French descent, but had lived in San Domingo and had been forced to leave her home as a refugee at the time of the negro insurrection. The case of the Billon family is a good illustration of the accessions to the population of St. Louis in the first generation



JOHN B. SARPY
At thirty-six years of age



JOHN B. SARPY



SYLVESTER LABBADIE



JOHN MULLANPHY



MAJOR WILLIAM CHRISTY



RUFUS EASTON
The first postmaster

STRONG TYPES OF ST. LOUISANS

of the last century. When his father died, Frederic L. Billon took up the responsibilities of the head of a large family. He was then just of age, with eight brothers and sisters younger. Not until these brothers and sisters were grown and able to take care of themselves did Frederic L. Billon have a home of his own. He went to Philadelphia and brought back his wife, Miss E. L. Generelly. He lived to be considerably more than eighty years old. He was alderman and comptroller of the city. He was the first railroad auditor of St. Louis and later was treasurer of the Missouri Pacific. Twelve children were born to him. When St. Louis attained the importance of the first uniformed military company, the "St. Louis Grays," in 1819, Billon was one of the moving spirits. He was made ensign. The service to his adopted city, which St. Louis will remember as the most important rendered by Frederic L. Billon, was his preservation of historical data. From the day of his coming to the end of his long life, he was the local antiquarian. Records and information of every kind pertaining to St. Louis and St. Louisans, Mr. Billon preserved. He was careful and painstaking in this labor of love, with the accuracy that might be expected of a mind which had inherited method from watchmaking ancestors.

One after another the Morrissions came out to St. Louis and vicinity. They were Pennsylvanians, natives of Bucks county, north of Philadelphia. Back of the Pennsylvania parentage was Irish ancestry. John Morrison, the father of the Morrissions, was an Irish gentleman. An uncle of the Morrissions was Guy Bryan, a wholesale dry goods merchant. He gave his nephews training, and as his trade connections in St. Louis and vicinity offered opportunities he gave the boys the benefit of them. William Morrison, the oldest of the brothers, came out to Kaskaskia in 1795 and established stores there and in St. Louis and Cahokia. St. Louis was still under the Spanish flag, and had not begun to give promise of its future. William Morrison married a daughter of General Daniel Bissell of the United States army, who lived in St. Louis for a long time. A grandson of this William Morrison was William R. Morrison, member of Congress for many years from the East St. Louis district, and the leader of his party on the tariff question. Robert Morrison came west from the Philadelphia training school of his uncle in 1798. He married the talented Eliza Lowry, sister of James Lowry Donaldson. The Lowrys were of a famous Scotch family. They migrated from the north of Ireland to Baltimore. James Lowry was given the name of Donaldson, by the Maryland Legislature, to enable him to comply with the bequest under which he inherited an estate. When President Jefferson was making up, with no little care, a commission to straighten out land titles at St. Louis he chose James Lowry Donaldson for the recorder of that commission. Donaldson came out bringing his sister. In 1807 he went back to Baltimore, his sister remaining. The lady had met Robert Morrison at a reception given by William Clark. Mrs. Morrison was the first literary woman of St. Louis. She wrote about St. Louis and the new acquisition of the United States in a manner which attracted wide attention. There was fighting blood as well as literary culture in the Lowrys. James Lowry Donaldson fell at the head of his regiment at the Battle of North Point, resisting the attack of the British on Baltimore in 1814. Of the four sons of Robert Morrison, the oldest went to West Point and died an army officer. The second and third

sons became judges in California, one of them chief justice. The youngest served in the United States navy, entering as midshipman. He left the navy and when the Mexican war came on he raised the first company of recruits in Illinois and went out as lieutenant colonel of the Second Illinois, the regiment which participated in an historic charge at Buena Vista. For his gallantry on that occasion this Morrison was voted a sword by the legislature of Illinois. He was James Lowry Donaldson Morrison, known to two generations of St. Louisans as "Colonel Don Morrison." James Morrison, the third of the Bucks county brothers, settled in St. Charles. His son was William M. Morrison, and his daughters were Mrs. George Collier, Mrs. William G. Pettus, Mrs. Francis Yosti and Mrs. Richard J. Lockwood, wives of men prominent in St. Louis in their generation. The fourth of the Morrisons was Jesse. He came to St. Louis in 1805. Afterwards he joined the St. Louis colony, engaged in developing the lead industry at Galena. Samuel Morrison, the fifth of the brothers, joined the fur traders. He was with Manuel Lisa, and spent some time in the Rocky Mountains. Afterwards he came back to St. Louis and settled in Illinois. The youngest of this famous brotherhood was Guy. He worked in his brother's store and married the widow of Henry, the publisher of the St. Louis Enquirer.

To the uprising of '98 St. Louis was indebted for several notable families. John Chambers, well established as a publisher in Dublin, suffered for political conscience sake. He was discovered to be a member of the order of United Irishmen. With others he was locked up in Fort George, Scotland, and then banished to the continent. The band of patriots reached New York about the beginning of the century. John Chambers was a publisher in Wall street nearly twenty years. His son Charles married Jane Mullanphy, and in 1819 came to St. Louis. He raised a family of six daughters and four sons. B. M. Chambers and Rev. Thomas B. Chambers were two of the sons. The daughters became the wives of Commodore William Smith, U. S. navy; Captain Joseph H. Lamotte, U. S. army; Thomas B. Hudson, B. F. Thomas, George W. Thatcher and James Larkin.

The Bogy family was of Scotch origin. Joseph Bogy, the father of Lewis V. Bogy, who was United States senator, was born in Kaskaskia. The late Senator Bogy's mother was in her youth Mary Vital. While the country west of the Mississippi was still under Spanish domination, Joseph Bogy filled the position of secretary to the governor. L. V. Bogy, the senator, who is identified with the history of St. Louis, was one of seven children.

Besides the Leduc, who in early days held six offices at one time, there was another family of Leducs, which came from France. Louis Leduc settled in St. Louis about 1830. He lived for thirty-five years at the corner of Seventh and Pine streets, where the Fullerton building is. Three Ranken brothers, Hugh, Robert and David, were natives of Londonderry county, Ireland. Hugh and Robert came to St. Louis together in the summer of 1819. They opened a store on Main street. They had been in business in Philadelphia. David Ranken remained in Philadelphia until 1850, when he removed to St. Louis.

The Simonds family came from Vermont in 1817. John Simonds, Jr., who was not much more than a boy when the family arrived, obtained the position of

deputy constable. In 1826 he became a river captain. Subsequently he followed the commission business, and in 1850-60 was one of the leading bankers of St. Louis.

Charles Joseph Latrobe, in his book "The Rambler in North America," made something of a sociological study of St. Louis as he found it in 1835. He described a sharp contrast between the old inhabitants and the newcomers, who at that time were largely from the New England and Middle states:

Since this part of the continent became subject of the flag of the United States, the city of St. Louis, overrun by the speculative New Englanders, has begun to spread over a large extent of ground on the bank of the river, and promises to become one of the most flourishing cities of the west. A new town has in fact sprung up by the side of the old one, with long, well-built streets and handsome rows of warehouses, constructed of excellent gray limestone, quarried on the spot. The inhabitants, of French extraction, are, however, still numerous, both in their part of the town and in the neighboring villages; and it is amusing to a European to step aside from the hurry and bustle of the upper streets, full of pale, scheming faces, depressed brows, and busy fingers, to the quiet quarters of the lower division, where many a characteristic sight and sound may be observed. Who can peep into the odd little coffee-houses with their homely billiard tables—see those cozy balconies and settees—mark the prominent nose, rosy cheek, and the contented air and civil demeanor of the males, and the intelligent eye and gossiping tongue of the females—listen to the sound of the fiddle, or perchance the jingle of a harp-sichord, or spinnet, from the window of the wealthier habitant, crisp and sharp like a box of crickets—without thinking of scenes in the provinces of the mother country.

Of the young Germans whom Dr. Duden's enthusiastic description drew to St. Louis, were Alexander and Henry Kayser and their sister, who became Mrs. Bates. The Kaysers were from the Rhine. To Dr. Duden the banks of Missouri, about Hermann, were the American Rhine. The father of the Kaysers was, during twenty-eight years, a magistrate of high repute under the Duke of Nassau. The Kaysers came in 1833, bringing little but good education, industry and high-mindedness. They farmed; they bought, they were in the land office; they had to do with the civil engineering of the growing city; they advanced rapidly in the estimation of their fellow citizens. Alexander Kayser became a lawyer in 1841; a lieutenant in the Mexican war in 1847; a presidential elector in 1852. With Thomas Allen he took up grape culture and offered prizes for the best products of Missouri wines. He allied himself with one of the oldest families in St. Louis, marrying Eloise P. Morrison, a granddaughter of General Daniel Bissell.

The Zepps were early comers. Their home, in Germany, was Sipenfeld. They settled in St. Louis in 1834. Jacob Zepp, who was identified a lifetime with the cooperage industry was two years of age when his parents came over. John A. Brownlee, a native of New York, the son of the Rev. Mr. Brownlee, one of the eminent Presbyterian ministers of the east, investigated the prospects of Chicago in 1839, and after a year's experience there moved to St. Louis. He began here as a dry goods clerk and became the head of the firm of Brownlee, Homer & Co. When the Merchants' bank, now the Merchants-Laclede National, was organized in 1857, John A. Brownlee was chosen president. The wife of Mr. Brownlee was a Miss Ridgely of Baltimore. Francis Adams Lane was Missouri born, coming to St. Louis from Marion county when he was eighteen to become a merchant. He made a fortune and retired in 1848. This branch of the Lanes was of an old Virginia family, but derived the name from

Presley Carr Lane, who was for thirty years president of the state senate of Pennsylvania. The Pennsylvania Lanes were represented in St. Louis by William Carr Lane, the first mayor, and by Francis Adams Lane, a successful merchant.

From the little village of Cahokia, a few miles from St. Louis, John J. Anderson came in 1827 to be an errand boy in Edward Ropier's store. The father, Reuben Anderson, had moved west from Delaware during the War of 1812. He had charge of military stores at Fort Bellefontaine, and then took up his residence at Cahokia. The father's death when the boy was nine years old cut short the education. From errand boy, John J. Anderson advanced to confidential clerk and to partnership. He established the banking house of John J. Anderson & Co., and in 1857 built upon that the Bank of St. Louis. He obtained the charter and was the president. In the fifties John J. Anderson did some things which made him a man much talked about and admired. He was chairman of the ways and means committee of the council when the city appropriated \$500,000 for the Missouri Pacific and the same amount for the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad. He brought from Vermont the marble and built the first marble building in St. Louis at a cost of \$80,000. He was one of the ten men who undertook the building of the old Southern hotel before the war, to cost \$800,000. James Timon came from Ireland. When he settled in St. Louis in 1819 he had a family of two sons and six daughters. His eldest son became a priest and was Bishop Timon of the Buffalo diocese. The other son was a notary in St. Louis many years. The six daughters grew to womanhood and married.

The Alexander family of Philadelphia sent several representatives to grow up with St. Louis. Joshua Henry Alexander was one of these. He began with steamboating in 1841. He started the first omnibus line which carried travelers by ferry between the hotels of St. Louis and the railroad terminals in East St. Louis, and which Robert P. Tansey developed into the St. Louis Transfer Company. Alexander was at one time comptroller of the city. Maurice W. Alexander was another member of the old Philadelphia family; he kept a drug store in St. Louis so long and so reliably that it became a landmark.

A runaway apprentice boy unwilling to stand the ill treatment of a hard master, B. W. Alexander came from Kentucky to St. Louis when he was nineteen. He had learned the trade of bricklayer and followed it three years. With his savings he started one of the first livery stables in 1831, and followed that business over twenty years. Then he became a commission merchant. After that he was an insurance president, a director of the Missouri Pacific railroad and a director in the Bank of St. Louis, and in the Boatmen's Savings Institution.

The Suttons were two brothers, John L. and James C. Sutton, who came from New Brunswick, New Jersey, in 1820. They established themselves in the blacksmithing business and became known as first-class workmen. James C. Sutton moved out on a large farm just beyond the edge of the city. He raised a family of nine children.

Through the revolution of 1831, in Poland, the population of St. Louis was the gainer. John K. Rychlicki was one of 600 who chose the United

States as the place of exile, and who were brought over to this country in three Austrian frigates. He was the son of a landed proprietor, a graduate of the University of Warsaw. He refused a high court appointment to join the Polish patriots. When the revolution failed, Rychlicki and his companions sought refuge in Austria, only to be compelled to move on at the demand of Russia. In 1834 John K. Rychlicki came to St. Louis and entered upon the practice of his profession as civil engineer. He lived in this city, a splendid representative of the Polish element in the community, fifty-four years.

Anti-Masonic agitation in other parts of the country found an echo in St. Louis in the early thirties. Edward Bates was worshipful master of Missouri Lodge, No. 1. He had held that position most of the time from the formation of the lodge in 1831. Included in the membership were a number of the Americans who had settled in St. Louis. Mr. Bates offered the following at a meeting of the lodge:

Whereas, Under existing circumstances, and in view of the high excitement which unhappily prevails in many parts of the United States on the subject of Freemasonry, many good and virtuous persons have been led to doubt whether the beneficent effects resulting from the exercise of our rules do more than counterbalance the evils inflicted upon society by the passions and prejudices brought into action by our continuing to act in an organized form; and while we feel an undiminished reverence for the excellent principles inculcated by the order, and an unshaken belief in the many and great services it has rendered mankind; nevertheless,

Resolved, That immediately after the close this evening this lodge shall cease to act as an organized body, and that its charter be surrendered and returned to the grand lodge.

In October Missouri lodge passed out of existence. That year the excitement over Freemasonry reached its height. The grand lodge changed its meeting place from St. Louis to Columbia. Three years later the grand lodge returned to St. Louis. In 1842, Missouri lodge was re-opened in St. Louis, many of the old members returning to it.

One of the strongest leaders in the movement which established the Republican party in the Mississippi Valley, was a Virginian, and his wife was the daughter of one of the strongest southern sympathizers in St. Louis. Henry T. Blow was a boy of thirteen years when his father, Captain Peter Blow, moved to St. Louis in 1830 and became the proprietor of the Jefferson hotel. The wife of Captain Peter Blow was Elizabeth Taylor of another old Virginia family. Henry T. Blow had eleven brothers and sisters. From this family came men and women prominent in St. Louis business and society for several generations. Henry T. Blow entered the drug business, and that led him into the investigation of white lead possibilities. He left the drug business to found the Collier White Lead & Oil company, which proved immensely profitable. Mr. Blow was president of the company during a period of great prosperity. His wife was the daughter of Thornton Grimsley. Having amassed a fortune, Mr. Blow became interested in the Iron Mountain railroad. He was more than a business man. He figured as one of the most active participants in the Western Academy of Art, becoming the president of that institution. To inspire competition among the architects of St. Louis for something better than the city

and its suburbs then showed, Mr. Blow offered a premium of \$200 for the best plan of a suburban home to cost not exceeding \$20,000.

Early sentiment of thrift among St. Louisans found expression in a public meeting over which George K. McGunnele presided in February, 1839. This meeting of "merchants, traders and mechanics" was called at the merchants' exchange rooms. Charles Keemle, the newspaper man, was active in the movement. J. Smith Homans made an interesting talk on the advantages from the individual and the civic point of view in a cultivation of saving habits. The meeting declared that "there is a large number of persons in this city who have no profitable means for investment of their surplus earnings." A committee of five was appointed to investigate the practicability of a savings association. Josiah Spaulding, Hamilton R. Gamble and Beverly Allen were invited to give their fellow citizens legal opinion as to whether such an institution could be started without a charter from the legislature. In addition to Mr. McGunnele and Mr. Homans, Asa Wilgus, J. W. Paulding and Wayman Crow were placed on the committee to investigate the subject.

In 1797 the settlement of St. Louis entertained two distinguished visitors in Louis Philippe and Duc de Montpensier, brothers. Louis Philippe was the Duke of Orleans when he was in St. Louis. He became king of France. His downfall occurred in 1848. Louis Philippe fled to England and died there. While on the throne he had said that the man he feared more than any other in the kingdom was Etienne Cabet, the leader of the communists. Soon after the flight of the king, Cabet, at the head of 10,000 communists, marched through the streets of Paris to the seat of the provisional government. The conditions were critical when President Lamartine went to meet Cabet, reached an understanding with him and saved the new government of France. Cabet left France with a number of communists to found a colony. He settled at Nauvoo, the old home of the Mormons, in Illinois. Differences arose. Cabet, with 200 followers, came to St. Louis, in 1853, and established the Icarian community at Cheltenham, now part of the city. After he left France he was accused of embezzlement, and conviction was declared in the absence of defense. Cabet went back to France, secured a rehearing and was acquitted. He returned to St. Louis and died suddenly from an apoplectic stroke in 1856. The community disbanded. Twenty years afterwards, admirers of the Icarian doctrine erected a monument at the grave. They inscribed upon the base of the obelisk, "La Memoire de Cabet." At the foot of the grave they raised upon an iron triangle a crown of thorns. Twenty years more went by bringing the encroachments of the city upon the Old Picker cemetery. In 1908, there were those in St. Louis who protected the grave of the communist, whom King Louis Philippe so feared.

Richard Dowling was the walking historian of St. Louis. He was born in Ireland, but his parents came to St. Louis when the boy was ten years old. In the three quarters of a century that he lived in St. Louis, he came to know more people and to know more about those people than anybody else. He forgot nothing, it seemed. Elihu H. Shepard, the schoolmaster and historian, once said that Dowling, who had been one of his pupils, had "a larger fund of information in regard to St. Louis and its inhabitants than any other person in it."



SAMUEL JAMES



WILLIAM R. McLURE



BENOIST RESIDENCE
Eighth and Pine streets, about 1850



THOMAS PRATT



SAMUEL H. LEATHE
STRONG TYPES OF ST. LOUISANS

The man who rebuilt St. Louis, after the great fire of 1849, was from Connecticut, a Norwich boy, Oliver A. Hart. He had served an apprenticeship to the principal builders in Norwich. Soon after he came to St. Louis, in 1837, he formed a partnership with Augustus Brewster. When the business district was swept by fire, Mr. Hart, as an architect and builder, was in a position to meet the demands for immediate reconstruction.

The best stump speaker of St. Louis, in 1850-60, was one of the most active Presbyterians. Also a fighting man was General Nathan Ranney. A native of Connecticut, he enlisted in the War of 1812, when he was only sixteen years old. He did some brilliant work at the Battle of Plattsburg, heading a squad of twenty men in the night, surprising a town where there was a large British force and carrying away as prisoners three British officers of rank without the loss of a single man in his squad. In 1819, Nathan Ranney began commercial life in St. Louis. His military rank was attained when Governor Dunklin made him brigadier-general of the Missouri militia in 1836. For years General Ranney was president of the board of public schools and of the Missouri Bible society. He made a very notable and effective speech during the financial panic of 1857, when he called together the business men of St. Louis and inspired confidence at a time of great financial stress.

Speaking at the inauguration of Washington University, in 1857, of the consultation at the first meeting held in 1853, under the charter which Wayman Crow had obtained from the Legislature, Samuel Treat said one of the needs for this institution in St. Louis, which was impressed upon the minds of all present, was "the heterogeneous population, with all its diversified and seemingly conflicting habits and casts of thought, out of which is to come an unknown homogeneity of life and society, leading to and defining a moral and mental order, the like of which, perhaps, has never yet been."

From the West Indies in 1848, came a notable infusion. Guadeloupe had been all but ruined by an earthquake three years earlier. The colony was slowly recovering when revolution occurred in France. Louis Philippe fled. The republican government demanded of the colonies recognition of its authority. Agents of the new order declared slavery abolished in Guadeloupe. Industry was paralyzed. Excesses were threatened. Old families, who represented the best blood of France, faced emigration as the least of the evils. America was the unanimous choice of these emigres from Guadeloupe. The first of them sought St. Louis. Others followed until, in 1849, they formed an accession strong in character. Among them were the de Laureal, Boisliniere, Tetard, Du Pavillon, Cherot, Bourdon, de Pombiray, Bouvier, Gibert, Ladevaiz, Du Clos, Peterson and Vouillaire families. Not a few of these emigres of Guadeloupe, who sought St. Louis, were descendants of the old French nobility. They were people of thorough education, deep religious conviction and charming refinement. They brought into the population of St. Louis a strong strain physically. They were people who showed ready adaptability. Edward de Laureal, who was, perhaps, the leader of the movement, was an amateur painter of no little merit. Several of the ladies of these Guadeloupe families became teachers in St. Louis.

St. Louis was the home of those who came to escape religious as well as political intolerance. Kossuth, the Hungarian patriot, on his visit, made this interesting discovery as told by his secretary:

Reality is sometimes as strange as fiction, and persons meet in life in a way which astonishes in a novel. In the summer of 1848, the convent of the Jesuits in Vienna was attacked by the people, led by the students, and the "patres" were expelled. Europe, with the sole exception of England, was at this time not favorable to the Jesuits; but England was sufficiently stocked with them, and so they went farther west until they reached St. Louis; six remained here in the convent, and one of them now instructs the republican youth of the Mound City. But the students of Vienna were in their turn expelled by the soldiers, and one of them who had played a part in the attack on the convent was now also in St. Louis, engaged as printer in the German printing-house.

St. Louis, at that early period, had its growing colony of those who had been conspicuous in political agitation at Vienna. The secretary of Kossuth wrote:

We found here several of our former friends and acquaintances. Mr. Rombauer, late director of the iron mines in the county Gomor, and then of the musket manufactory in Hungary, is now a farmer in Iowa. If ever the iron mines in Missouri shall be developed, he will see a great field open for his activity. Mr. Bernays, formerly attached to the French embassy at Vienna, keeps a store in Illinois. Mr. Boernstein, the popular German author, the Paris correspondent of the Augsburgh Gazette, is the editor of the most influential German paper in the west. They related to us all their adventures, since we had lost sight of them—novels of real life. Mr. Rombauer had been in California. Several of our countrymen thrive there, but he suffered from the climate and returned to the backwoods of Iowa. In California he had met a pioneer seventy years old, who proceeding from western Pennsylvania, had eighteen times sold his settlement; clearing the woods, building a loghouse, and selling it as soon as he was overtaken by the bulk of the emigration. And even, to California he went, not in order to remain, but to sell his newly acquired property as soon as he could do so with profit. A Hungarian private soldier found that California was the terrestrial paradise; he walked on gold and slept on gold, he said. And yet he left the diggings as soon as he had made some money, and bought a farm and four oxen, to live upon the produce of the soil.

In three years, 1848-50, the arrivals of Germans at St. Louis numbered 34,418. The failure of their revolutionary movement was the gain of this city in highly desirable citizens. Enno Sander, of a good family, a graduate of the University of Berlin, was one of the German "Liberals" who assembled at Baden and declared themselves. Under the provisional government that was established Dr. Sander became assistant minister of war. When the revolution failed and the leaders were being condemned to death or to imprisonment, he made his way to Switzerland, and later, in 1852, he reached St. Louis. The Missouri law creating a state board of pharmacy where every druggist must show his ability to practice, was of Dr. Sander's authorship. The St. Louis School of Pharmacy owed much to his inspiration. Franz Sigel, who became a major-general, and whose equestrian statue is in Forest Park, was one of this St. Louis colony of German revolutionary leaders. Sigel was a graduate of the military school at Carlsruhe. When the revolution started in Baden, in 1848, he raised a corp of 4,000 volunteers and fought two battles with the royal troops. He was defeated and escaped to Switzerland. The next year he went back to Baden. After commanding the Army of the Neckar, he was made minister of war of the provisional government and succeeded to the chief command of the revolutionary forces. After several battles he was again compelled to retreat, and took refuge in Switzerland. In 1856 he came to St. Louis and became a teacher of mathematics in the German Institute. That was his vocation until the Commit-

tee of Public Safety organized the Union guards in the winter of 1861, when he was made colonel of one of four regiments first organized.

So strong in numbers and virile in character was the German infusion that some philosophic minds contemplated the theory that the Teutonic element might assimilate the Anglo-Saxon in St. Louis and Missouri. The writer of the book on Kossuth's visit embodied in a suggestive way this idea :

With Mr. Cobb, the editor of an industrial and statistical monthly paper in St. Louis, we had a long conversation on poetry, art and the future of America. He is a great admirer of Goethe, and has the most sanguine expectations as to the future of his country, and especially of the west. He compared the citizens of the United States with the Romans, who had organized the countries under their sway, who had civilized the people, who had introduced art and literature amongst the barbarians, and had assimilated the provinces to Rome. Mr. Pulszky remarked that the Germans had not yet given up the idea that the west might become their inheritance, and that the power of assimilating other races to themselves is perhaps not so strong in the Anglo-Saxons as it is generally thought. The admirer of Goethe replied in good earnest, "it is not impossible that the Germans may overrun us; the Goths and Vandals likewise defeated Rome when it seemed most powerful."

From 1830 to 1850 the population was multiplied by ten. In the latter year 22,340, one-third of the inhabitants of St. Louis, were of German birth. Ten years later, in 1860, St. Louis city and county had 50,510 people "born in Germany." These figures do not include the American born children of German parents. Two-thirds of a century St. Louis has been receiving a strong influx of German immigration. In 1890 there were 66,000 of German birth. The result has not been the Germanizing of St. Louis, but an assimilation which has given notable elements of strength to an American city. "The young man Absalom" has given the minimum of concern to this community. No other large city has shown a larger proportion of sons well worthy of their sires. Degeneracy, in descent, has been the very rare exception. Traditions, public sentiment, family ideals, have contributed to the improvement generation by generation. Sons of St. Louisans, grandsons of St. Louisans, great grandsons of St. Louisans hold places in the foremost ranks of professions and vocations. In the present generation there is no reaction from this admirable and hopeful characteristic of the city. When David R. Francis had demonstrated his capacity for business, before public life had engaged his faculties, he was strongly urged to move from St. Louis to New York. Opportunities for business success on an enlarged scale were presented to him. "No," he said, "I shall remain where I am. I have six boys. St. Louis is a better place than New York to raise sons." To many parents St. Louis has proven a good place for raising boys. Sons worthy of their successful sires have grown up, taken their places in business or the professions, and added the honor of the second generation to such family names as Simmons, Fordyce, Scudder, Walker, McKittrick, Catlin, Davis, Carpenter, Francis, Mallinckrodt, Gregg, Stanard, Pettus, Tower, West, Rumsey, Lambert, McCluney, Niedringhaus, Wells, Capen, Allen. Bringing up the boy in the way he should go was one of the tendencies the German strengthened. The German St. Louisan made a home; he raised his son to follow him in trade, in profession, in industry. He did this so thoroughly, so generally, so impressively that the example reached and affected all St. Louis. Witness the Meyers, the Paulys, the Anheusers, the Lemps, the Preetoriuses, the Busches, the Schottens.

A philosophical view of the composite population of St. Louis and its surrounding territory was presented in 1875 by Judge Nathaniel Holmes:

It is the remarkable fact that the several successive streams of westward migration of the white Aryan race from the primitive Paradise, in the neighborhood of the primeval cities of Sogd and Balkh, in high Asia, long separated in times of migration, and for the most part distinct in the European areas finally occupied by them, and which, in the course of its grand march of twenty thousand years or more, have created nearly the whole of the civilization, arts, sciences and literature of this globe, building seats of fixed habitation and great cities, successively, in the rich valleys of the Ganges, the Tiber and the Po, the Danube, the Rhine, the Elbe, and the Seine and Thames, wandering children of the same great family are now, in these latter times, brought together again in their descendants and representatives, Semitic, Pelasgic, Celtic, Teutonic and Slavonic, here in the newly discovered common land of promise, and are commingled (especially in this great Valley of the Mississippi) into one common brotherhood of race, language, law and liberty.

The census of 1880 was a great disappointment to the people of St. Louis. To be informed by the government that the growth had been only 39,658 in ten years was a shock. The previous decade, from 1860 to 1870 had shown, on the face of the returns, a growth of 125,286. There was something wrong. A movement by citizens to discover errors in the count of 1880, conducted by Professor Calvin M. Woodward, showed some errors of omission, but not what would account for the surprising comparison. A committee of citizens went to Washington to protest against the injustice done to the city by the census of 1880. Carl Schurz was still secretary of the interior. The census office was a part of that department. He received the committee. Barely waiting to hear the protest voiced, the secretary said:

"Gentlemen! I, too, am a citizen of St. Louis. I was very indignant when I saw this report of our population. I have been investigating. See here!"

The secretary drew from his desk records of the St. Louis census of 1870. When the committee had examined the evidence, there was nothing further to be said by way of protest against the census of 1880.

From 1860 to 1880, twenty years, the population of St. Louis increased 164,944. That is what the honest counts show. The census of 1870 must be discredited and ignored in any analysis of the growth of the population. Possibly a fair division of the growth by decades would allot two-fifths of the 164,944 to the ten years from 1860 to 1870 and three-fifths to the decade from 1870 to 1880. The next ten years, from 1880 to 1890, showed an increase of 101,248. From 1890 to 1900 the increase was 123,468. From 1900 to 1910 the increase was 111,791.

Daniel M. Grissom made what must stand as the best study of St. Louis population figures. He pointed out that in 1830, St. Louis, with a population of 4,977, stood forty-fourth among the cities of the United States. Ten years later St. Louis was twentieth. In 1850 St. Louis was the sixth, and held that place in 1860. The year 1870, it has been explained, is unworthy of consideration for population figures. In 1880 this city stood fifth, and continued to hold that rank until the consolidation of New York and Brooklyn gave the fourth place to St. Louis. In eighty years St. Louis has passed in population thirty-eight other cities, and has been passed by but one city, Chicago. St. Louis has held the present rank twenty years.

The growth in population as shown by the decennial census has been as follows:

1800.....	957
1810.....	1,400
1820.....	4,928
1830.....	5,852
1840.....	16,469
1850.....	77,860
1860.....	185,578
1870.....	313,301
1880.....	350,522
1890.....	451,770
1900.....	575,238
1910.....	687,029

Scharff, an eastern author of standing as a historian, twenty-five years ago pointed out in a striking manner the convergence of the early explorations and of the later migrations in the vicinity of St. Louis:

The French who went west from Quebec to Lake Superior, those who descended the Wabash, the Illinois, the Kaskaskia and the Mississippi, and those who ascended the latter stream from the Balize, all met and settled within forty or fifty miles of the city, and the oldest settlement, Cahokia, is within sight of its tallest spires. So likewise the three chief lines of English settlement from New England across western New York to the lakes, from Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia westward to the Ohio, and from Virginia, and the Carolinas to Tennessee and Kentucky, all converged at St. Louis. It is rather more than a coincidence that Coronado and DeSoto, the one starting on the Pacific coast and the other on the Atlantic, would actually have crossed paths if they had projected their outward marches two hundred miles farther, and their meeting point would have been very near the site of St. Louis. It is rather more of a coincidence, likewise, that the road of the trading pack and wagon of the New England emigrant, the path of the Virginia ranger and Kentucky hunter, the devious way of the Canadian *coureur des bois* and *voyageur* and the route of the trapper should all of them, have led to St. Louis. In the ante-chamber of the representative of the French ancient regime, or the Spanish *hidalgo* who might chance to be commandant at old St. Louis, but in no other place on the continent, it would have been natural for Daniel Boone, "backwoodsman of Kentucky," to meet and exchange adventures with the Yankee peddler from Connecticut, the Jesuit priest from Minnesota, the Canadian half-breed trapper from the head waters of the Missouri, and the sugar planter of Opelousas and Terrebonne. So races and nationalities confront one another today in St. Louis and so likewise, in the remotest past of America's connection with historic periods, we find that convergence of races and nationalities toward the central point of the great Mississippi basin, which was to eventuate in the founding of St. Louis and its establishment as the key city of the mightiest river system upon the globe.

A remarkable gathering of St. Louis pioneers in business, and in the professions, took place in June, 1858. John F. Darby, ex-mayor and ex-congressman, a man of means, occupied a residence where the new Third National bank building is now, on Fifth and Olive streets. He gave a pioneers' dinner, his guests being the men prominent in business and the professions, when he was admitted to the bar, in 1827. Thirty-one years these thirty-one St. Louisans had been engaged in the building of St. Louis:

- | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 John O'Fallon. | 16 Edward Bates. |
| 2 William Carr Lane. | 17 Sullivan Blood. |
| 3 Robert Simpson. | 18 Pierre Chouteau, Jr. |
| 4 Peter Ferguson. | 19 Robert Campbell. |
| 5 Joseph Charless. | 20 Edward Walsh. |
| 6 Archibald Gamble. | 21 George K. McGunneble. |
| 7 Thornton Grimsley. | 22 Henry Von Phul. |
| 8 Henry Shaw. | 23 Louis A. Benoist. |
| 9 John Finney. | 24 Daniel D. Page. |
| 10 William Finney. | 25 Bernard Pratte. |
| 11 Charles Keemle. | 26 Hamilton R. Gamble. |
| 12 John H. Gay. | 27 Asa Wilgus. |
| 13 John Simonds. | 28 Augustine Kerr. |
| 14 Samuel Willi. | 29 Thomas Andrews. |
| 15 Louis A. Labeaume. | 30 Augustus H. Evans. |
| | 31 Nathaniel Paschall. |

Mr. Darby missed no opportunity to impress upon the rising generation the truth about the men who had made St. Louis what it was in his day:

One great cause of the rise, progress and growth of the city of St. Louis may be said to be the character of the men who were combined together in the building up of this proud and prosperous metropolis. Take the men in all branches of business—the merchants, the mechanics, the steamboatmen, the lawyers, the doctors, and in fact men in every pursuit of life—and we must admit that there never was brought together such a rare and rich combination of talent, genius and industry as were united in the city of St. Louis some forty or fifty years ago. These men all seemed to be governed by the noblest impulses of our nature, and directed by the strictest principles of honor, honesty, uprightness and integrity that can control and influence the conduct and actions of men. In fact every man's word was his bond, and could be implicitly relied upon. The prominent men who gave, as it were, tone, direction, and management to affairs, were, so to speak, the choice and picked men from almost every other state in the Union; for they had not only come from almost every other state but in many instances from almost every county in almost every other state. Such were the men in whose hands were placed the destinies, fortunes, and future grandeur of our noble city.

The period of greatest immigration was from 1840 to 1870. Had the percentage of increase continued after 1870, St. Louis would have had 2,000,000 population in 1890 and 3,500,000 population in 1900. In the year 1911 the city would have been approaching 5,000,000 population. This was not to be expected. The human tide had been at flood. In the nature of things it must ebb. In 1870 St. Louis contained 112,000 people born in foreign countries. They represented more than forty geographical subdivisions of the world. Of the 200,000 residents who were natives of the United States, 80,000, almost one-half, had been born outside of Missouri. Their places of nativity were distributed among thirty-seven states and eight territories. Every state and every territory, except Alaska and Arizona, had contributed natives to the population of St. Louis. New York led, with 9,250 of her sons and daughters in St. Louis. Ohio had contributed, 6,800; Illinois, 6,700, and Pennsylvania 5,800 to St. Louis. These states were represented by larger numbers than the other states. But the significant fact is that while these three states had led in numbers, they had not contributed more than their quotas in proportion to their own population. Other much smaller states had furnished their proportionate numbers. Every New England state had given liberally. Connecticut born residents of St. Louis were 628; the Massachusetts born, 2,542; the New Hampshire, 343; the Rhode Island, 150; the



REV. DR. TRUMAN MARCELLUS POST

From a picture taken at the time he was
Professor of History in Washington
University. Before the Civil war



JAMES SOULARD



THE BERTHOLD MANSION

Fifth and Pine streets

Maine, 712; the Vermont, 578. To summarize, the population of St. Louis, in 1870, included 5,000 men and women born in the New England states.

St. Louisans of New Jersey nativity numbered 955; of Maryland birth, 1,502; of Delaware, 56. It is a matter of some surprise to learn that, in 1870, there were living in St. Louis 251 white and 30 colored people born in the District of Columbia.

Thirty-nine years ago St. Louis was classed by many persons as a southern city. It is a fact that in 1870 the white natives of all of the southern states, resident in St. Louis, did not equal the New Yorkers of St. Louis adoption. There were 2,235 Virginians and 3,706 Kentuckians in St. Louis. Louisiana came next with 1,882, and Tennessee fourth with 1,439. Other southern states contributed: Alabama, 462; Arkansas, 246; Florida, 56; Georgia, 340; Mississippi, 554; North Carolina, 190; South Carolina, 150; Texas, 120; West Virginia, 45.

Indiana had sent to St. Louis 2,439; Michigan, 746; Wisconsin, 660. The states west of the Mississippi, in 1870, had not many to spare, but all of them had sent of their natives to swell the population of St. Louis. The Iowa born were 1,424; Kansas, 278; Minnesota, 145; Nebraska, 58; Nevada, 1; Oregon, 2. The territorial natives resident in St. Louis were not numerous, but were well scattered: Colorado, 20; Dakota, 5; Indian Territory, 5; Montana, 9; New Mexico, 27; Utah, 18; Washington, 4; Wyoming, 1.

The widely scattered sources of the foreign immigration to St. Louis must be noted. Not only were the sources many but the varying strength of these numerous inflowing strains was remarkable. The Canada born numbered 1,841 in 1870; the England born, 5,366; the France, 2,788; the Bohemia, 2,652; the Austria, 751; the Belgium, 254; the Denmark, 178; the Hungary, 126; the Italy, 785. The two great armies of immigrants in St. Louis were German and Irish. The fourteen states of Germany were represented in St. Louis in 1870 by 50,640, while those born in Ireland numbered 32,239. Natives of Africa, Asia, Australia, Central America, Mexico, Cuba, Greece, Norway and the Pacific Islands were residents of St. Louis.

"Most American of cities," St. Louis was pronounced by an observant traveler recently. Three decades, from 1870 to 1900, constitute a period of rapid assimilation of the contributions by countries and states to the population of St. Louis. In 1900 the American born residents of St. Louis numbered 463,888. The foreign born population of St. Louis, in 1900, was 111,356, a few hundreds less than the foreign born in 1870. St. Louis had Americanized with great rapidity. The growth of the city in thirty years was of American birth. Germany led in 1900 as in 1870. The Germany born dwellers in St. Louis in 1900 were 58,781, which was an increase of 8,000 over 1870. The Ireland born were 19,420, a falling off of 13,000. The loss has been made up from other sources. Russia, as a place of nativity, was hardly known in St. Louis in 1870. The Russia born were 4,785 in 1900. The England born increased 500; the Canada born, 1,300; Austria born, 1,800. The Polanders formed a new element in the foreign born population numbering nearly 3,000 in 1900. Very few natives of Switzerland were included in the population of St. Louis in 1870. In 1900 there were 2,752 Switzerland born. Another country with a much stronger representation in 1900, was Sweden. The natives of Sweden were 1,116. The St.

Louis population of 1900 included natives of Africa, the Atlantic Islands, Australia, the Pacific Islands, Central America, India, Finland, as well as the better known foreign lands.

Perhaps the handsomest of the young St. Louisans of his day was Sylvestre Labbadie. He had been sent to France for his education. He brought back with him the polish of the old world. As he grew in years, Mr. Labbadie could not live up to the portrait which had been painted of him in his youth. One day he saw little Virginia Sarpy looking at the portrait. He said to her:

"You are thinking what a pretty boy I was, and what an ugly old man I am."

"Yes, uncle," said the candid little Virginia.

"You shall have my portrait to remember me by," said the old man; and the transfer was made.

Maryland had given to St. Louis long before the Civil war a remarkable group of men in the persons of Peter and Jesse Lindell with their keen judgment of future real estate values, Michael McEnnis with his bent toward manufacturing, John Kennard and Edward Bredell of mercantile fame, Thomas T. Gantt of striking personality in the law, and Rufus J. Lackland and Robert A. Barnes with native qualities which made them wonderfully successful in financial affairs. Chester Harding was a pioneer in American portrait painting, who spent much time in St. Louis. He was a born artist, self trained. In his youth he was a chair maker. Before he died he was recognized as among the first if not the very foremost of portrait painters of this country. One of his notable works was the portrait of Governor William Clark. Another of Harding's historic pictures was of Daniel Boone, whom he visited at the old Boone home near St. Charles. When the artist entered he saw Boone lying on the floor toasting a piece of venison fastened to the ramrod of his gun. When Dr. Robert Simpson celebrated his eighty-eighth birthday in 1872, at the residence of his son-in-law, Gen. A. J. Smith, he was the oldest American resident of St. Louis. A keel boat brought him to this city on the first of April, 1809. He remembered that he made his way up the Mississippi by means of poles, cordelle and sails, and that he acted as bowman for the craft. Dr. Simpson was one of the original anti-slavery men of St. Louis. When he was nominated, in 1819, for election to the first constitutional convention of Missouri, he was on the anti-slavery ticket, and with his associates was beaten. Three years later, in 1822, he went to the legislature and presented the petition upon which St. Louis secured the first city charter. Dr. Simpson was in many respects ahead of his times. He presented in the legislature a bill for the protection of the rights of women and for the protection of homesteads. His views were rejected at that time, but the doctor lived to see these same principles placed upon the statute books of many states.

A group of seven Scotchmen came to this country and founded Dumfries in Virginia. The location was at the head of navigation on a creek emptying into the Potomac some distance below the home of George Washington. Dumfries was a commercial center, a port of no small importance one hundred and fifty years ago. Richard Graham was a descendant of one of the Dumfries founders. He was a major in the War of 1812, aide-de-camp on the staff of William Henry Harrison. After the war the government made him Indian agent

at St. Louis. Deciding to make St. Louis his home, Major Graham bought a country seat in the Florissant Valley. He had previously lived some time in Kentucky, and had become a personal friend of Henry Clay. Mr. Clay chided Major Graham for his preference of St. Louis over Kentucky. He suggested that in view of the luxurious growth of brush on the farm, the major had better give his place the name of Hazelwood. He wrote to the major addressing him at "Hazelwood." The major accepted the name not as Henry Clay intended it, as a joke, but seriously. Hazelwood—the place is known to this day. Major Graham married Catharine Mullanphy in 1825. His daughter, Lily Graham, was the first wife of D. M. Frost, who, at the time of the marriage, was a lieutenant in the United States army.

A granddaughter of Major Graham, by his first wife, Miss Fox of Kentucky, was the wife of Judge Wickham. Born in Virginia, educated at Georgetown University in Washington, a resident for some time in Kentucky, Major Graham became thoroughly contented with his St. Louis home. He wrote back to brothers and friends in Virginia repeatedly that nothing could ever induce him to give up his home in St. Louis county. He lived there until 1857.

The O'Neil family was from Roscrea, County Tipperary. Several brothers, two sisters and a widowed mother came to this country in 1829. They settled at Utica in the Mohawk Valley of New York state and remained there eight years. Moving westward the family remained near Dayton a short time and then came to St. Louis. One of the brothers was Joseph O'Neil. He founded and successfully conducted the Citizens' Savings bank for many years. He managed, with signal skill, the business affairs of the late Archbishop Kenrick at an earlier period. He was one of the founders of Forest Park. So upright and scrupulously honest in his dealings was Joseph O'Neil that a fellow countryman in a spirit of levity gave him the name of "Holy Joe." The name was recognized as having fitness, and clung to Mr. O'Neil all of his life. The Erskines were New Hampshire people of Quaker descent. Greene Erskine before he came to St. Louis, in 1832, had made a fortune in trade at St. Thomas in the West Indies, where he had served in the Danish militia. Part of that fortune he had invested in the founding and publishing of the Knickerbocker Magazine of New York before he established himself in the grocery trade on the Levee in St. Louis. The Uhrigs, for generations, were river men in Bavaria. They handled commerce on the Main. When Franz Joseph Uhrig came to America, in 1836, he managed a ferry on the Susquehanna for eight dollars a month and board. He worked his way to St. Louis in 1838, bought a flatboat and freighted cordwood to the city from the Illinois river, where his brother Andrew had a farm. That led to steamboating. Ignatz Uhrig, a young brother, came over from Lauderbach in 1839. The two Uhrigs left the river to engage in the brewery business, and in 1852 bought from William Beaumont the corner of Washington and Jefferson avenues, to be known for more than half a century as Uhrig's cave.

The Dyers are of Virginia descent with American patriots for ancestors. Thomas Bickley Dyer came west with his parents from Goochland county in 1826. He married, in 1844, a daughter of Judge William C. Carr, from whom Carr Place, a fashionable residence street in its day, took its name. A son is William Carr Dyer, the educator. David Patterson Dyer, the Federal judge,

came, in 1841, from Henry county, Virginia, his parents settling in Lincoln county. His father was a soldier in the War of 1812, and his grandfather was in the Revolutionary army. David P. Dyer, a Douglas Democrat, raised a regiment and served in the Civil war.

When the city of St. Louis extends its official limits and Clayton becomes a ward, when the county courthouse has outlived its usefulness and gives place to a municipal structure, there will be found in the cavity of the corner stone an old Bible with this inscription:

In 1830 two young men, George Cornwell and Richard Tunis, came to the State of Missouri as merchants from Philadelphia. When George Cornwell left home his mother gave him this morocco-bound Bible. He died in St. Louis in 1832, and before he died he gave this Bible to his friend Richard Tunis and he in turn gave it to John F. Darby, who has had it in his possession forty-six years this 9th of May, 1878. John F. Darby deposited with his own hands this Bible in the place for the reception of mementos in this corner stone of the new court house of St. Louis county.

A group of men who became landholders in the county and whose descendants are numerous in both the city and county of St. Louis migrated from Caroline county, Virginia, in 1830-40. There were three Tylers, William, Henry and Zachary; two Colemans, Massey and Daniel; William Boxley. About the same time arrived Rev. Robert G. Coleman with four sons, from Spottsylvania, Virginia.

Army and navy have contributed to the population character of St. Louis. The settlement had a garrison from the time St. Ange de Bellerive marched up from Fort Chartres, in 1766. There came in 1770, and for thirty years thereafter the Spanish detachments. As they left the service many officers and soldiers, French and Spanish, married the daughters of the fur traders and became habitants of the settlement.

A valuable strain of patriotic military spirit St. Louis gained through the Paul family. The San Domingo insurrection of the negroes, in 1793, prompted several French families to seek refuge in the United States, and ultimately to find homes in St. Louis. The children of the Paul family were at school in France when their father left San Domingo. They came to the United States and lived in Baltimore for some time. Rene Paul came to St. Louis to go into business with Bartholomew Berthold in 1809. He married Marie Therese Chouteau, the oldest daughter of Colonel Auguste Chouteau, the stepson of Laclède. The oldest son of this marriage, Gabriel Rene, went to West Point. He served in the Indian wars, in the Mexican war and in the Civil war, attaining the rank of brigadier-general in the regular army. At Gettysburg, General Paul was left for dead on the field. When the surgeons finally got to him, they discovered signs of life and revived him. Blinded by the wounds received, General Paul recovered and lived more than twenty years after the battle. The first wife of General Paul was the daughter of Colonel Whistler, who commanded the regiment with which he served when a lieutenant. Three daughters of General Paul married into the army. The second son of Rene Paul commanded a company of the St. Louis Legion in the Mexican war. A brother-in-law of Rene Paul fought with the Americans at the Battle of New Orleans. Daughters of Rene Paul married Peter N. Ham, Charles Dubreuil and Frederick Beckwith.

In 1804 Bellefontaine, north of St. Louis a few miles, became the cantonment for a large force of United States troops. Wilkinson, the commanding general of the army, was located there some months. Through this cantonment, the Bissells became identified with St. Louis. Six brothers, named Bissell, lived in Connecticut. All of them fought in the Revolutionary war. One of their descendants was Major Russell Bissell. When General Wilkinson came with the troops to establish a garrison near St. Louis, Russell Bissell was with him. Wilkinson made his headquarters in St. Louis. Major Bissell was placed in command at Cantonment Bellefontaine, as they called it, the fort on the high bluff overlooking the Missouri river. Major Bissell died at Fort Bellefontaine in 1807, and was buried in the little garrison graveyard. His son Lewis Bissell was a captain in the regular army, but after he left the service he came back here and lived at Bissell's Point, near the reservoir in North St. Louis. After Major Bissell came Colonel Hunt in command of Bellefontaine, and then another Bissell, General Daniel, son of one of the Revolutionary Bissells of Connecticut. He built barracks. Cantonment Bellefontaine became Fort Bellefontaine. General Bissell went south to fight in the War of 1812. He never forgot his liking for St. Louis. When he was mustered out, in 1821, he came back, bought a large tract of beautiful rolling country, nine miles up the road to Fort Bellefontaine, and lived there the rest of life. He had three daughters and one son. One daughter married William Morrison; another, Risdon H. Price, and the third Major Thompson Douglass of the United States army. James Bissell, the son, went to school in Connecticut, came back to St. Louis and lived on the home place. Few American families could show such a military record as the Bissells of Middletown, Connecticut. The father and all of the sons were in the Revolutionary army. Four of the sons continued in the regular army. Daniel Bissell was a boy when he enlisted as private. He was a brigadier-general when he left the regular army, in 1821, to make his home in the suburbs of St. Louis.

John Francis Hamtramck was a Prussian who joined the American army in the Revolution and fought gallantly. He remained in the army after peace was declared and obtained high rank. Upon the monument erected to him in Detroit is the inscription: "The United States in him have lost a valuable officer, a good citizen, and member of society; his loss to his country is incalculable, and his friends will never forget the memory of Hamtramck." Colonel Hamtramck has many descendants in St. Louis. He might be said to be the founder of a military family in this country, so many of those descendants have given good account of themselves in uniform. A son, who bore his father's name served in the regular army and resided for some years in St. Louis. He commanded a regiment in the Mexican war. One daughter married Captain Thomas J. Harrison while he was at Jefferson Barracks. Another daughter married Captain Joseph Cross, a former army officer. A third daughter married Dr. Harvey Lane, of Missouri. Two daughters of Mrs. Lane became the wives of Henry G. Soulard and Julius Chenie, of St. Louis.

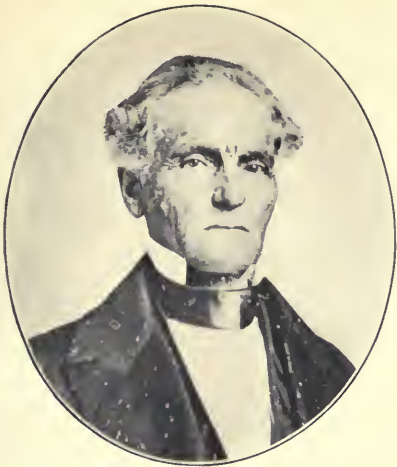
The July day, in 1826 that Captain Stephen Watts Kearny, brevet major, led four companies of the First Regiment of Infantry up the river bluff to the Rock Spring was the beginning of Jefferson Barracks. Kearny's men pitched their tents near the spring. John Quincy Adams was President of the United States.

Kearny called the camp "Cantonment Adams." A couple of months afterwards, on the seventeenth of September, 1826, Colonel Leavenworth, with the Third Infantry, came down the river and formed a separate camp on the reservation. Leavenworth took the name of "Camp Miller" in honor of Governor Miller, of Missouri. But in a few weeks, on the twenty-third of October, the order was issued from the War Department that the new post was to be called "Jefferson Barracks" as a tribute to Thomas Jefferson, who had died the Fourth of July, just six days before Kearny and his men occupied the grounds. General Atkinson was the department commander, but occupied headquarters in St. Louis. The immediate command at the Barracks devolved upon Leavenworth. As the first step toward a permanent post the soldiers were set to work building log houses, into which they moved before cold weather. Leavenworth was a born soldier. Although he was stationed only a short time at Jefferson Barracks he established the Infantry School of Instruction. This was the first army service school for infantry in this country. From Jefferson Barracks, Leavenworth went, in 1827, to establish the fort and post in Kansas, which bears his name. Atkinson and Kearny remained to become identified with the history of St. Louis. Lieut. Col. Philip St. George Cooke, in his scenes and adventures in the army, left a pen picture of Jefferson Barracks life in the early days:

None of the actors in those scenes can fail to recur with some pleasure to the gaieties of 1827-8 at Jefferson Barracks. One of the regiments was in cantonment on the south side of the first hill; a quarter of a mile farther on another, the 6th infantry, was encamped; on the crest of the next hill were extensive stone barracks in progress; and still lower down, on its southern declivity, were encamped the 1st infantry; some staff and other officers and their families were in huts in various detached situations. Two of the regiments had a few months before arrived from a remote outpost. A day or two after joining, I, with several friends, dined at the regimental mess of the 6th. It then was a mess indeed—in numbers and spirit a delightful mess, such as few regiments now have. The president was Capt. ———, with his splendid whiskers and moustache, dignified and easy in his manners, he seemed a type of the old school. Capt. ——— soon after became in low health, and being of impatient temper, his spirits sank under it; his life was in danger; and as a last resort Surgeon G. prescribed a singular mode of treatment—a novel kind of excitement which was intrusted to Lieutenant R———. He paraded daily around the captain's tent with a long face, whistling the death march; and it so happened that being first on the list, the captain's death would cause his promotion. But Capt. ———, taking this view of it, waxed wrathful, and swore he would not die for his tormentor's sake; and the cure was made.

What would thirty young officers be at? Not much time was consumed in considering such a question; in all intervals of duty, we gladly resigned ourselves to the influences of chance or impulse, and sufficient to the day were the pleasures thereof. None thought of the morrow. To the many all was new, even the service itself—a new country and manners, and there were some new beauties. On New Year's morn many were they who found themselves at that log temple of hospitality, the mess house of the 1st, and paid their devoirs to a half whiskey barrel in the middle of an immense table, foaming to the top with egg-nog. The 6th regiment that day entertained all at the post at dinner, and midnight found us still at the table. On the 8th of January, the 1st gave a splendid ball in an unfinished barrack; a noble display of flags was above and around us, with hundreds of bright muskets with a candle in the muzzle of each. Many from St. Louis were there; and Louisville, too, had several beautiful representatives.

An army marriage of 1841, which gave St. Louis a notable citizen, was that of Major Henry S. Turner and Julia M. Hunt, the daughter of Theodore Hunt and Anne Lucas. Major Turner was of Virginia parentage, his mother having



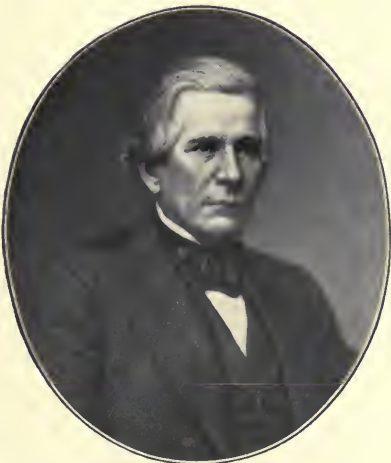
GEN. NATHAN RANNEY



JAMES CLEMENS, JR.



JOHN SAPPINGTON



WILLIAM G. PETTUS
Secretary of First Constitutional
Convention of Missouri



FRIEDRICH MUENCH

STRONG TYPES OF ST. LOUISANS

been a member of the Randolph family. Coming out of West Point, Lieutenant Turner was chosen, with two other officers of the dragoons, to attend the royal school of cavalry in France. At that time the French led all other nations in the perfection of their cavalry service.

The young American officer came home after fifteen months' study. Lieutenant Turner, with the help of one of the other officers, translated and adapted the French tactics, with some modifications, for the cavalry branch of the United States army. It became a standard authority. In the Mexican war, Lieutenant Turner was made Major Turner for gallant service in three battles. He retired from the army with the intention of leading the ideal life of a country gentleman in St. Louis county. After 1850 he was assistant treasurer of the United States at St. Louis several years, and then became associated with James H. Lucas in the banking business. He served in the Missouri legislature just before the Civil war. He was one of the creators of the great St. Louis Fair.

Two officers of the army, who settled in St. Louis and became men of affairs, were the McRees. They were sons of a Revolutionary officer, Major Griffith John McRee, who settled in North Carolina after the independence of the United States was acknowledged. The two sons, William and Samuel McRee were educated at West Point. William McRee was in the War of 1812. General Winfield Scott said of him that "he combined more genius and military science with high courage than any other officer who participated in the War of 1812." William McRee came to St. Louis about 1830 and made this his home until he died in the cholera epidemic of 1833. Samuel McRee remained in the army until after the Mexican War, when he became a resident of St. Louis. He owned considerable property near the crossing of the Manchester road and the Missouri Pacific railroad. When this land was sold and built upon as a suburb of St. Louis the neighborhood was called McRee City. Near by was a large spring which emptied into Chouteau's Pond; this was McRee spring.

One of the military men who settled in St. Louis and became an excellent citizen when he retired from the army, was Colonel Joshua B. Brant. A native of Hampton County, Massachusetts, the son of John Brant, a Revolutionary patriot, Joshua B. Brant entered the army at the opening of the War of 1812 with New York troops commanded by Captain H. W. Odell. He fought at Fort George, at Forty Mile Creek, at Lundy's Lane. After the war he remained in the army and advanced to the grade of lieutenant-colonel, taking part in Indian wars. From 1823 to 1829 Colonel Brant's home, so far as a regular army officer could have one, was in St. Louis. He entered business life in St. Louis in 1839, when he left the army, and was the leading spirit in some of the largest building operations here during the forties. The first wife of Colonel Brant was Elizabeth Lovejoy, of Stratford, Connecticut. The second wife was Sarah Benton, a daughter of the brother of Thomas H. Benton.

The Civil war drew some of the best blood of St. Louis to both sides. But when peace came St. Louis drew from both armies new citizens of force and character. A cavalry officer in a North Carolina regiment, Dr. Joseph J. Lawrence came to St. Louis not long after the close of the war and founded the Medical Brief.

The capital of North Carolina sent to St. Louis two sons of Scotch-Irish descent, who were to become eminent in their professions, Rev. Dr. Samuel Brown McPheeters and Dr. William M. McPheeters, the physician. Samuel Brown McPheeters and Francis P. Blair were classmates and roommates at the University of North Carolina in 1841. Twenty years later the McPheeters brothers and Blair were conspicuous personalities in St. Louis. Blair was in the front of the movement to hold Missouri loyal. McPheeters, the physician, was in sympathy with the south. He gave up extensive practice and the position of surgeon at the Marine hospital to go with the Confederate army. McPheeters, the divine, was of Union sympathy. He was holding a commission as chaplain in the United States army, and strongly advised southern officers that it was their duty to be loyal to the government. Returning to the pastorate of what was then the Pine Street Presbyterian church, now the Grand avenue, Dr. McPheeters became the central figure in an ecclesiastical controversy, the conditions of which must seem almost incredible to this generation. He had taken the oath of allegiance. While chaplain he had declared his intention to fight if the Confederates attacked the fort where he was stationed. But in the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church he took ground against action on "The State of the Country," holding that the church was prohibited by its constitution "to meddle with civil affairs which concern the commonwealth." The other side of the controversy was taken by Rev. Dr. Robert J. Breckenridge. In the bitterness Dr. McPheeters was called a traitor. The controversy was taken up in St. Louis where the war feeling was very strong. Dr. McPheeters was ordered, by the military authorities, to cease preaching and to leave Missouri in ten days. Then came President Lincoln's famous order declaring that the government of the United States could not attempt to run the churches. The order of banishment was countermanded. The local presbytery became involved. By church decree Dr. McPheeters was separated from the Pine street congregation. When the war was over he was invited to return, but his health had broken under the strain. He suffered martyrdom for belief in the spiritual independence of the church. The McPheeters case was one of the St. Louis tragedies of the Civil war. Dr. McPheeters came back to resume his practice. He had been a hero in the cholera epidemic of 1849. He became a leader in moral movements and was the first president of the society for the suppression of vice, formed to meet the demoralization, which was part of St. Louis' inheritance from the war.

An intense Union man of southern birth and education was John D. Stevenson. He was not only a native of Virginia, but received his education in the Old Dominion and in South Carolina. He practiced law in Virginia before coming west in 1841. His wife was Miss Hannah Letcher, a first cousin of John Letcher, the war governor of Virginia. But with such antecedents John D. Stevenson put aside his law books and went into the Union army in the spring of 1861 as colonel of the Seventh Missouri Infantry. As a member of the Missouri legislature he had opposed, with all of his might, the efforts of Governor Jackson to have Missouri join the southern Confederacy.

Five Wears, brothers, fought in the battle of King's Mountain and helped to win one of the decisive patriot victories of the Revolution. From one of the five Wears descended James Hutchinson Wear, the wholesale merchant, and David

Walker Wear, the lawyer, residents of St. Louis about the time of the Civil war. The father of the Wears was a pioneer settler of Missouri, coming from Tennessee. He founded the town of Otterville. James Hutchinson Wear founded the Wear-Boogher Dry Goods company. Albert S. Aloe came from Edinburgh, Scotland. By way of preparation to establish himself as an optician in St. Louis, in 1862, he sailed before the mast around Cape Horn, and built a sugar mill in South America. Weshpool, Wales, was the birthplace of David Harries Evans, who was the first resident on Lindell boulevard, to contribute ground for the widening and beautifying of that thoroughfare. Among the heirlooms which Samuel H. Leathe treasured, in his St. Louis home, was the musket his grandfather carried in the Battle of Lexington. Before he came to St. Louis to reside permanently, this son of Massachusetts was successively a sailor, an explorer in the Rocky Mountains, a horse trader in the south, a '49er in California, a merchant in Boston. Such was the diversified experience which prepared him for his part in the St. Louis firm of Pettus & Leathe, importers of works of art.

Descendants of Solomon Slayback, who was with Washington at Valley Forge, came to Missouri by way of Cincinnati, where Dr. Abel Slayback was a leading member of the medical profession early in the last century. Alexander L. Slayback, a grandson of the Revolutionary patriot, was educated in Missouri and settled in Lexington of this state. Three of his sons were residents of St. Louis after the Civil war. Charles McLaran, the head of the McLaran family, came from Baltimore. His father was a Revolutionary officer. His grandfather was obliged to leave Scotland for engaging in the movement to put Charles on the throne. As a member of the first board of police commissioners Colonel McLaran participated in the organization of the metropolitan police system. The family of which Henry B. Belt as an elder brother became the head was from Virginia, but lived in Huntsville, Alabama, in 1815. There Henry B. Belt was born. His father was interested in mineral prospecting. The family moved to Missouri between 1820 and 1830. In the cholera epidemic at St. Louis of 1849, the mother, a brother and two sisters were victims. Henry B. Belt as a youth was a clerk in the sheriff's office many years. He was best known as a real-estate dealer, forming with John G. Priest in 1853 the firm of Belt & Priest, which continued in business twenty-seven years.

Nearing the end of the century, about 1895, grand old men gave strength of character to St. Louis. They were eighty, but they were active. Their influence in the community was impressive. It was felt in business and in all of the professions. These octogenarians pursued their vocations regularly. The youngest of them had been born as early as 1815. Others could date back their birthdays to 1807 and 1809 and 1812. These men were long time St. Louisans. They had seen the city's evolution. They had not relinquished their interest in or their hold on the affairs of life. They constituted an element such as probably no other city could show and such as St. Louis had not before known. There were other St. Louisans full of years and honors, but they had retired and were enjoying well earned repose from active duties. Life in St. Louis has always encouraged longevity. There has been no better place to grow old. Most men withdraw from cares at three-score and ten. St. Louis has had its full quota of these. But in addition, the citizenship of 1895 included these notable personalities who were

to be seen day after day engaged in business or professional work, not as vigorously as in earlier life, perhaps, but still to be accounted as part of the city's active life.

When Augustus F. Shapleigh entered the hardware business steel had not come into use for pens. Daniel R. Garrison, the moving spirit in the construction of the first railroad leading east from St. Louis, was 34 years old before St. Louis thought of such a thing as a railroad, and when the first public meeting was held to agitate on the subject. He was past 40 before the locomotive reached the Mississippi. Carlos S. Greeley established a wholesale grocery at St. Louis when Chicago was simply Fort Dearborn. Dr. S. Gratz Moses was private physician to Joseph Bonaparte, ex-King of Spain, and eldest brother of Napoleon. While he was a resident of Paris, in this capacity, he enjoyed confidential relations with the Murat family. This was between 1830 and 1840. Two of the moving spirits in the establishment of the first public dispensary west of the Mississippi, in 1841, Drs. Moses and William M. McPheeters, were still in active professional life. Giles F. Filley was on the electoral ticket for Fremont, in Missouri, when Buchanan was elected president. John D. Perry had seen more than sixty years of active business life in St. Louis.

Melvin L. Gray came down to his law office, shed his coat, rolled up the top of a big desk crammed with legal papers and received his clients in July days. He was a classmate of the poet, John G. Saxe. Dr. Louis Bauer emerged from the consultation room of a down-town office with sprightly step and cigar poised between his fingers. Dr. Bauer was a colleague of Bismarck in the Prussian Parliament of 1848. Bismarck and Bauer, with one other, shared the distinction of being the youngest members of that body. Bismarck was then in retirement. Dr. Bauer, eight months and fourteen days older, received his patients, lectured regularly before medical classes and contributed copiously to medical publications. Oliver A. Hart was at one time an architect and a builder in St. Louis. Under his supervision four of the churches of the city were constructed. They were the finest of the period. Mr. Hart lived to see every one of those churches, built to last a century, removed to give place to business blocks, and he was still in active management of varied interests.

"Hard work," said Melvin L. Gray, in accounting for the fact that at 80 he was finding it difficult to stop being a lawyer. Hard work, Mr. Gray believed, had been conducive to long life and good health in his case. It had inspired regularity of life and good habits. Mr. Gray admitted that there was such a thing as "the demon of overwork." At one time years ago he attempted to carry too great a load. "The result was," he said, "I found myself breaking down. I took a few months' rest, resumed practice and have kept it up. About a year ago I began to wind up my business. I refused to take new cases, and I now have but one on hand. I can't say that I have pursued any special rules of life. I have lived regularly, and that is about all there is of it."

In the fifty-three years of steady practice at the St. Louis bar Mr. Gray carried weighty responsibilities. He confined himself to civil practice. As executor, administrator and guardian he had the handling of hundreds of estates, some of them of large value, and not infrequently he was given charge of them without bond. No one ever sustained any loss through Mr. Gray in a fiduciary

capacity. There were in 1895 but two men living whose practice at the St. Louis bar antedated Mr. Gray's. Both of them had been retired several years. They were Samuel Knox and Judge Samuel Treat.

To fresh air more than to any other one thing Dr. Louis Bauer ascribed his vigor and fine flow of spirits at eighty-one. "Neither summer nor winter," said he, "do I sleep with closed windows. In the summer I have my bed-room windows wide open. In the winter, no matter how cold it is, I leave a crack of one, two or three inches. People warn you about draughts. You can't have fresh air without draughts. I live on plain food. I take an occasional glass of wine with a friend. Beer? Well, I take that less occasionally than the wine. As for cigars, I have reduced my allowance. I average not more than three a day. Moderation in all of these things is my rule, and so I am still able to receive my patients, to give my lectures and to do my share toward the surgical literature of the day."

Two other members of Dr. Bauer's profession had not neglected to "heal themselves." Dr. Moses was a year older and Dr. McPheeters was a year younger than Dr. Bauer. Neither of them had retired entirely from active practice. Both of them were 50 years old when, because of their sympathies, they were invited by the authorities to leave St. Louis and go south. They spent their years of exile attending to the necessities of Confederate soldiers. Dr. McPheeters came naturally by his southern affiliation. He was a North Carolinian by birth. Dr. Moses' birthplace was in Philadelphia, and his ancestors were merchants. In 1895 it was over forty years since Dr. McPheeters wrote a history of the great cholera year in St. Louis, which won him much fame; it was over fifty years since Dr. Moses, as city physician, helped devise the first sewer system in St. Louis. But these two men were still practicing their profession.

Very few of these St. Louis octogenarians of 1895 were born with silver spoons in their mouths. Giles F. Filley as a youth went into a tinner's shop and learned that trade. Melvin L. Gray, a Vermonter, went south to Alabama and taught school before he took up law studies. Augustus F. Shapleigh clerked in a hardware store for \$50 a year. He did it against his will, for he wanted to follow the sea, as his father had done before him. Oliver A. Hart served as apprentice in a carpenter shop in Norwich, Conn., and his start in St. Louis was made as a builder. Carlos S. Greeley was clerk in a grocery. Henry L. Clark left his home in Ireland when he was only seventeen years old to become a sailor. Thomas B. Edgar learned carriage making and established a manufactory in the city in 1835. Daniel R. Garrison put in four years of toil in a machine shop.

An easy conscience is conducive to longevity. The St. Louis octogenarians who still remained upon the active list in 1895 were without exception men of strict integrity. Among them were some whose lives illustrated a sense of honor that was extraordinary. Take the case of Giles F. Filley. At fifty-two years of age Mr. Filley found himself responsible for a debt of nearly \$1,000,000. This had come about solely through the appearance of his name as indorser on another man's commercial paper. It was not a business venture on Mr. Filley's part. It was an act of friendship. Mr. Filley was urged to take advantage of bank-

ruptcy and rid himself of the burden incurred through no moral responsibility. He refused to see it that way. He assumed the paper he had indorsed, not only the principal, but the interest, and at the age of sixty-six paid the last dollar. The interest had added materially to the debt. The actual amount Mr. Filley paid in sustaining this endorsement was \$1,300,000. At the same time he carried on and extended his manufacturing business.

These octogenarians believed that it was better to wear out than to rust out. They had worked all of their lives and worked hard. Daniel R. Garrison's experience was interesting. Forty-five years before he had attempted to retire and enjoy life. He had made what in those days was a handsome fortune. He bought a fine home and with his brother Oliver proposed to settle down. Before he passed a year in leisure he was back in business, and the greatest achievements of his life had been since then. There was no railroad into St. Louis, east or west, north or south, when Mr. Garrison resumed work. He took hold of and finished the Ohio and Mississippi to East St. Louis, the snort of the iron horse drowning the chorus of frogs on Bloody Island for the first time in 1858. After that Mr. Garrison got behind the projected Missouri Pacific and pushed that until it was completed to Kansas City. Not many people know that a change of gauge to standard was made on the Missouri Pacific. Mr. Garrison planned it and the rails were moved into place from St. Louis to Kansas City in sixteen hours, a great feat for that time. The building of the Vulcan and Jupiter Iron Works at Carondelet to turn out rails from Missouri iron for Missouri roadbeds was the next great project to which Mr. Garrison turned his attention, and he was past sixty when he carried that through successfully.

Several others of the octogenarians were prominent in the early railroad enterprises of St. Louis. Thomas B. Edgar and Oliver A. Hart were directors of the Missouri Pacific during the pioneer period. Giles F. Filley, John D. Perry and Carlos S. Greeley were directors in the Kansas Pacific. But W. D. Griswold was longer and more closely identified with railroad construction than any of them. Mr. Griswold left the practice of law to become a railroad builder. He was a fellow-student of Melvin L. Gray at Middlebury College, and was prepared for college by the Rev. Dr. T. M. Post, of St. Louis. He came west in 1835, and soon after formed a law partnership at Terre Haute with John P. Ushur, who, during the war, was secretary of the interior. For a number of years Mr. Griswold practiced in the circuits of Indiana and Illinois, meeting frequently Abraham Lincoln. Some time before the war period, however, Mr. Griswold became interested in railroad construction. There were few lines in the west when he built the old Evansville and Crawfordsville. Then he took hold of the Terre Haute, Alton and St. Louis, completed it and put it in a well managed condition at a time when it was in danger of becoming a wreck. Still later, Mr. Griswold took charge of the Ohio and Mississippi and brought order out of chaos there. After giving many of the best years of his life to the development of the railroad interests of St. Louis, Mr. Griswold turned his attention to real estate, and was one of the first investors to foresee the transformation to come between Grand avenue and Forest Park. He bought a tract of farm land there for \$1,000 an acre and lived to sell it for \$5,000 an acre, and to see it fashioned into one of the most elegant residence places in the country.

From an old Daguerreotype

THE CHILDREN OF JAMES H. LUCAS



Blood will tell in men as well as race horses. To "good stock" Daniel R. Garrison attributed in considerable part his hale old age. His father was a New Englander. His mother was of Holland descent and a member of one of the Knickerbocker families of New York. The combination of New England energy with the phlegmatic Holland nature was a fine one for results. It produced a famous family of Garrison brothers, whose enterprise was only bounded by the continent.

At eighty-six James M. Franciscus was as erect as a West Pointer and walked with a quick, springy step. He was the athlete of all the octogenarians. He took his bath the first thing in the morning, just as he had done for thirty-five years. He used 15-pound dumb-bells before breakfast, as had been his custom for more than thirty years. He walked from one to two miles every day. It was doubtful if in both mental and physical vigor, age considered, there was in 1895 the equal of Mr. Franciscus in the United States. Daniel T. Jewett, the lawyer, was two years the senior of Mr. Franciscus, and still active in his profession.

To exercise, plenty of it, more than to any other one thing, Mr. Franciscus attributed his wonderful physical condition. A sedentary occupation is not considered the most favorable to long life. But this gentleman was a living example of what an office man may realize if he supplements his indoor occupation with plenty of outdoor exercise.

Mr. Franciscus was a native of Baltimore, where his father was in the sugar refining business. He became a broker and then a banker, continuing in that business. In his sixty-five years of continuous experience in financial affairs Mr. Franciscus saw about every phase of banking tried in this country. The opinion of such a man ought to go a good ways. He said:

"I think the present is the most perfect system. In the earlier period we were doing business with state banks and there was no security for the circulation, except the honest and faithful management of the banks. The currency of one state was at a discount in another. Failures were occurring almost every month or two. Since the national banking system was adopted there has never been any loss sustained by one bank on the circulation of another."

Mr. Franciscus did not smoke. He did not use tobacco in any form. He went to bed at 9 and got up at 6. At eighty-six he did not know what "the burden of years" meant.

Another case in which office life had not undermined health was that of Henry L. Clark, who had been secretary of the Wiggins Ferry company thirty-two years. Mr. Clark gave up the active, roving life of a sailor to become a bank teller in St. Louis about 1835. William Stobie, at eighty-three, retained the management and direction of his mills.

These St. Louis octogenarians did not live to be eighty and active by dodging responsibilities. They worked hard, but they did not survive by leading treadmill lives. They took chances to the limit. Some of them found time to try several occupations. Nearly all of them put money and mind into experiments. Giles F. Filley once went out of the tin-making business to demonstrate that stone china could be made with profit from the potter's clay found under St. Louis. He imported skilled potters from England and carried on

the enterprises several years before he went into stove-making. Augustus F. Shapleigh was in business in Philadelphia before he came to St. Louis. James M. Francis conducted a brokerage and banking business in Baltimore, Louisville and New Orleans before he decided that St. Louis was the most promising of the four cities. Daniel R. Garrison went into the manufacture of steam engines in St. Louis in 1835, when such an enterprise had not been dreamed of in the Mississippi Valley, and when the rush of the gold miners to California occurred in 1849. Mr. Garrison followed it and sold products of St. Louis manufacture at prices that made him a fortune. Oliver A. Hart built houses, organized a fire insurance company, managed the first gas stock company in St. Louis and went into the manufacture of iron and steel and the building of railroads.

One of these octogenarians of 1895 put his impress upon the architecture of St. Louis. Visitors to the city in the years following the Civil war commented much upon the simplicity of the house fronts, business and private. George I. Barnett came to this country from Nottingham, England. He was the son of a Baptist minister. Although he was only 25 years old when he settled in St. Louis, he was thoroughly grounded in the beliefs of the Italian school. Being a very positive man, Mr. Barnett succeeded in impressing those ideas upon the architecture of St. Louis to a marked degree. There were other men in St. Louis who called themselves architects, but most of them were only builders. Mr. Barnett pushed his theories aggressively. After ten years of planning and building in accordance with his school, he went to Europe for further architectural education, and came back unchanged in views. He furnished the plans and superintended the erection of 2,500 buildings. Architects with less positiveness of views copied his general style. Young architects came out of his office. In time Mr. Barnett came to see a city, the architecture of which was very much after his heart, an architecture which he was wont to describe as "the truly legitimate." But he outlived his success. He survived to see St. Louis countenance the colonial, the Queen Anne and every other school.

The octogenarian who gave St. Louis a very vigorous push in a direction the opposite of the Italian school was Aaron W. Fagin. Mr. Fagin began life in Ten Mile creek, an estuary of the Ohio. He was another of the eighty-year-old hard workers. He was a farmer and advanced from that to keeping a country store. He traded on the river and made money enough to establish himself in St. Louis in 1842. From that he launched into milling, and before the war made a contract to deliver 50,000 barrels of flour in ninety days, a transaction which was nine days' talk on 'change. Having amassed a fortune, Mr. Fagin determined, about 1880, to set the pace for architecture very different from that which St. Louis had been following. He said there was too much sameness of appearance and too much economy of material in the business structures of the city. He declared his intention to have something original and striking. He put up on Olive street a front 152 feet high, of granite and plate glass. Into that front he worked thirty-eight polished red granite columns. He constructed windows of ingenious variety in shape and size. While the huge irregularly shaped granite blocks were being piled up to form the facade

of the Fagin building, St. Louis people stood in awe-stricken groups at a respectful distance, expecting to see the whole thing come tumbling down like a cob house. While St. Louis was marveling over this skyscraper and Mr. Barnett was going around the block to avoid profaning his eyes with such illegitimate architecture, Mr. Fagin, at the age of sixty-nine, started on a leisurely tour around the world. When he returned he took upon himself the active management of his big building, which had proven as solid as the foundation of St. Louis.

The cloth had a narrow escape from missing representation among the active octogenarians of St. Louis. The Rev. Dr. Montgomery Schuyler, who at eighty-one performed the duties of dean of the Cathedral, intended to be a lawyer. He read law books two years after he graduated from Union College, and before he made up his mind that he preferred theology. The venerable divine came of sturdy Dutch stock. His ancestors founded a Dutch colony on the Hudson, near Albany.

These St. Louis octogenarians, active in 1895, were important factors in the history of St. Louis.

Tracing the moral fiber of latter day St. Louisans back to the early generations was a topic that appealed to L. U. Reavis, who wrote much about the city and its population:

An allusion to an incident in the history of the city may be permitted which illustrates the texture of those moral elements of character derived from the crude looms of the early settlers of the trappers' village. In 1849 St. Louis was visited with the triple furies of fire, flood and pestilence. The best portions of her business locations were reduced to ashes; five thousand of her people died with a disease that bid defiance to medical skill; her rivers rose and flooded her productive bottom lands. Ruin stalked through her streets and pervaded the country tributary to her commercial support. At this trying moment, with that self-reliant and indomitable will which carried her founders safely through the ordeals to which they were exposed, she met the responsibilities of the trial with an independent spirit, a prowess of resistance and recuperative energies of the highest type. Honorable as it is to our nature that sympathy finds a lodgment not alone in individual bosoms, but in communities and nations, our citizens asked no aid from this benevolent feeling to meet the exigencies of the hour. Not a dollar was received or asked from contiguous or distant cities. The bravery and self-reliant characteristics of the trapper shone out in the artisan, merchant and professional man of the present, and an immediate effort was put in requisition to redeem losses and repair devastations. Such an exhibition of unconquerable will, of inherent strength, is surely a forcible prognostic, a grand prophecy of the ultimate destiny of our beloved metropolis.

When St. Louis was stricken by the cyclone of 1896, this moral fiber of the community showed itself in the message which Mayor Cyrus P. Walbridge sent out to the world. St. Louis was grateful for the generous tenders of aid, but could and would care for her stricken section. The prompt action was wise. St. Louis was not destroyed as the first reports had it. The business of the city was going on. All obligations of trade could be met. The mayor's message corrected a world-wide impression which would have done the city incalculable harm.

"The shamelessness of St. Louis" was an utterance of superficial observation by a stranger in 1902. The conscience of the community had been aroused. The work of investigation and reform was under way. Revelations of official impurity were shocking, but the city was showing its inherent goodness by vigor-

ous prosecution of evil doers. A city which can and does do this is not "shameless." The conditions in St. Louis were not worse than those in other large cities, but St. Louis exposed and punished the official grafting.

CHAPTER XXVII.

ST. LOUIS WOMANHOOD

Madame Marie Therese Chouteau—La Mere de St. Louis—The Laclede Family—Heroic Qualities Developed in the Convent-bred Girl—The Whole Settlement Mothered—Madame Chouteau's Business Capacity—A Thousand Descendants—The Three Daughters and Their Thirty-two Children—Seven Daughters of the First Madame Sanguinet—Courtesy and Respect for Women Early Enforced—Marriage Contracts Under the Spanish Governors—Social Life in 1810—The Four Daughters of Ichabod Camp of Connecticut—Mating of Manuel Lisa and Mary Hempstead Keeney—'The Lone Woman' Who Became Madame Berthold—Kind Treatment of Servants—Organized Charity in 1824—'Entertainment by Joseph Charless'—The Five Coalter Sisters—Rufus Easton's Seven Daughters—The Silk Culture Craze of 1839—Mrs. Anne Lucas Hunt's Philanthropies—A Woman's Influence in the Creation of a Great Estate—The Interesting Mullanphy Family—Loveliest of Her Sex in 1812—Virginia Brides of St. Louis Pioneers—Heroic Characters of the Civil War Period—The Sneed Sisters as Educators—St. Louis Newspaper Women—The Wednesday Club and Public Recreation—A Traveler's Tribute to St. Louis Business Women—A Scholar's Estimate of St. Louis Domestic Life.

Forty years or more ago, within three blocks from where we are now seated, there stood an old church, and in that church was conducted a Sunday School where, under the guidance of my mother, I received my childhood training,—a mother whose unselfish life, whose trust in God and uncompromising integrity have ever been my inspiration and standard. The mother of long ago, whose influence I still feel within me, and my good wife, whose steadfast character has ever upheld me, have been my strength and my guide during the eight years of official life. If I have succeeded in doing good to my fellowmen, then the memory of the one and the presence of the other should share in the great honor you have this night conferred upon me. *Rolla Wells, eight years mayor, at testimonial banquet, 1909.*

"La mere de St. Louis," the mother of St. Louis! This was the title by which the villagers knew Madame Chouteau. It was bestowed early in the history of the settlement. Across the river, in a farm house at Cahokia, Madame Chouteau and the little children were sheltered through the spring and summer of 1764. They could see the gray walls of government house rising among the trees. In September they were moved to the settlement. Madame Chouteau was the first woman to enter upon residence in St. Louis. Naturally the title of mother of St. Louis was given to her. It continued with her to the end of her four-score years of eventful, honorable life.

Marie Therese Chouteau was born Bourgeois. Her parents belonged to the court of Spain,—the father, a page to the king; the mother, a maid of honor to the queen. There was mutual attraction without deference to the wishes or plans of the elders. The young people had their way, wedded and came across the sea to New France. One of the epidemics then so prevalent in the lower province made little Marie Therese an orphan. The fortune was left in the care of a paternal uncle. Marie Therese was not beyond infancy when her guardian placed her in the Ursuline convent at New Orleans.

In 1749, before the girl reached her majority, a marriage was arranged for her by her uncle and guardian. Family tradition does not ascribe worthy motive for the encouragement of this marriage. Material interests were involved. The happiness of the orphan was not of first consideration. If Marie

Therese Bourgeois remained a ward until of age—the legal age was in that time fourteen years—there must be an accounting of the estate left by her father. If she married before she was of age, she could legally sign the paper which would release her guardian from his responsibility. Material concern, according to the family history, prompted a sacrifice of the child's happiness. Marie Therese Bourgeois went from the Ursuline convent, the only home she had known, to become the wife of Rene Auguste Chouteau.

The husband was much older; he had considerable means for those days. The immature girl was high spirited. The union was unfortunate; it ended in separation. Marie Therese Chouteau went back to the convent. A babe was born in September, 1750. The boy was christened Auguste Chouteau. Marital relationship was not resumed. The youthful mother regained her good spirits. She was a child again. She played in the high-walled convent garden. One day there came a terrifying shock. An ape, the ugly pet of the neighborhood, clambered along the galleries from house to house until he came to the place where the baby, Auguste, was sleeping. The ape took up the child carefully and began to climb one of the columns to the roof.

A cry of alarm attracted the girl from her play. The sight of her child in the arms of the ape awoke the maternal instinct. From that hour Marie Therese Chouteau was a matured, resolute, serious woman. She started toward the house. The ape stopped on the edge of the roof and was apparently about to drop the baby, and to seek safety. Some one with presence of mind restrained Marie Therese. Seeing that there was to be no pursuit, the ape sat down on the roof, took the baby in its lap and, imitating the actions of a nurse, pulled the pins from the clothing and put them in its mouth. Having undressed the baby, as it had seen the nurse do, the ape restored the clothes, put back the pins, carefully climbed down from the roof to the porch and put little Auguste in the cradle. Then the ape climbed back along the railings to the place where it belonged.

Before that day, Marie Therese had left the baby to the good sisters. She had played with dolls. She had jumped the rope with the girls of the convent school. After that day she put away childish things. But there was no suggestion of return to the marital relationship with Rene Auguste Chouteau. The civil record of the marriage stood. Several years the mother and her child remained in the convent.

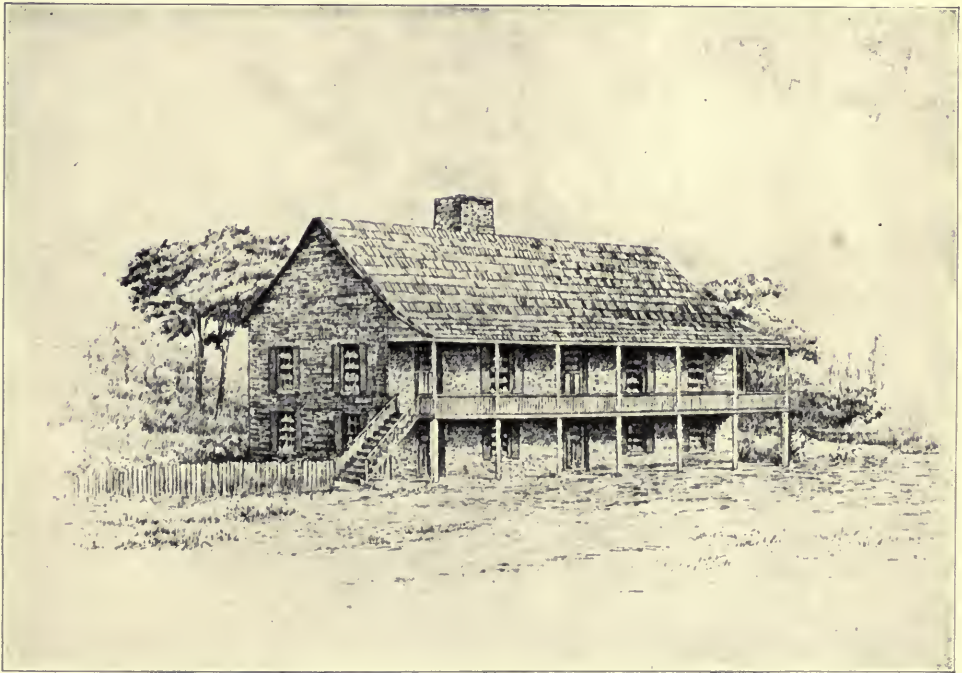
Pierre Laclède arrived in New Orleans in 1755. Not long afterwards he made the acquaintance of Marie Therese Chouteau. The young French gentleman, from Bedous, was of excellent family connections. He had means. He entered business life in the lower province. He was well received in official and mercantile circles at New Orleans. A period of commercial depression prevailed. Colonial war and Indian troubles disarranged trade. Laclède, having had good education and military training, offered himself for service in the government forces. He was accepted and was given a commission. Maxent was colonel of the regiment. Leading men of the colony became warm friends of Laclède. In the official records of 1757, Laclède was referred to as a "merchant and officer of militia." He was in favor with the governor, Kelerec, the highest representative of France, in Louisiana. That year, 1757, two years after



MADAME AUGUSTE CHOUTEAU
Born 1769, Marie Therese Cerre



MRS. MANUEL LISA
Wife of the fur trader



Copyright, 1807, by Pierre Chouteau

THE HOME OF MADAME CHOUTEAU, MOTHER OF ST. LOUIS

his arrival at New Orleans, Pierre Laclède and Marie Therese Chouteau were married. It was a union which representatives of church and state personally sanctioned and heartily approved. In the eyes of all, Madame Chouteau became the wife of Pierre Laclède and was so respected.

Pierre Chouteau, son of Pierre Laclède, was born in 1758. Three daughters were christened Chouteau. When Laclède mustered his "considerable armament," backed by powerful influence at New Orleans, and came up the Mississippi, he brought his wife and children with him. Upon Auguste Chouteau, the boy of thirteen, son of Rene Auguste Chouteau, Laclède bestowed all of the confidence and affection a father could give to an eldest son. The family was harmonious and happy. With the earliest profits realized out of the fur trading, Laclède provided for the future of his wife and children. He built a house and secured the grant of the lot on Main and Chestnut streets to Madame Chouteau and the children. He set apart for them a farm in the outskirts. The property made over to the family was valued at about four thousand dollars, a considerable sum in that period.

Laclède, his wife and his children were by universal recognition the first family of St. Louis. Neither by tradition nor by record is there evidence that the habitants regarded the difference in names as extraordinary. The family occupied in church relations the same leading position accorded socially and politically. As the daughters became of marriageable age, they were sought by the three most prominent business men in the community.

Rene Auguste Chouteau died in New Orleans, 1776. He left some property. Auguste and Pierre Chouteau gave to Pierre Laclède power of attorney to look after their mother's interest in the estate, when he went down to New Orleans.

Madame Chouteau was certainly not thirty years of age when she made the three months' journey up the Mississippi. With her were three little children. John Pierre was five. Victoria was three and little Pelagie was one year old. This journey was the beginning of experiences which developed the heroic qualities. After the winter at Fort Chartres or Kaskaskia, the mother and the little ones were taken to Cahokia. They traveled in a charette. This was a vehicle without springs and of two wheels. Upon the shafts and cross pieces, which were attached to the axle, was a basket-like body. In this were conveyed Madame Chouteau and the children. The driver was Antoine Riviere, who followed Laclède to St. Louis. He lived in St. Louis and its suburbs until he was 110 years old. The year of the founding, the third daughter, Marie Louise, was born to Laclède and Madame Chouteau. In September, 1764, Laclède's house, on the west side of Main street, between Walnut and Market was ready. Mrs. Chouteau and the children were brought across the river to St. Louis. Until 1768 this house was the home of Laclède's family and at the same time headquarters of the government which Laclède and St. Ange established. It also contained the office of Maxent, Laclède & Co. In 1768 Laclède completed a stone house on Main and Chestnut streets. To this he moved the family. The home was deeded to Madame Chouteau and the children. It was the home of "the mother of St. Louis" until her death in 1814.

"La mere de St. Louis," meant more than phrase of compliment. It stood for much besides the fact of earliest residence. Madame Chouteau was in many ways the motherly woman to all St. Louis. She was of positive, practical character, but mingled with the traditions of her business shrewdness are many memories of good works. From the Chouteau home on Main and Chestnut streets were carried through the settlement remedies for the sick and delicacies for the convalescent. Strawberries ripened on the prairies of St. Louis in June Grapes darkened and sweetened in the groves along the River des Peres in September. As regularly as the seasons, fruits were preserved and wines were made. A liberal portion of her household stock Madame Chouteau set aside each year to meet the calls of sickness. To her that was not only for her children and grandchildren, a numerous flock, but for any one in the village who needed delicacies to tempt back the appetite.

There were periods of years during which St. Louis was without professional physicians. The mysteries of birth and death were never absent. Homely remedies, unscientific surgery met the needs. To the emergencies Madame Chouteau responded. The gentle-born, convent-bred girl mothered the whole settlement. Her ministrations were not all physical. A woman of not many words, Madame Chouteau came to have great influence in the community. Her sons and her daughters looked to her for advice in all matters. Her counsel was sought upon questions which concerned the settlement. The Spanish governors treated her with great deference. No priest, or dignitary of the church, visited St. Louis without early paying his respects to Madame Chouteau.

The portrait of Madame Chouteau, which has been preserved by her descendants represents her in the dress which belonged to the simple, every day life of St. Louis womanhood before the American occupation. It was painted at the instance of one of the sons. An artist had come to St. Louis. Both Auguste and Pierre Chouteau wanted pictures of their mother to place in their great stone mansions. They differed as to the mode in which the portrait should be painted. One wished to have a picture of his mother as he knew her best, in the garb of home, with the handkerchief about her head. "No," said the other, "she must be painted as the grande dame." And so two portraits were executed. The artist wrought his work on wood. Madame Chouteau was pictured as the whole settlement knew her, "the mother of St. Louis." She was also painted in the stately elegance of the first lady of St. Louis, wearing the long gold earrings given to her mother by the Queen of Spain. The fate of this second portrait is unknown to this generation. The one in the plain garb was saved.

In 1847, the anniversary of the founding of St. Louis was celebrated. The personality of chief historic interest that day was Pierre Chouteau, first born of the union of Pierre Laclède and Marie Therese Chouteau. He was very old but in full possession of his mental faculties. A part of the anniversary day, Pierre Chouteau passed at the Berthold residence on Broadway and Pine streets. An incident of the celebration was the appearance on the streets of a carriage and occupants representing the time of Louis XV, when St. Louis was founded. Seated in the carriage were two members of French families, one dressed as a marquis, the other as a marquise. Upon the front seat were



MRS. THEODORE HUNT
(Miss Anne Lucas)



MRS. ANNE LUCAS HUNT
(Miss Anne Lucas)



MISSSES ADELE AND MARIE THERESE SOULARD



MISS LILY FREMONT



MRS. JESSIE BENTON FREMONT
(Miss Jessie Benton)

ST. LOUIS WOMANHOOD

two children, also in costumes of the period of Louis XV. With the old residents and their descendants the appearance of this representation of Laclede's time and station aroused much sentiment. Among those in the family group at the Berthold mansion who saw the representation was Sylvestre Labbadie, son of Sylvestre Labbadie who married Pelagie Chouteau, the second daughter of Madame Chouteau and Pierre Laclede. Sylvestre Labbadie, the younger, was sent to France in his boyhood and educated there. He brought back with him love of the country of his ancestors strongly impressed upon him. He had intense admiration for Napoleon. At the head of his bed, he kept a bust of Napoleon, as long as he lived. Sylvestre Labbadie was more responsive than the rest of the group to the representation of Laclede in the carriage. He was deeply moved. Only under the influence of mastering emotion would he have ventured upon what followed. As the carriage passed along the street, Monsieur Labbadie turned to Pierre Chouteau and stretching out his hands, said in an impassioned tone:

"Uncle! I implore you. Give us our name."

Pierre Chouteau straightened himself and seemed to throw off the infirmity of age. He raised his cane, as if almost tempted to strike, but used the gesture not to harm but to emphasize. He said:

"No! The name you've borne must go to the end."

On the 16th of February, the day after the celebration, John F. Darby wrote to Pierre Chouteau, sending him the banner with a letter closing: "Last evening after you had retired from the festive board, Col. Grimsley in a most happy and appropriate manner donated this banner to you, as a tribute due to the only living being amidst the vast concourse of citizens assembled on that occasion, who had ever seen the face of Laclede—one who has such a just claim upon the affections and feelings of the whole people of the city of St. Louis. Upon me as the presiding officer on that occasion, was impressed the pleasing duty of carrying out the wishes of the donor by presenting to you this banner, which I now do, on behalf of and in the name of Col. Grimsley, the grand marshal of the celebration."

In his reply of the same date accepting the banner Pierre Chouteau wrote: "Honors rendered to the dead we know cannot affect them—they are beyond the reach of human hands—but it serves to excite the living to emulate their virtues and their worth; and permit me on this occasion to say that Mr. Laclede, with whom I was acquainted (although very young), was in every sense of the word worthy of the honors now paid to his memory."

Madame Chouteau demonstrated her business capacity in a letter to Governor Cruzat on the 29th of December, 1785. Her statement was a model of brevity and clearness:

Marie Therese, widow Chouteau, takes the liberty of informing you, sir, that on the 27th at about eight o'clock in the evening, her negro man Baptiste discovered the runaway Indian slaves, who had fled from the village some time ago, on the hill of Barns in the rear of the village. He spoke to them, and by some pretext kept them there until he came and apprised Mr. Papin, whose slave was one of them, that no time was to be lost, if he desired to catch him, and told him where they were. Mr. Papin, without giving him time to run and get permission from his mistress, gave him a bottle of rum and sent him back to the place he left, by giving them drink to try to detain them until he, Papin, could get the assistance necessary to come and arrest them. He got together a few with-

out loss of time, and arrived on the ground but a very short time after the negro Baptiste. I do not know if the slaves made any movement to escape, but in a moment several shots were fired by Mr. Papin's party, which unfortunately killed the negro of your petitioner.

As Mr. Papin acted so very hastily and inconsiderately in this matter, not appearing to reflect on the danger to which he exposed my negro man between his party and the runaways, and was the occasion of his death, in sending him upon his dangerous expedition without my knowledge or permission, I ask your authority that I be paid for loss. His services were invaluable to me, sir; his good qualities, his ability, his attachment to the family, the care he continually took of my interests, not only in his own work, but overlooking the others, so that I could safely trust him with the management of all my slaves, in the flower of his age. No money can remunerate me for his loss. And as my demand is based on the laws, which forbid the employment of a slave unless with the knowledge and consent of the owner, you will compel the said Papin to pay me the sum of \$1,000, which, considering his great value to me, will be but small compensation for my loss.

VEUVE CHOUTEAU.

The case loses nothing in interest by reason of the fact that Mr. Papin was the son-in-law of Madame Chouteau. Six years previously he had married Marie Louise, the youngest of the Chouteau girls, the one who was born the year of the founding of St. Louis. Papin was the son of one of the fur traders who came from Montreal to St. Louis. He had pressed his wooing so ardently that he won Marie Louise before she was of age. The daughter of the settlement was a few months under fifteen when she was wedded.

A gift of facile composition runs in the Papin family. Some of the most charming sketches of early St. Louis were from the pen of Theophile Papin, a descendant of this Jean Marie Papin. The answer to Madame Chouteau's complaint is a long one. "My mother-in-law's negro" is the phrase Mr. Papin employs repeatedly in his account of the tragedy. The desperate character of the runaways is mentioned. The plan to capture them is given the aspect of public service. Mr. Papin sets forth his arrangements to surround the runaways and enforce surrender.

"I sent my brother-in-law, Labbadie, who seconded me in these operations, to inform the lieutenant governor of the steps taken."

And thus he draws into the case another member of the family, for Sylvestre Labbadie had married Pelagie Chouteau who came to St. Louis before she was three years old. Mr. Papin describes in graphic language the assault on the barn of his mother-in-law. The scene of the attack was where the chamber of commerce now stands.

As time pressed I lost not a moment. After instructing all not to fire unless in defense of his own person, I divided my band of soldiers and militia into two equal parts, each to take a separate road so as to surround easily the spot where the criminals were. Before reaching the place of the combat, after repeating the injunction not to fire, I sprang into the quarry with a brave militiaman who would follow me, when we were immediately assaulted, not only by our enemies in front, but by a general discharge of gun shots on both sides by our own people.

Preserved, both of us, by a Providence who watched over our days, it was only the unfortunate negro who received his death by a chance ball, without the satisfaction of witnessing the glorious end of the action.

Mr. Papin closes his statement to the lieutenant governor with this well worded argument:

After having exposed myself to the greatest danger for a matter of public concern, acting only by express orders, would it be just that the whole burden should fall on me,

and that I should be compelled to pay for the negro who volunteered himself and when I had a right to command?

The governor was perplexed. Madame Chouteau's claim was based on law. Mr. Papin's defense was plausible. The governor took testimony "for a clear understanding of the matter," as he put it. The depositions failed to show who fired the fatal shot. Governor Cruzat announced: "I pass it over to the superior tribunal at the capital for examination and final decision." So the case went down to New Orleans. Back it came with the ruling that the owners of the runaway slaves in the capture of whom the negro was killed must unite in paying Madame Chouteau. Three of the principal merchants of St. Louis, Gabriel Cerre, Louis C. Dubreuil and Charles Sanguinet, were summoned "to carefully consider and correctly appraise the qualities, intelligence and value of Mrs. Chouteau's negro man, Baptiste." They unanimously appraised him "at the value of six hundred silver dollars as a full compensation for his loss." The amount was assessed against the two sons-in-law, J. M. Papin and Sylvestre Labbadie and four others. On the 15th of May, 1787, sixteen months after she had presented her claim, Madame Chouteau received from Governor Cruzat the six hundred silver dollars.

A story told of Madame Chouteau is that she received a present of a comb of honey from a friend in Kaskaskia. At that time bees were not known in St. Louis. Madame Chouteau, with her usual enterprise, made inquiries as to the manner in which the honey was produced. She was told that the bees were a kind of fly. Thereupon she sent a faithful negro man to Kaskaskia with a small box in which to bring a pair of the bees that she might raise others and produce honey. John Bradbury, the scientist heard this story in St. Louis in 1810. He says before 1797 bees were scarcely known west of the Mississippi but in 1811 the wild swarms had spread as far west as six hundred miles up the Missouri from St. Louis. The Indians had a theory that the bees preceded white settlements and that wherever the bees were found, white settlers might be expected shortly. Madame Chouteau was persistent. She did not rest satisfied until there were bees in her garden. She had the first hive in St. Louis.

The eldest daughter of Madame Chouteau, Victoire, bore thirteen children to Charles Gratiot, the American patriot. Nine of the thirteen married and left families. From three of the daughters of Victoire Chouteau Gratiot, came the Cabanne, the Macklot and DeMun families. The second daughter of Madame Chouteau, Pelagie, the wife of Sylvestre Labbadie, had one son and four daughters. The youngest daughter of Madame Chouteau, Marie Louise, who married Joseph M. Papin, was the mother of fourteen children, ten of whom grew up and married. Beckwith traced a thousand descendants of Madame Chouteau. When John Jacob Astor heard of the blindness and business embarrassment of Pierre Chouteau, Jr., he said: "They'll never upset him, sir; that man carries the equivalent of half a dozen strong banks in his head; he cannot be downed."

A woman's tact eased the situation when the first Spanish governor came to St. Louis. The settlement had done well under St. Ange. Self chosen government had been satisfactory. Moreover, these hardy fur traders were a long way from New Orleans, and had grown independent. If they couldn't have the French flag over them, they didn't care for any. But Don Pedro brought

with him a French wife who had all of the charm of her countrywomen. She became popular at once. St. Louis womanhood accepted Spanish sovereignty. The rest was easy for Governor Piernas.

Names of many families foremost in the colonial period of St. Louis disappeared. And yet descendants of these pioneers are numerous in the present generation. Two conditions account for this. Large families were raised by the St. Louis pioneers but in many of them daughters were more numerous than sons. Young men came from all parts of the United States to live in St. Louis; they married into these pioneer families. Many sons of pioneers went forth to engage in trade and commerce as the frontier was pushed westward; they became the founders of other settlements. There was nothing strange about the disappearance of the names. The blood of the pioneers of St. Louis flows in many thousands of descendants who bear other honorable names.

Both of the children of the first physician of St. Louis, Dr. Andre August Conde were daughters. Both married in St. Louis. Marianne became the wife of Charles Sanguinet. Constance married first a Spanish officer of the garrison, and then Patricio Lee. In the first generation the name of Conde was lost. But from the Sanguinet branch came a multitude of descendants. The union was a notable one. Charles Sanguinet was a native of Quebec. His father was an educated man and held one of the highest civil positions of his day, that of notary. Charles Sanguinet came to St. Louis in 1775 and four years later the marriage with Mademoiselle Conde took place. Ten children were born, seven of them daughters. One of the daughters married Francisco M. Benoit, from whom descended the Benois. Another became the wife of Joseph V. Garnier, and her daughter married Hon. John Hogan, a member of Congress from St. Louis. Eulalie Angelique Sanguinet became Mrs. Josiah Bright, leaving a son and a daughter. Anne Caroline, the youngest of the Sanguinet girls was Mrs. Horatio Cozens, leaving male descendants, one of whom was William H. Cozens.

Joseph Mainville for years held civil office in St. Louis. He was one of the syndics. Coming on the first boat with Auguste Chouteau he secured a home on Main and Locust streets. His family consisted of five daughters and two sons. All of the daughters married in St. Louis.

Three years after the founding, Clement Delor de Treget, who had been an officer in the French navy and who was possessed of means, came up the Mississippi, expecting to join the settlement of Laclede. De Treget and his wife were charmed with the scenery about five miles below the settlement. St. Ange granted them the location that pleased them. A stone house was built. This was the beginning of Carondelet although the name was not given until several years later. De Treget had five children by his first wife and four by the second. Seven of the nine were daughters. De Treget's oldest son Pierre had eight children, four of them girls. He named his daughters Cecile, Adelle, Odille and Selina.

In the family of Rene H. Kiersereau who led the chanting in the church and in the absence of the priest officiated at funerals were four daughters and one son, Gregory. This son, Gregory, No. 3 in the Kiersereau family, had four



MRS. ROSA K. WALKER
(Miss Rosa Kershaw)



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THE BOUGENOU HOME
Where first marriage in St. Louis was celebrated

daughters and two sons. Three of the daughters and one son married Tayons. The latter were among the first comers to St. Louis. They were millers, spelling the name Taillon in the colonial period. Tayon avenue took its name from this family.

Louis C. Dubreuil left a large family in which daughters were the large majority. He lived in St. Louis thirty years, becoming one of the most wealthy business men. Dubreuil and Sylvestre Labbadie came from the same part of France. They were young men who joined the settlement soon after it was established. They were alike successful in business. They lived near neighbors and died not only in the same year but within a few weeks of each other. Of the eleven Dubreuil children eight were daughters. Six of the daughters married. Their husbands were St. Vrain, Lebeaume, Delaurier, Tharp, Hempstead and Paul Ligest Chouteau.

A code of courtesy and respect, as well as one of morals, prevailed in early St. Louis. In Catalan, which was the name of the village before it was called Carondelet, a man spoke offensively of the wife of another habitant. He used this language in the presence of several ladies. The case was reported to the Spanish governor. The offender was sent for. He was asked for proofs of what he had alleged. Confessing that he could not substantiate the charge, he was given his choice of a retraction or such punishment as the governor might see fit to inflict. Retraction was chosen. The man signed this humiliating document:

I declare that it was wickedly and wrongfully that I made the statements that I did to these ladies. It was while under the influence of liquor that I calumniated her honor and reputation, having always known her, as I now know her, for a virtuous woman, with nothing with which to reproach her integrity. I crave pardon from God, the king and the lady, begging her to forgive me and promising to respect her on all occasions, beseeching you to ask her to accept the present declaration which I am ready to make to the lady publicly.

The governor declared that "considering the gravity of the offense the written recantation is not adequate to the injury done the lady."

The order was that the offender "be conducted on the next Sunday to the door of the parish church, at the close of mass, where he will publicly make the necessary reparation, as stated in his written recantation. He will then undergo an imprisonment of fifteen days as an example to others."

The French laws which defined the status of the married woman in that period were explicit and comprehensive. They gave to her rights of property and of person stronger than those conferred by the English laws. They provided for civil contracts preliminary to marriage. They preserved the identity and independence of the wife. While the married woman changed her name she could save by contract, and frequently did, the power to act singly in business and property transactions. The married woman, no matter what her years, became of legal age at once.

When William Tardy and Madame Joanna Henry decided to get married they signed a contract. Then they went to the church. The contract set forth:

Four cows, two young steers, one heifer, three calves, sixty hogs, a furnished bed, two iron pots, an oven, six crockery plates, two pewter dishes, two sad irons, a spinning wheel, the above articles with all they produce in future, being by right Mrs. Henry's property, are confirmed to her and her successors by this contract forever. And it is

declared hereby, that neither their marriage nor any other pretext gives any right to said Tardy over the articles above mentioned. Mr. Tardy declared that he accepted all of the above conditions.

If there was no ante-nuptial contract, the husband and wife held their property in common. When one died, the other received half of the estate. Children or other legal heirs of the deceased received the other half. Marriage contracts were, if not the rule, quite frequent. The industrious Labuscieri drew many of them. Occasionally there was another kind of contract to be drafted. It was the reverse of the marriage contract. The church could not divorce. The Spanish governor could send the incongenial apart with an agreement which disposed of the property.

Old Joe Verdun, the cabinet maker, married the widow Marianne Richelet. They lived together twelve years, had five children and acquired property on Main street near Myrtle. Then they went to Governor Cruzat with the declaration that for the salvation of their souls they would have to separate. The contract of separation set forth:

Not being able to sympathize together and wishing to put an end to their disagreements, they have unanimously resolved of their own free will to contract by these presents an act of separation, hoping by this means to insure the safety of their souls which each appears to desire, not being able to do so on account of their continual quarrels in the conjugal state.

Marianne Richelet, the agreement proceeds "shall remain in peaceable possession and hold all the goods which they this day own; the said Verdun being bound not to trouble her, withdrawing only the following articles: his gun, bed, clothes, two axes and all implements of turner and cabinet maker, these being indispensably necessary to him."

Marianne, the agreement stipulated, must pay all of the existing debts. The closing paragraph of this remarkable document dealt with the offspring.

As regards the children, they being four in number, two males and two females, the parties have agreed that they shall remain under the care and charge of their mother who binds herself to take charge of them and raise them in honor and in the fear of God.

The madame, like some other excellent women in early St. Louis developed a capacity for taking care of herself in a business way. She made trading trips by river and acquired more than a living for herself and children. She was known in the community as "La Verdun" and was treated with respect. One of the daughters married into a family of high standing. Many descendants of the Verduns are living in St. Louis.

"Neither song, nor story," wrote Richard Smith Elliott of St. Louis, "has ever done justice to the women of the frontier. Their industry, patience, fortitude and endurance have been so wonderful as only to be accounted for by the fact that they knew no better. Their manifestation of these qualities has often put to shame—or ought to have done so—the men associated with their lives. The great world knows little or nothing of the faithful sisterhood of pioneer women; but their obscure lives were often full of what in men would be called heroism; and we owe to them in a great degree the spread of empire westward, ever since the matrons and maids were first led into the wilderness by Daniel Boone and his courageous comrades. There ought to be an obelisk erected—taller than any on earth—and dedicated to the pioneer women of



MRS. R. J. LOCKWOOD
(Miss Angela Peale Robinson)



MISS MARY LOUISE DALTON



MRS. EMELINE F. REA
(Miss Emeline Frisbie)



MRS. MARGARET A. E. McLURE
(Miss Margaret A. E. Parkinson)

ST. LOUIS WOMANHOOD

America, who ever since the landing of the Mayflower, have been the patient and slightly rewarded servitors of civilization."

Henry M. Brackenridge wrote in 1810 of the pioneer families and social life of St. Louis:

The women make faithful and affectionate wives, but will not be considered secondary in the matrimonial association. The advice of the wife is taken on all important, as well as on less weighty concerns and she generally decides. There was scarcely any distinction of classes in the society. The wealthy and more intelligent would of course be considered as more important personages, but there was no difference clearly marked. They all associated, dressed alike and frequented the same ball room. They were in fact nearly all connected by the ties of affinity or consanguinity; so extensive is this that I have seen the carnival, from the death of a common relation, pass by cheerless and unheeded. The number of persons excluded was exceedingly small. What an inducement to comport one's self with propriety and circumspection! The same interest at stake, the same sentiments that in other countries influence the first classes of society, were here felt by all its members.

In their persons they are well formed, of an agreeable pleasant countenance, indicating cheerfulness and serenity. The dress of the females was generally simple and the variations of fashion few; though they were dressed in much better taste than the other sex. The American costume is generally introduced into the best families and among the young girls and young men universally. I never saw anywhere greater elegance of dress than at the balls in St. Louis. These people exhibit a striking difference when compared with the unconquerable pertinacity of the Pennsylvania Germans who adhere so rigidly to the customs, manners and language of their fathers. A few years have effected a greater change with the inhabitants of this territory than has been brought about among the Germans in fifty years. Their amusements were cards, billiards and dancing; this last, of course, the favorite. The dances were cotillions, and sometimes the minuet. Children have also their balls and are taught a decorum and propriety of behavior which is preserved through life. They have a certain ease and freedom of address, and are taught the secret of real politeness,—self-denial. Their language, everything considered, is more pure than might be expected. Their manner of lengthening the sound of words, although languid and without the animation which the French generally possess, is by no means disagreeable. They have some new words and others are in use which in France have become obsolete.

Remarkable were these families of daughters of St. Louis pioneers, both before and following the American occupation. Excellent wives and mothers they made. The sons of pioneers went out to win the Great West. They made up expedition after expedition of peaceable conquest. They established a hundred settlements, now flourishing cities, from the Mississippi to the Pacific, from St. Louis to Dubuque. Their sisters married the young men of the northern and southern states and of the nations of Europe, who came to find fortunes in St. Louis.

Of old Connecticut stock was the Camp family which settled in St. Louis in 1786. The Camps were not the first Americans to become St. Louisans. Philip True came from Virginia in 1781. By his second wife, who was of Pennsylvania birth, he had nine children. Many descendants of this first American settler live in and about St. Louis. A tragedy preceded the coming of the Camp family. Rev. Dr. Ichabod Camp was born at Durham. His ancestors, back more than a century, were notable in Connecticut history. They were among the first settlers of Hartford and Milford. Ichabod Camp graduated at Yale in 1743 when the college was a three-story wooden building with a cupola. He went to England and spent several years in London, receiving his license to preach from the Bishop of London. After his return to America he

had parishes in Connecticut and Virginia. Coming west with a family of daughters and with a retinue of slaves, Dr. Camp settled at Kaskaskia the year after George Rogers Clark captured and occupied the town and fort. In the seven years of his residence at Kaskaskia, Dr. Camp was the associate of Shadrach Bond and other pioneer settlers who were the makers of the early history of Illinois. In 1785 Dr. Camp's daughter Catherine married John B. Guion, of Canadian birth. Because of unkind treatment she returned to her father's house the next year. The husband followed and tried to compel the wife to rejoin him. Dr. Camp met his son-in-law at the door and attempted to restrain him. He was killed by a shot from Guion's pistol. A short time before the tragedy Stella Camp had married Antoine Reilhe, a French gentleman of good family who had taken up his residence in St. Louis. The widow and her daughters moved to St. Louis in May, 1786. Mrs. Camp was a Boston woman—Anne Oliver.

The daughters married. Louise, the youngest, became the wife of Mackey Wherry. In 1904 there were enough Wherrys to have a family day at the World's Fair and in celebration of the gathering a tree was planted in Forest Park near the Missouri building. At least three generations of Wherrys have held the office of city register of St. Louis. After the death of Guion, Catherine Camp married Israel Dodge, a Connecticut man, who came out to Missouri with the Austins. Upon Mrs. Dodge her husband settled a house and grounds, one thousand silver dollars, two slaves and a thousand arpents of land—about eight hundred acres. Another of the Camp girls, Charlotte, married Moses Bates. The oldest of this famous quartette of daughters, Estelle Camp Reilhe, left a son and two daughters. One of the daughters, Margaret Reilhe, became the wife of the first governor of Missouri, Alexander McNair, to whom she bore ten children. As strange, though not as tragic as the event which brought his wife's family to St. Louis, was the incident which made McNair a resident of the same place. McNair was of Pennsylvania birth. He was at college in Philadelphia when his father died. Returning home, a question arose between him and his younger brother as to which should control the estate. The mother agreed to leave it to a test of physical superiority. The younger won. Alexander McNair went into the army, came west and settled in St. Louis the year that the American flag was raised. Ichabod Camp's descendants in St. Louis are numerous. The esteem in which his widow and daughters were held is evidenced by the land records. To Mrs. Camp the Spanish governor granted a lot 120 by 150 feet on which to locate a barn at Fourth and Almond streets. To Mrs. Camp and her son-in-law Antoine Reilhe the same Spanish governor granted a tract of 2,900 arpents on the River des Peres.

One of the most notable of the matings in early St. Louis was that of Manuel Lisa and Mary Hempstead Keeney. Lisa had been a fur trader making expeditions up the Missouri for nearly thirty years. He clung to his Spanish and could speak a little French, but no English. Mary Hempstead had come out from her Connecticut home with her father, Stephen Hempstead. She knew no Spanish and very little French. Unable to communicate by language with each other, Manuel Lisa and Mary Hempstead became engaged, were married and lived most happily together. Years before, Lisa had married an Omaha

Indian woman who had borne him two children. When he married Mary Hempstead he decided to take her with him to Fort Lisa, his fur trading post, just above the present city of Omaha. Word was sent in advance that the Indian wife must be removed from the vicinity of the post. This was done, but Mitain, the Omaha woman, came back and sent the child, a fine boy named Raymond, to see his father. When, in the spring of 1820, Lisa prepared to return to St. Louis with the season's packs, he sent for Mitain, the Indian wife, told her their relations could never be renewed and asked that the boy be given to him to take to St. Louis to be educated. The Indian wife grasped the boy, ran to the river, got a canoe, rowed across and hid. The next day she returned; humbly presented the boy, saying she knew it would be better for him to go to St. Louis. But she begged that she be allowed to go as a member of the household, offering to put up with anything if she could be near to see her children occasionally. Lisa refused. The woman became very angry. She told Lisa their marriage had been for life; he had no right to turn her away. The scene was distressing. Lisa returned to St. Louis, was stricken that summer with a fatal malady and died at Sulphur Springs, a health resort south of Forest Park, and now within the city limits. For the education of the two Indian children he left \$4,000.

By his neighbors in St. Louis Lisa was known as Manuel. He was called Mr. Manuel. Those not familiar with Lisa's early history supposed that Manuel was his surname. Mrs. Lisa became known to the community as Aunt Manuel. She was a woman of beautiful temper, capable and much given to good works. Upon the shaft in Bellefontaine which marks the resting place of Mrs. Manuel Lisa is graven "Aunt Manuel."

"The Lone Woman" Pelagie Chouteau was called. Her mother died when she was a child. Sons, a house full of them, were born to Pierre Chouteau, the senior, or "the major," as he was commonly called; Pelagie was the only girl in the family. For this distinction the Indians bestowed on her the title of "the lone woman." As she grew into young womanhood, Mlle. Pelagie became distinguished in another way. Among the many fair granddaughters of Madame Chouteau, there was none more charming. Pelagie Chouteau reigned socially in her father's great stone house. There Bartholomew Berthold, the young Tyrolese officer, who was perhaps the most accomplished scholar of the day in St. Louis, came awooing. The marriage took place in the winter of 1811. Thenceforward she was Madame Berthold. The Berthold mansion for a generation was a social center, where the traveler carried away the best of impressions of St. Louis hospitality. Then came more than forty years of widowhood.

The slave population of St. Louis was never large. Evils of slavery were mitigated by the humane, gentle, even affectionate care which the wives of St. Louis slave owners bestowed upon their dependents. The traveling companions of Kossuth, the Hungarian patriot, came to this city expecting to find material for criticism. They wrote about a close view they had of the institution:

Today I visited a large American establishment belonging to Colonel O'Fallon. The place reminded me of a Hungarian house; a large solid stone building on a hill, in the midst of a park with stately trees, surrounded by cottages. But here the likeness ceased; the inmates were black slaves. As far as I saw, they are well fed and well clothed. When

we arrived at the door a negro woman opened it; it was the former nurse of Mrs. Pope, the lady who accompanied me, the daughter of the proprietor. Black Lucy seemed delighted to see her young mistress, and brought all her children and grandchildren to greet her—a numerous band of woolly-haired imps, by no means handsome; but Mrs. Pope petted them, and genuine affection seemed to exist on both sides. Tomorrow we leave St. Louis. On the whole it has left me the pleasant impression of young and expansive life.

Tradition tells of the consideration which Madame Chouteau bestowed upon her slaves. There were free negroes in St. Louis long before the American occupation. They received concessions of land. The wills filed in the colonial records show that freedom was given to faithful servants. To the Spanish governor petitions, such as the following, were addressed:

Louis Villars, lieutenant of infantry, in the batallion of Louisiana, humbly prays you that he is the owner of a negress named Julie, about thirty years of age; that she has rendered him great services for a number of years, especially during two severe spells of sickness your petitioner has undergone. The zeal and attachment she exhibited in his service having completely ruined her health, he desires to set her at liberty with a view to her restoration.

In 1801 and 1802, a subject of considerable correspondence between the Spanish governor at St. Louis and his superior at New Orleans was the importation of negro slaves into St. Louis and into other settlements of Upper Louisiana. The Spanish representative at New Orleans was Juan Ventura Morales. In 1801 he sent to the Spanish governor at St. Louis, Don Carlos Dehault Delassus, a copy of royal orders "that His Majesty does not wish for the present to have any negroes introduced into that province." The reason assigned is that the King "has allowed 5,000 negroes to be introduced free under a concession given to a French firm, Cassague, Huguel, Raymon and company.

"For your information," writes Morales, "I send you copy of the royal orders." And he adds, "May the Lord keep you many years."

About ten months later Intendant Morales wrote at considerable length about this order against importation of slaves into St. Louis. The inference might be drawn that Governor Delassus had found difficulty in the enforcement of the royal orders and had questioned the wisdom of the orders. It seems evident that Don Carlos felt the need of advice or instruction from his superior. Morales wrote in May, 1802, in this way:

It is not the place of the subordinate chiefs or of any good subject to inquire or investigate the causes which may help the King in his determinations. The duty of these chiefs is to obey and comply blindly with whatsoever is ordered to them and what is prescribed in the royal laws unless by so doing they see there is some danger. In such cases the subordinate chiefs can delay the compliance with such orders until the King shall learn of this and may resolve what His Royal Majesty shall consider agreeable. Under this principle, the introduction of negroes being considered, it is my duty to obey and comply with the orders of His Majesty.

Morales tells Delassus that he has been denying the applications of planters to import slaves and that this policy must continue until the French firm has brought in the 5,000 under the concession. He points out to Delassus the argument which may be used in defense of the royal orders and suggests the course of action against the violators of the King's instructions:

The King, perhaps, had strong political reasons for the concession given to the mentioned French citizens. It might compromise his royal authority if this Intendance should not watch for the introduction of negroes. To refuse the introduction of negro slaves we



MRS. MARY F. SCANLAN
(Miss Mary F. Christy)



MRS. MARY ANN WAY
(Miss Mary Ann Ellis)



MRS. CAROLINE O'FALLON
(Miss Caroline Schutz)



MRS. VIRGINIE S. PEUGNET
(Miss Virginie Sarpy)



MRS. MARY ANN BOYCE EDGAR
(Miss Mary Ann Boyce)

ST. LOUIS WOMANHOOD

have an excuse in the revolution attempted not many years ago in Virginia and Carolina by that class of people. There is no doubt that the American government and the owners of slaves wish to get free of these people at any sacrifice. What, then, would become of this Province if its chiefs, with closed eyes to such an important matter should permit the introduction of such a dangerous people?

Intendant Morales proceeds with real diplomacy to make a fine virtue of the necessity to enforce the royal orders:

The unfortunate example of the French islands and the knowledge of what was attempted in the north colonies, which was not effected because the plot was discovered in time, must persuade not only the sensible men but also those who are interested in an imaginary prosperity caused by this dangerous people, that it would be against public tranquillity and law and justice if this Intendance does not see the wise order prohibiting introduction of negro slaves is not ignored. Therefore I request you to exercise the most exact watchfulness without accepting any permission but the one from the King. In the event there shall be any introduction of negro slaves you will make verbal process of the case and apprehend the negroes. You will forward everything to this Intendance.

The first list of taxpayers of St. Louis is not a long one but it contained the names of several people of color who owned real estate. Geoffrey Camp was listed as a mulatto and Marie Labastille as "negresse libre." Suzanne, "negresse," owned a house and lot which was assessed at \$250, quite a comfortable homestead for 1805. Laveille, "free negro;" Flores, "free negress;" were among these first taxpayers in St. Louis. Esther Morgan, "a free mulatto," owned valuable property on South Third street. When the first constitution for Missouri was to be framed, a ticket of candidates who were "opposed to the further introduction of slavery into Missouri" was nominated but failed of election. The persons on this first anti-slavery ticket in St. Louis were J. B. C. Lucas, Cash Bowles, Robert Simpson, William Long, Rufus Pettibone, John Brown and John Bobb.

The negro population of St. Louis in 1870 was only 22,045, about one-twelfth of the city. In thirty years thereafter it had not kept pace with the city's growth. In 1900 there was one person of African descent to about twenty white people in St. Louis.

During one of the cholera epidemics Major Richard Graham, living at his country seat, Hazelwood, wrote to a friend: "The cholera made its appearance and was followed by a congestive fever which carried off sixteen of my negroes. . . . It has shattered me a good deal. Marshall and I have not as yet recovered from the shock of melancholy feelings in seeing so many human beings dying around me and looking up to me as their only hope in their despair and their agonies. My place was a perfect hospital and Mrs. Graham and myself constant attendants and nurses amidst the thickest of the cholera. We escaped as well as our children." Mrs. Francis D. Hirschberg, who was Miss Mary Frost, a granddaughter of Major Graham, wrote in comment on this letter: "A sidelight, this, upon the position of master and slave—since so often misunderstood. The kindly Virginia traditions were held to: no slaves were sold; no corporal punishment was allowed. The family ties were held as sacred and respected accordingly."

When Robert Lewis went to California in the rush of 1849 he took with him Jesse Hubbard, a slave who belonged to his wife. Lewis and the colored man came back with \$15,000. The master divided fairly with the slave. Hub-

bard took his share to his mistress, who in her turn divided with him and gave him his freedom. The negro bought a farm and settled in St. Louis county.

Rev. Dr. Truman M. Post described the people as he found them when he first came to the city in 1833: "The society of St. Louis as I found it then, though largely French, was quite cosmopolitan, made up from all parts of the United States and from countries beyond the sea. Its tone and spirit of frank, genial hospitality strongly attracted me." Dr. Post deplored the existence of slavery in St. Louis as the "one skeleton in the closet of our house of beauty, promise and pride." He spoke of the "earnest, brave, accomplished Christian women." He was full of confidence in the future of St. Louis society. "The city was not without signs of a profounder and a more enduring prosperity in the rise of institutions—moral, religious and humanitarian—in which a living Christianity in the people must develop itself. Hospitals, asylums, homes and benevolent societies were clustered around the multiplying churches, while schools, academies, universities, libraries, newspapers and the varied educational instrumentalities gave proof of the consciousness of the higher needs of intellectual and moral culture, and of the presence among us of that which must be the hope and glory of every community—a class of public-spirited and large-minded philanthropic Christian men."

The slave traders had no social recognition in St. Louis. One of them was stoned by boys shortly before the Civil war. St. Louis parted with slavery willingly. What pro-slavery sentiment had existed was largely because of sympathy for the south, where family ties bound and trade relations existed.

Organized charity in St. Louis began in 1824. It was the result of a movement by the foremost women of the city. The first meeting was held at the residence of the governor, Alexander McNair. Mrs. George F. Strother was chosen president of the Female Charitable society, as it was named, and Mrs. McNair was made the first vice president. It is told of the wife of the first editor in St. Louis that no one in need was turned away from her door. Mrs. Sarah Charless lived to be eighty-one years of age. She was a resident of St. Louis half a century. St. Louis was notably lacking in hotels when Joseph Charless came to start the first newspaper. Strangers whose credentials or appearances justified were made welcome at private houses. To accommodate the newcomers who often found it difficult to obtain shelter, Mr. and Mrs. Charless opened their home, which was a large one on Fifth and Market streets. A sign was hung from a post, bearing the announcement "Entertainment by Joseph Charless." With the house was a garden, one of the finest in St. Louis, occupying half of the block bounded by Fourth, Fifth, Market and Walnut streets. There the vegetables and fruits were raised for the table which became famous. In a card to the Gazette Mr. Charless stated that strangers "will find every accommodation but whiskey." Mrs. Charless was one of the most active members of the Presbyterian church.

Women had their share in the patriotic events of the pioneer period. The Gazette told of a Fourth of July celebration in 1809. Toasts were offered by ladies. Mrs. McClure offered: "Long may we enjoy peace and equality, and our religious and civil rights under the auspicious wings of the American Eagle."



MISS HESTER BATES LAUGHLIN
1894



MISS BESSIE KINGSLAND
1895



MISS LOUISE McCREERY
1896



MISS JANE DOROTHY FORDYCE
1897

QUEENS OF THE VEILED PROPHET

Miss Jane McClure gave: "The genius of the seventeenth century, Dr. Priestley."

The sentiment chosen by Mrs. Coats was: "Perpetual disappointment to the enemies of the Union."

By Mrs. Blair the following was proposed: "The memory of General Washington and all the heroes of 1776."

This celebration was held at Harrisonville, on the Illinois side of the Mississippi, a few miles below St. Louis. Opposite Harrisonville, on the Missouri side, was Herculaneum. For both of these settlements their founders had great expectations, confident that they would rival if not surpass St. Louis.

A romance of the decade 1820-30, coming down to the present through family traditions links the names of two of the famous Coalter sisters with two St. Louisans who became eminent. There were five of the Coalter sisters. The family was among the best of South Carolina. Three of the sisters married South Carolinians, William C. Preston, Chancellor Harper and Dr. M. Means. Edward Bates, the young St. Louis lawyer, courted Caroline J. Coalter. He was rejected, but so gently that the friendship between them continued. One of Edward Bates' strong characteristics was the ability to inspire confidence in himself. Miss Coalter was induced to admit to her suitor that her preference was for Hamilton Rowan Gamble, the young Virginia lawyer who had come out to join his elder brother, Archibald. Miss Coalter explained that she could never marry Hamilton because of his habits. Edward Bates, so the tradition runs, went to Gamble, told him what he was losing and induced him to sign the pledge. Gamble kept the pledge. He became exemplary in his habits. In 1827 Hamilton Gamble and Caroline Coalter were married. But before that Edward Bates had married Julia D. Coalter, the sister of Caroline. A third of a century later these two men, both of Virginia descent, with South Carolina wives, became leading characters in the opposition to secession of Missouri. Bates went into Lincoln's cabinet and Gamble became the war governor who organized Missouri for loyalty to the Union.

The seven daughters of Rufus Easton, the first postmaster of St. Louis, formed one of the most notable groups of young women during the years when St. Louis was passing through the transitions of village, town and city. The mother of the Easton girls was a New York lady of culture. As they grew up the girls received the very best educational advantages which could be given them. Their hands were sought in marriage by some of the foremost young men of that generation. One of the sisters married Henry S. Geyer, the lawyer; another, Archibald Gamble, brother of the governor; a third, Major Sibley, with whom she founded Lindenwood seminary at St. Charles. Another of the Easton sisters became the wife of Hon. Thomas L. Anderson of Palmyra.

Second marriages in the early days of St. Louis were made the occasion of strenuous congratulation. John F. Darby told this in his Recollections:

The custom had prevailed in St. Louis, from time immemorial, when a widower or widow got married, to charivari them on the night of the wedding. It was determined, therefore, to charivari Colonel O'Fallon on the night of his second marriage. For this purpose about a thousand or twelve hundred of the "boys" collected together and proceeded down the street, and stopped in front of the house where the wedding took place. They had horns, trumpets, tin pans, tambourines, drums, triangles, and every conceivable instrument

that could make a noise. They yelled, they screeched and shouted. They bleated like sheep; they lowed like cattle; they crowed like chickens. They had a sprinkling of the Rocky Mountain fur traders and trappers with them, who occasionally seasoned the entertainment with Indian yells and warwhoops. They made such a hideous noise and confusion of sounds that the guests in the house could hardly hear themselves talk.

At last Judge Peck, of the United States court for the Missouri district, who had stood up with Colonel O'Fallon on that occasion, came out on the little platform in front of the house, and called out in a loud voice, "Silence! Silence!" The noise was ceased. Judge Peck went on to say: "I want to know who is the commander of this very respectable company of gentlemen?" Colonel Charles Keemle stepped forward and said that he "had the honor to command this very respectable company of gentlemen." Judge Peck proceeded: "I am instructed by Colonel O'Fallon to say to this very respectable company of gentlemen, that he recognizes them all as his friends, and that they are authorized to go forth and enjoy themselves, and make merry at his expense at any place they choose."

The crowd gave three cheers for O'Fallon, and went off down town, where they caroused, drank and frolicked all night. It was reported that they cleaned out two groceries for which Colonel O'Fallon had to pay \$1,000 the next day.

A curious craze reached St. Louis in 1839. It affected all of the women folk. The climate of St. Louis was especially adapted to the mulberry. An acre of mulberry trees would feed the worms, and the worms would produce cocoons, giving thousands of dollars' worth of silk. For a time silk culture was on every feminine tongue. Mulberry trees were planted until the suburbs of St. Louis promised to become one great mulberry grove. The legislature granted a charter. The Missouri Silk company was organized. There was something wrong in the theory. The silk industry never attained practical results. Mulberry groves languished and disappeared.

The distribution of \$1,000,000 of money and real estate in philanthropy and charity was the record one St. Louis woman left behind her, as devoid of publicity as circumstances would permit. Mrs. Anne Lucas Hunt died thirty years ago. The institutions she founded or fostered are still doing good. Her mother died in 1811, a few years after the family settled here. The girl of fifteen came into the management of the household of her father, Judge J. B. C. Lucas. She had the vivacity of her French descent. Her own personality as well as her father's official station made her one of the social leaders of St. Louis. Her first husband was Theodore Hunt, who had retired from the United States navy, and her second husband was Wilson P. Hunt, his cousin. Mrs. Hunt founded the house of the Good Shepherd, the church and the school of St. Mary's. She gave largely to the Little Sisters of the Poor. As a widow, managing her great estate as if she held it in trust, giving with discrimination a fortune to do good, shunning any personal credit for her benevolence, transmitting her business affairs to others as she neared four-score and finally enjoining such arrangements for her funeral as should avoid display, Anne Lucas Hunt was one of the most impressive personalities in St. Louis womanhood.

A woman's influence and judgment laid the foundation of the great Lucas estate. When Judge Jean Baptiste Charles Lucas accepted the appointment of commissioner of land claims and judge of the territorial court at St. Louis from President Jefferson, he was living near Pittsburg on a farm. Some time before he had taken a lot in Pittsburg for a fee. He had traded the lot for a horse. By a sudden rise in values of real estate, the lot sold for \$25,000. The incident made a deep impression upon Mrs. Lucas. The judge moved to St. Louis in



MISS MARIE SCANLAN
1898



MISS ELLEN H. WALSH
1899



MISS SUSAN LARKIN THOMSON
1900



MISS EMILY WICKHAM
1901

QUEENS OF THE VEILED PROPHET

1805. He sold his farm for \$5,000. After his arrival here he put into land his surplus and his salary. He was influenced to do so by Mrs. Lucas. Mrs. Hunt told the story in a sketch of the family written many years ago:

On the advice of my mother, who had learned experience from the sale of the Pittsburg lot, he invested his salary in the purchase of land. He bought mostly out lots, facing on what is now Fourth street, each lot being one arpent wide by forty arpents deep. All this land was used as a common field, each man cultivating what he pleased. There were no fences of any kind on it. By purchasing a lot at a time, he at length came to own all the land from Market street to St. Charles and from Fourth street to Jefferson avenue. He did not buy it as a speculation but for what it would produce; it turned out, however, to be an immense speculation, for the whole seven arpents front did not cost him over seven hundred dollars, and that property is now worth, I suppose, seventy millions. A hundred dollars was what he usually paid for an arpent in width by forty deep, though sometimes he got it for less. The heirs to this vast estate need not thank my father for it, for he was too much of a politician to think of investing his money in land; it was my mother's foresight that suggested the investment which turned out so well.

There were twelve children in the family of John Mullanphy, all of whom received educational facilities unusual for that day. Most of the children were sent to Europe to complete their educations. The last daughter died in a convent in Paris. Jane married Charles Chambers; Katherine married Major Richard Graham, of the United States army; Ann married Major Thomas Biddle of the United States army, who was killed in a duel with Spencer Pettis; Mary married General W. S. Harney, of the United States army; Eliza married John Clemens; Octavia married first Dr. Delany and later, after his death, Judge Boyce.

Ann Biddle was the first of her sex in the United States to be mentioned prominently for canonization. It was said that she had bestowed more on charities than any other woman in the United States. When she died in January, 1846, her funeral was attended by an immense number of people, the children of the male and female orphan asylums being present. Mrs. Biddle had given up her private residence to the orphan asylum which her father had endowed. She made provision for a building for indigent widows.

Practical forms the philanthropic efforts of St. Louis men and women of all generations have assumed. The story that John F. Darby told to illustrate Bryan Mullanphy's policy of helping people to help themselves is entertaining:

One gloomy day, late in the evening, a woman was sitting at the old market, holding a fine looking cow. She had come from a farm on the Illinois side to sell the cow. She had been waiting hours for a purchaser. In passing Judge Mullanphy saw her. He asked what she was going to do with the cow. The woman said she wanted to sell her. The judge inquired the price. The woman told him. "Is she a good cow?" asked Judge Mullanphy. "She is," said the woman, "and a fine one to milk." The judge inquired why the cow, if so good, was for sale. The woman replied that she had so many children to support she was compelled to sell the cow to raise some money. The judge remarked that if his stable was finished, so that he had a place to keep the cow he would buy her, but the stable "was not finished." Here the judge performed a sort of theatrical part, running across Market street to the north side. The poor woman thought she had lost an opportunity to sell the cow. But after crossing the street, Judge Mullanphy stopped a minute, as if considering something. He then went back to the woman and said: "I will give you the money for the cow now,—here it is," handing the money. "You take the cow back to your place in Illinois, and keep her for me; and here is some more money to pay you for keeping the cow for me." Mullanphy never sought for the woman or the cow afterwards.

Winifred Patterson gave \$648,000 to philanthropic and religious purposes, dividing the money among ten or twelve St. Louis institutions. A lifetime of devotion to philanthropy in the most effective forms has been the record of Mrs. C. C. Rainwater. The Young People's Humane society, the first of its kind in this country, was organized in 1885 by Mrs. Ida Holt with sixteen members between the ages of five and twelve years. It attained a membership of 1,800.

The home for girls maintained by the Sisters of Mercy is conducted on a plan quite unlike any other institution. It provides several departments graded to meet the circumstances of respectable self-supporting girls. In the department of St. Michael's Private Accommodation girls are boarded at \$3.50 a week; in St. Catherine's, at \$2.50 a week; in St. Xavier's, at \$1 a week. St. Xavier's department affords a home for young girls who are just beginning to support themselves on small wages. The dollar a week means three meals, light, water, heat and use of laundry. As their circumstances improve, the girls remove to other departments. In a fourth department deserving girls temporarily out of employment work for their board until they can obtain places. In a fifth department the youngest girls out of homes are given training to fit them for situations. St. Joseph's Hospitality is a refuge for the night, given to homeless women.

"United Jewish Charities" in St. Louis means the Jewish hospital on Delmar boulevard, the Home for Aged and Infirm Israelites on South Jefferson avenue and the Jewish Educational Alliance on Ninth and Carr. This alliance institution contains a night school, kindergarten, industrial school, commercial school, legal aid bureau, penny savings bank, conservatory of music and department of advanced classes. The United Jewish Charities carries on a branch of the pure milk commission, cooperates with the juvenile court, aids the truant officer of the board of education. It comprises also the United Hebrew Relief association, the Selma Michael Day nursery and the Free Employment bureau.

The loveliest woman of St. Louis in 1812 was Isabelle Gratiot, granddaughter of Madame Chouteau. She had beauty of feature and charm of manner. The social event of that year was the marriage of Isabelle Gratiot and Jules DeMun, one of the best educated young men of the town, for St. Louis had not then become a city. Jules DeMun had lived in France and England. He had enjoyed the best of educational advantages. He spoke and wrote Spanish. His manners were gentle and retiring. The union was ideal. There were five daughters. Isabelle, the namesake of her mother, became the wife of Edward Walsh and their first born was Julius S. Walsh. Julie DeMun married Antoine Leon Chenie. Louise was Mrs. Robert A. Barnes. Emilie became the wife of Charles Bland Smith. Walsh was from Ireland. Barnes was a native of the District of Columbia, descended from a Maryland family. Smith was a native of St. Louis, of Virginia and Kentucky descent. Only one of these four great-granddaughters of Madame Chouteau married into a French family. In his will Robert A. Barnes, who left a great estate to found a hospital, referred to Mrs. Barnes as "my beloved wife, the most devoted daughter, wife and mother I ever knew." Mrs. Barnes was a devout Catholic. There was not only no conflict of religious opinion between them but Mrs. Barnes coincided



MISS MAUD WELLS
1902



MISS LUCILLE CHOUTEAU
1903



MISS STELLA WADE
1904



MISS JULIA CABANNE
1905

heartily with her husband in his plans to place his hospital bequest in the hands of Methodist trustees.

From Fincastle in Botetourt county, Virginia, came several of the brides of pioneers to St. Louis. One of these was Sarah Mitchell, whose father had removed west in 1818. At the golden wedding of Mr. and Mrs. William Glasgow,—the lady was formerly Miss Sarah Mitchell,—the story was told that when Mr. Glasgow first saw the young lady in St. Louis he was so pleased with her appearance he declared at once that she should become his wife. Miss Mitchell was at that time only sixteen years old, but that had been the marrying age among the young ladies of her family for four generations, and she said she felt bound to keep up the old custom. Mr. and Mrs. Glasgow went to live about 1831 in a three-story dwelling on Fourth street, between Market and Walnut. At that time this seemed to be so far out in the country that Mrs. Glasgow's lady friends expressed regret, saying it would not be convenient to visit her in such a distant suburban dwelling. Most of the residences of that period were on Main street between Walnut and Poplar and on Chestnut and Pine between Main and Third streets. Golden weddings have been notable in the Glasgow family, this one in St. Louis in 1868 being the third that had occurred in the line of descent. It was said of William Glasgow when he celebrated his golden wedding anniversary that during over half a century of residence in St. Louis he had never been known to speak an unkind word to a human being. Members of his family asserted that they had never heard a cross word come from his lips. Mr. Glasgow had passed through troubles and reverses as well as successes in a long business career, but had borne them with a fortitude so extraordinary as to make his disposition a matter of marvel in the community.

Seven of the nine persons who organized the first Presbyterian church in St. Louis were women—Mary Hempstead, Britannia Brown, Chloe Reed, Mary Keeny, Magdalen Scott, Susanna Osborne, Susan Gratiot and Sarah Beebe.

The mother of Thomas H. Benton came to St. Louis, traveling on the steamboat "Whig," in the summer of 1831. She came on board at a landing called Trinity, six miles above Bird's Point. The boat had stopped there about midnight. The accommodations were exhausted; Mrs. Benton was turned over to a sleepy chambermaid and received very scant attention. She was so indignant that the next morning she sent for Captain Artus and ordered him to put her ashore anywhere on account of the treatment she had received on board the "Whig." Mrs. Benton at that time was about eighty years old, but very vigorous. It took considerable persuasion on the part of the captain to calm her and to induce her to continue her trip to St. Louis.

Charm of manner was not derived wholly from the French element in St. Louis. There were early families like that of Beverly Allen which exerted marked influence for good upon the social life of St. Louis and which contributed to give St. Louis its character for courtesy and hospitality. When St. Louis was not much more than in name a city, it was a custom of Beverly Allen to call upon young lawyers and business men coming to establish themselves here. He did more than offer a courteous welcome in words. He extended encouragement to them in ways that they never forgot. He invited them

to his home. Beverly Allen was the son of a Richmond, Va., merchant. He was educated in the law at Princeton and came to St. Louis in 1827. Mrs. Allen was a daughter of Judge Nathaniel Pope, who moved the line of Illinois fifty-one miles further north than originally fixed and kept Chicago in the state. She was a sister of Major-General John Pope. The daughters of Beverly Allen married George D. Hall, Isaac H. Sturgeon and John C. Orrick.

Of Judge William C. Carr it was said that he crossed the Mississippi river one winter on floating cakes of ice at the imminent hazard of his life, floating down stream for miles before he could make the landing. He was coming from the east and was prompted to this act in order to be with his dying wife.

William L. Sublette married an Alabama lady, Miss Frances Hereford, to whom his younger brother, Solomon P., had been quite attentive. When the captain died he left his fortune to Mrs. Sublette, on condition that she would not change her name. After a period of mourning the widow became the wife of Solomon P. Sublette. She did not change her name.

A notable friend of libraries, of music and of art throughout the half century of his life in St. Louis was James Clark Way, of Pennsylvania Quaker descent, closely related to the family of which Bayard Taylor, traveler and author, was a member. Mr. Way was one of the group upon whom Rev. Dr. William G. Eliot depended to carry out his public-spirited projects for making St. Louis a better place in which to live. He married in 1839 the niece and adopted daughter of John Perry, the pioneer lead miner, who had come to St. Louis and had built one of the most imposing private residences of that period at Sixth and Locust, where the Equitable building stands. Mary Ann Ellis was one of the beauties of St. Louis during the thirties. The Perrys spent their summers at White Sulphur Springs and there President Van Buren was entertained by them.

One of the Virginia brides who brought grace and beauty to St. Louis womanhood was Angelica Peale Robinson, who became Mrs. Richard J. Lockwood. She was the granddaughter of the beautiful Angelica Peale who lowered the laurel wreath upon the head of George Washington as he rode under the triumphal arch at Philadelphia, going to New York to be inaugurated President the first time. She was a descendant of the famous portrait painter, Charles Wilson Peale. Hospitality in its most natural form has been characteristic of St. Louis womanhood through generations. That quality Mrs. Lockwood possessed in marked degree. Nearly fifty years the home of Mrs. Lockwood, both in the city and in the country, was one of the places from which the guest carried away most pleasant memories. Some one traveling in England met a lady, formerly of St. Louis but residing abroad, who asked about Mrs. Lockwood and added, "Of all the people I knew in St. Louis the one who stands out most pleasantly in my memory is Mrs. Lockwood." Such homes as that of the Lockwoods gave St. Louis its deserved reputation for perfect hospitality.

Two heroic characters of the war time in St. Louis were Mrs. Mary Ann Boyce Edgar and Mrs. Margaret A. E. McLure. Mrs. Edgar was of southern nativity; she was born in Alabama. Her parents were of North Carolina families who traced back their descent from the colonial settlers on Albemarle Sound. With the beginning of the war this southern born woman promptly showed her



MISS MARGUERITE TOWER
1906



MISS MARGARET CABELL
1907



MISS DOROTHY SHAPLEIGH
1908
QUEENS OF THE VEILED PROPHECY

devotion to the Union. She was one of a group of St. Louis women who met in July, 1861, a few days after the battle of Bull Run to plan how they could help the National government by relief work. Mrs. Edgar became the leader and the organizer. Fremont called for lint, for bandages, for other hospital supplies that women could prepare. The organization was called the Fremont Relief society. The room at headquarters that had been assigned was needed. Mrs. Edgar moved the society to her own residence. There for a year and a half great quantities of material for which the surgeons were calling were prepared and sent out. The early battles found the government without hospitals, with next to no preparation for the wounded. Mrs. Edgar assisted to find nurses, to assemble supplies, to prepare hospital accommodations. As the work increased the Western Sanitary commission and the Ladies' Union Aid society were developed. Not until the emergency had passed did Mrs. Edgar rest from her merciful efforts. She ably assisted James E. Yeatman, the head of the sanitary commission. Mrs. Margaret A. E. McLure was of Pennsylvania birth. Her grandfather laid out the town of Williamsport, which became Monongahela City. The Parkinsons for generations were prominent in Western Pennsylvania affairs. Finely educated, of strong character, accustomed to think for herself, Mrs. McLure believed firmly in the justice of the southern cause. She did not hesitate to let her sentiments be known and was made a prisoner in her own house. In the spring of 1863, with other women who felt as she did, Mrs. McLure was put on board a boat and sent down the river to the Confederate lines. She had given her eldest son to the cause. Exiled from home for her convictions, she devoted herself to the parole camps and hospitals, doing all that she could to relieve and comfort the Confederate soldiers. Returning to St. Louis, Mrs. McLure became the leading spirit in the Daughters of the Confederacy, and in the relief work of that organization for the widows and orphans of Confederates. Twenty years after the war a daughter of one of these noble women married a son of the other.

Organization and work of St. Louis womanhood to mitigate the horrors of war took on a variety of forms in 1861-5. The Ladies' Union Aid society gave special attention to the hospitals. Of this body Mrs. Alfred Clapp was the president. In the military hospitals of St. Louis during the first three years of the war, there were cared for 61,744 patients, of whom 5,684 died. Negro refugees straggled into St. Louis from the south. They were just out of bondage and as helpless as little children. The Ladies' Freedmen association undertook to meet the pressing necessities of these unfortunate people. Thousands were cared for until they could be put to work. The president of this society was Mrs. Lucien Eaton. In the summer of 1864, the work of relief had reached such proportions that the women of St. Louis met in Mercantile Library hall and organized the Ladies' National League with 1,200 members. The wife of Rev. Dr. Truman M. Post was the president of the league. A star was worn as the badge of membership. The vice presidents were Mrs. George Partridge, Mrs. Frank P. Blair, Mrs. R. P. Clark, Mrs. Wyllis King, Mrs. Charles D. Drake, Mrs. Charles W. Stevens. The treasurer was Mrs. R. H. Morton.

To St. Louis, in 1881, came a group of distinguished French officers, visiting the United States to participate in the centennial observance of the surrender

at Yorktown. They were descendants of the officers who fought with Lafayette and Rochambeau and de Grasse for American independence. Accompanied by the representative of the French legation at Washington, these Frenchmen were touring the country. They were entertained by the Merchants' Exchange and by United States army officers at Jefferson Barracks. But of the attentions bestowed by St. Louis upon the visitors nothing impressed them so deeply and awakened such enthusiasm among them as the reception given in their honor by Mrs. Mary F. Scanlan. There have been social affairs in St. Louis which were historic and this was one of them. Nowhere in the United States, said these officers, had they received a social welcome to compare with that given them by Mrs. Scanlan. General Boulanger, representing the French army, expressed the appreciation of himself and his associates for a reception which had deeply touched them. Mrs. Scanlan was the granddaughter of Nicholas Jarrot, a Frenchman full of the republican spirit which prevailed in St. Louis from the days of Laclede. He settled in Cahokia and built the historic Jarrot mansion, one of the first brick buildings in the Mississippi valley. Nicholas Jarrot's business relations were with St. Louis. His daughter, Melaine Jarrot, married Samuel C. Christy. Like so many others of the old French families, Mrs. Scanlan combined with her social graces practical zeal in the field of benevolence.

The Civil war was a period that tried the constancy of St. Louis womanhood. Robert Randolph Hutchinson was one of the Missouri Minute men whose flag hung from a window of the old mansion on Fifth and Pine streets in the spring of 1861. He was first lieutenant of a company at Camp Jackson at the time of the capture. Soon after the release he went south and became an officer in the First Missouri Infantry, which Colonel John S. Bowen organized at Memphis for Confederate service. When Mr. Hutchinson went away from St. Louis in 1861, an engagement existed between Miss Mary Mitchell, a descendant of William Christy, and himself. The two did not see each other until February, 1865, when Miss Mitchell obtained from President Lincoln a special permit to visit Colonel Hutchinson, then a prisoner of war at Fort Delaware. Three days after his release from prison, Colonel Hutchinson and Miss Mitchell were married.

St. Louis gained many excellent citizens through the war. The Steedmans were South Carolinians, an old family, the members of which had given account of themselves in every war from the Colonial period down. Five Steedmans were in South Carolina's famous Military Institute at one time. Dr. Isaac G. W. Steedman was colonel of the First Alabama at Island No. 10, when the Confederate forces were forced to yield after a six weeks' siege. He was brought to St. Louis and confined in Gratiot street prison, from the windows of which he received such an impression of St. Louis as prompted him to settle here at the close of the war. The family of James Harrison lived across the street from the Gratiot street prison, and showed the prisoners kindly attentions. When Dr. Steedman came to St. Louis after the war he renewed an acquaintance formed with Miss Dora Harrison. Marriage followed.

"Mimi" was a pet name for girls in the old French families a century ago. It was Indian and meant little pigeon. "Virginia" was a favorite name for daughters among the French families. The suggestion did not come from the



THE VEILED PROPHET



MISS GRACE SEMPLE



MISS FRANCES WICKHAM BRYAN



MISS LEAH VAN RIPER
MAIDS OF HONOR, 1908



Old Dominion state. Baby girls were christened Virginia because the mothers had read, tearfully, the story of Paul and Virginia. Bernardine de Saint Pierre's novel came out in 1797. It circulated all over the world and reached St. Louis. The romance made the first literary impression on the village. It prompted the use of the name of the heroine many times.

The Sneed sisters were daughters of Rev. Samuel R. Sneed, a Presbyterian minister widely known through Kentucky and Indiana before the Civil war. Anna E. Sneed started Kirkwood seminary in one room with seven pupils the first year of the war, 1861. As the school prospered, Mary C. Sneed and Hattie E. Sneed became teachers. The Sneed sisters were born to teach. The career of Anna Sneed Cairns belongs to the history of education of American women. It has been of more than local significance. Anna Sneed graduated at the since famous Monticello seminary in 1858. She could enter no college. Higher education for her sex was a dim dream. The girl of seventeen wanted to know more of the classics. She had come from a great family of teachers,—including such men as Alpheus Crosby, who was the author of the Greek grammar; Dr. Dixey Crosby, and Chancellor Crosby, of New York. Her mother had been a teacher, prepared under Miss Lyon, the founder of Mt. Holyoke, and Miss Grant in their Ipswich school, which was the beginning of the New England movement to supply colleges for women. Anna Sneed, at seventeen, entered upon a lifetime of teaching, carrying on her studies in Latin, Greek, German and French, with tutors. She continued her history and literature and the sciences. The Civil war played havoc with the schools in Missouri. It closed the seminary at Lexington, Missouri, where Miss Sneed had been engaged, and led to the establishment of the little Kirkwood institution out of which grew Forest Park University.

The indomitable courage of Anna Sneed Cairns, with the unflinching support of two steadfast friends of education for women, created Forest Park University. The site was a cornfield when Mrs. Cairns took possession and when the late John G. Cairns began to plan the group of buildings—a homelike, brooding place for a teaching mother and her flock of studying maidens—no street cars approached that locality. During eighteen months, in all seasons, Mrs. Cairns drove to town and carried out to the institution everything that was placed on the table. Debt had been incurred. This heroic woman limited herself to one dress, one pair of shoes, one pair of black kid gloves a year. Hudson E. Bridge had been a mainstay of the institution while it was located in Kirkwood. The two friends of education who came to the rescue and stood by from the beginning of Forest Park University were Melvin L. Gray and Miss Ellen J. McKee. It is difficult to believe that Mrs. Cairns could have developed her institution to its present proportions without the help of these two. Mr. Gray indorsed all of the notes of the institution and gave wise legal advice without compensation during a period of years. Miss McKee made a gift of \$5,000 at a crisis which saved the university. Becoming interested, this Christian lady, of unostentatious and far reaching benevolence, gave, when needs were greatest, sums ranging from \$500 to \$1,000, and contributed half of the cost of the McKee gymnasium.

Forest Park University has grown in ways other than the assembling of buildings. In 1888, Ernest R. Kroeger, composer and musician of wide fame, organized and took charge of the college of music as a department of the uni-

versity. Five years later the college of liberal arts, under a charter drawn by Reverend Messrs. Martin, George, Burnham, Luccock and others of the city ministers, was established to give four full years of college education. Professors were drawn from the best colleges for women in the eastern states. Education at Forest Park does not sacrifice the spiritual for the intellectual. The Bible is studied daily. Evangelical Christianity is taught. Five of the trustees must be pastors of evangelical churches of St. Louis.

Perhaps in the history of Mrs. President Cairns' activities there is nothing quite so astonishing as the manner in which she carried the legislation which gave the south side of Forest Park and the university its street car facilities. Mrs. Cairns pushed the movement along until it reached the house of delegates. She discovered that the property owners who were cooperating with her had planned a wine dinner for the railroad committee. This was a shock to the woman who had worked for prohibition at Jefferson City and who had stumped all Texas as the representative of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Mrs. Cairns offered as a substitute a dinner to be served at the university by the young ladies. Thither Jim Cronin and the committee were conveyed. Cronin was impressed with the circumstances and the committeemen conducted themselves decorously until one of the bright girl students recited a piece entitled, "What makes your nose so red, Pa?" Mr. Cronin and the committee, then and there, declared the bill should go through and it did, although one delegate commented, "Think of a bill like that going through on turkey and ice cream!" The proposed ordinance reached the mayor and was vetoed. "The Lord's will be done," President Cairns said when the news was phoned from the city hall. Then came two years more of hard lobbying with President Cairns and Jim Cronin championing the measure. One delegate said to the good woman, "Why, Mrs. Cairns, doncher know this 'aint the way to get a bill through?"

"I don't know of any other way to get the bill through except by your votes," said Mrs. Cairns, looking the combine member straight in the eyes.

The session of the municipal assembly was within one day of the close. Two members came out to the university on Sunday and told the president that if she would come down to the city hall on Monday, get the bill engrossed with a couple of amendments, it should be taken care of. Mrs. Cairns passed all of Monday at the city hall. At three o'clock in the afternoon, the council passed the bill and one hour later it went through the house of delegates. Pupils of Forest Park University a few months later rode to and from the institution.

Old newspaper men sustained a shock when first the skirts of the newspaper woman swept the bare floor of the city editor's room. It was a great innovation that introduced into the profession the refining influence of woman. It seemed to mean that the staff must learn to sustain the physical effort of writing without shedding coats. From the day the pen woman entered the newspaper field the old order of things was changed. The newspaper woman set the pace in many kinds of newspaper work. She did not like to write about crime, sociologically. If she was sent to report a trial, she told how the defendant was dressed, what mannerisms distinguished the learned counsel. She passed by the evidence as of little, or at least minor, consequence, but she wrote what people liked to read, and they asked for more. The newspaper woman of



MISS CORA SOUTH BROWN



MISS GLADYS BRYANT SMITH

MAIDS OF HONOR, 1909



MISS SUSAN CARLETON
1909



MISS LUCY NORVELL
1910

QUEENS OF THE VEILED PROPHET

St. Louis from that earliest introduction to the present generation has been a credit to the profession, an honor to St. Louis womanhood.

Forest, O'Fallon and Carondelet added 1,700 acres to the park space of St. Louis. The city indulged in the pride of possessing more park area to the family than any other large city of the country. That was a distinction. But St. Louis did not acquire another acre of park until the distinction had been long outgrown. A third of a century passed. The population of St. Louis doubled. Then came an awakening to the manifold uses of parks. "Lungs for the city" the park advocates of 1870-80 felt they were providing. The next generation made something more than breathing places of the parks. Boating on small lakes, picnics, baseball diamonds, a trotting track, tennis courts added the elements of recreation. It remained for the instinct of motherhood to point the way to uses of the parks of St. Louis far beyond the anticipations formed in the earlier years. Within the first decade of the new century, this city has come into realization of possibilities for moral as well as physical good in the parks.

In the summer of 1900 a committee of ladies from the Wednesday club obtained the use of two yards, the basement and the kindergarten rooms of the Shields' school, and at their own expense carried on a vacation playground for little children. Every year the movement has expanded with the evidence of its value until St. Louis has a public recreation commission, half a score of equipped playgrounds—not in borrowed schoolyards but in parks—public baths, and public convenience stations.

During the first decade of the new century St. Louis has gone forward with leaps and bounds in all things material and in educational and religious facilities. In keeping with this progress—material, intellectual and spiritual—is the movement which takes into account the welfare of the city's childhood. Attendance upon these playgrounds has gone far beyond the half million mark. The commission has its authority founded upon ordinance. The revenues of the city provide for the playgrounds and the baths as consistently as for any other municipal function.

The municipal administration of Rolla Wells and the park administration of Philip C. Scanlan made permanent and expanded the public recreation movement. The inception, the early impetus, the positive encouragement of the movement came from the Wednesday club, through the vacations playground committee composed of Mrs. Dwight Tredway, Mrs. Frank P. Crunden, Mrs. George S. Mephram, Miss Sarah Tower, Miss Nellie Richards, Miss Charlotte Rumbold, Mrs. E. C. Runge, Mrs. Charles L. Harris, Mrs. A. H. Blaisdell, Mrs. E. A. DeWolf. When the municipal government took over and enlarged the movement, Miss Charlotte Rumbold's genius for such work was utilized. Miss Rumbold became secretary to the public recreation commission and active manager of the playgrounds.

The second year after the Wednesday club ladies tried the experiment at the Shields' school, they enlarged their work by adding two other schools. The next year the pocketbooks of the civic league men were opened and three new playgrounds were conducted by the open-air playground committee of that body. Mr. and Mrs. John Fowler met all of the expenses of a public playground for several years. Notable impetus was given to the local movement by the estab-

ishment and conduct of a model playground during the World's Fair. When the Exposition ended the equipment of this playground was purchased and put into permanent use in Forest Park. In 1906, the playground had become a part of the city's life. It commanded the attention of the municipal government. Upon the recommendation of Mayor Rolla Wells, the Municipal Assembly authorized the Park commissioner to maintain four playgrounds in parks. These expanded the work which was still being carried on by the volunteer St. Louis Playground association, fostered by the Wednesday club and the Civic League. The next year the municipality, by ordinance created the Public Recreation commission. The Park commissioner became the chairman *ex officio*. The four members were citizens who served without compensation.

"Public recreation" under the St. Louis commissioners came to mean more than keeping children out of mischief. It wasn't limited to the physical benefits of the gymnastic apparatus. Every playground soon had its little library. For the children under five years, carts, hammocks, swings and sand boxes were supplied. But above that age, up to fifteen, there was manual training mixed with the games. Minds were stimulated and fingers were taught. The close of the playground season, which was the beginning of the public school session in September, 1908, brought to the meet in Forest Park, from all of the playgrounds, for the finals of skill and the comparison of manual training work, thousands of children and a surprising collection of useful and artistic handiwork. The work was optional with the children. The classes were made up of volunteers. A tea party was a Saturday morning feature, with little girls making and serving and dishwashing. Story-telling by amateur romancers was introduced upon certain days of the week. The first public bathhouse came into existence naturally as a supplement to the playgrounds evolution and then followed the establishment of the public convenience stations. All of these innovations met with heartiest commendation of public sentiment. They led up quickly to the demand for more parks—not great outlying tracts, for lungs of future generations, but small parks for more playgrounds, and bathhouses and public convenience stations in the crowded centers of population.

Emerson Bainbridge, an eminent engineer of Great Britain, visited the United States in 1904. He spent some time in St. Louis. He investigated business methods as well as conditions. He looked into the industries of St. Louis. Upon his return to England, Bainbridge published his "Notes," and put upon the title page, "for private circulation." Some portion of his stay in St. Louis, the engineer gave to the Exposition, of which he wrote "it is impossible to speak too highly." He added this comment: "To the ordinary observer, one of the most striking things in the St. Louis World's Fair is the good order observed by everybody." After giving in considerable detail the result of his investigation of business methods in St. Louis, Mr. Bainbridge paid a tribute to the business women of this city:

In looking for reasons for the quick manner in which the United States build up successful enterprises, one cannot overlook one element of vitality which appears to constitute a very important factor, *viz.*, the manner in which the young women of the lower middle and working classes give their lives to business work. For instance, there is no comparison between the appearance of English cities at midday, and that of a city like St. Louis. In the neighborhood of the banks and brokers' offices, the streets are



MISS ADA RANDOLPH
Queen



MISS VIRGINIA ELLIOT
Maid of Honor



MISS EDNA SIMMONS DELAFIELD
Maid of Honor



MISS PRUDENCE ZEIBIG
Maid of Honor

filled with many hundreds of trim, neatly dressed, superior looking young women, all with an air of business, either going to or from their lunch or their business houses. There is no doubt that this class is doing much more active commercial work in America than in Great Britain.

In 1910 there were 90,000 "business women" in St. Louis according to an investigation made by the directors of the Young Women's Christian association. The organization had 4,500 members. It conducted a physical department, a lunch room, an educational department, a social department and other lines of recreation and improvement for business women. In the spring of that year the Association under the leadership of Mrs. D. R. Williams, the president, conducted a three weeks' campaign to raise a fund for a down-town building, having outgrown the mansion, free use of which had been given, for a period of some years by the owner, Samuel M. Dodd. The campaign was inaugurated with a gift of \$50,000 by Colonel James G. Butler and resulted in the raising of approximately half a million of dollars.

A native of the south, educated in the east, experienced in professional life of the west, Dr. David Franklin Houston found and was impressed in St. Louis with "the wholesome state of the social mind and the ordering of the domestic life, which presents a spectacle of gentility, decency and purity almost unique in the life of the large cities of our day." A higher tribute to St. Louis womanhood of today could not be put in language.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE USEFUL CITIZEN

Laclede's Sound Judgment—The Crisis of Organization—A Plan of Settlement Which Endured—St. Ange and the Government He Headed—The First Labor Issue in the Community—Thornton Grimsley, the Wise Man of the Hour—How St. Louis Dealt with a Cholera Epidemic—Masterful Treatment of Know Nothing Riots—John O'Fallon, Apostle of Civic Spirit—O. D. Filley and the Committee of Public Safety—The Feverish Winter and Spring of 1861—Formation of the Union Regiments—A Secret Mission to Jefferson Davis—Cannon with Which to Bombard the Arsenal—Arrival of "Tamaroa Marble"—Lyon's Council of War—A Divided Committee—The March on Camp Jackson—City's Baptism of Blood—Rioting Suppressed by Mayor Daniel G. Taylor—The Panic of Sunday—Harney Relieved and Lyon Promoted—Moral Courage of William G. Eliot—The Protest Against Assessment of Southern Sympathizers—Sudden and Peremptory Instructions from Washington—Western Sanitary Commission—James E. Yeatman's Great Work of Relief—Author of the Plan of the Freedmen's Bureau—Mr. Yeatman Asked to Solve "the Cotton and Negro Questions"—The Safety Committee of 1877—Dictation to State and City by Workingmen's Associations—The Great Railroad Strike—Settled Without Loss of Life in St. Louis—The Police Reserves—Business Men's League and Civic Federation—The Eight Years of the World's Fair Mayor.

In my judgment the best citizen who devotes himself most earnestly to the public service receives from the community he serves far more than he can give. For myself, I have experienced nothing but kindness from the people of St. Louis for me and mine; and the balance sheet of the fifty years' residence shows me largely their debtor.—*William Greenleaf Elliot, at his semi-centennial.*

The useful citizen of St. Louis! For a day, a week, a decade, in an emergency, through a crisis—he was the person who did something signal for the welfare of the community.

The first useful citizen of St. Louis was the founder. He made no false start, no mistake; he builded with marvelous wisdom.

Pierre Laclede, in the month of December, traversed what is now the city and the eastern part of the county, by a zigzag course of many miles with such thoroughness that he was able to select the best possible site for St. Louis. There was nothing haphazard in this prospecting. When he had completed the exploration, Laclede stood on the hill, the present site of the court house, and told Auguste Chouteau he was "delighted to see the situation." He did not hesitate a moment to form there the establishment which he proposed. And from that day, 147 years ago, nobody has found anything better. St. Louis is just where Pierre Laclede located it.

The founder had the vision of the born engineer. His mind was comprehensive in its action. Time determined the wisdom of the choice. Laclede studied the shore line to the cliffs overlooking the Missouri. He examined the country back from the Mississippi front. He had no second choice. He did not waver or confer. Here was to be his settlement. Here was just what he had been looking for.

In his experience below, Laclede had suffered from high water. He selected for St. Louis a site that would never overflow. And yet the elevation was not

impossible of ascent on the river side or difficult of approach from any other direction. Down the river and up the river were bottom lands. Farther to the north and to the south were higher limestone bluffs. Back of them the country was more rugged. Laclède passed over the high bluffs and low lands. He came to the plateau which his vision told him was the fortunate medium of elevation above the water. With Auguste Chouteau beside him, the founder came in from the west over the series of gentle ridges. He noted the prairies and the groves. Winter though it was, his agricultural training revealed to him the natural fertility of the soil. Laclède knew something of geology. He saw the outcroppings of limestone. He recognized the abundance of building material, stone and wood, at hand. To be sure, it was not for him to realize what the vast beds of underlying clays promised. The age of cement and concrete was in the future. In so far as a mind keenly observant, informed upon material conditions of the middle of the eighteenth century could fathom, Laclède knew he had found an ideal site. He looked no farther. He committed himself unreservedly. He marked the trees for his own house and business. He located them where for more than one hundred years was to be the center of the commerce of St. Louis.

An eminent French engineer, Nicollet, came to St. Louis in 1836. He worked five or more years on an elaborate hydrographic survey of the region west of the Mississippi, including the Valley of the Missouri and the parts northward. Assigned to assist him was a young lieutenant of the army, Fremont, afterwards the Pathfinder. Returning with his notes and data, Nicollet took up his residence in Baltimore and prepared his report. He died before the manuscript went to the printer. The government published the report in 1843.

While pursuing his scientific work Nicollet became deeply interested in the early history of St. Louis. He devoted time to his research. Auguste Chouteau had died only a few years before. Pierre Chouteau was still living. With him the engineer conversed frequently and at length about the founder and the founding of St. Louis. He avowed his intention to write in detail what he had learned. To his care was intrusted the diary which Auguste Chouteau had kept from the beginning of the settlement through more than forty years. Other papers relating to Laclède and the pioneer period of St. Louis were loaned to Nicollet. All of this historical material of priceless value was carried to Baltimore, but was never returned. It was destroyed by fire.

When the War Department officials examined the papers left by Nicollet they found, with the hydrographic report a sketch of the founding of St. Louis, possibly the first chapter of what the author intended to write. They incorporated this sketch in the public document devoted to the hydrographic survey.

Referring to the origin of St. Louis in the grant "to a company of merchants in New Orleans," Nicollet says: "M. Laclède, the principal projector of the company, and withal a man of great intelligence and enterprise, was placed in charge of the expedition."

One historic fact which much impressed the French engineer, after he had traversed the Trans-Mississippi region from St. Louis northward, was the wisdom Laclède exercised in the selection of his site. This Nicollet dwelt upon. He had obtained from the documents loaned to him and from interviews with

the early settlers still living a description of the site of St. Louis as it was when Laclède saw it first in December, 1763. Nicollet wrote :

The slope of the hills on the river side was covered by a growth of heavy timber overshadowing an almost evergreen sward free from undergrowth. The limestone bluff rises to an elevation of about eighty feet over the usual recession of the waters of the Mississippi and is crowned by an upland or plateau extending to the north and west, and presenting scarcely any limit to the foundation of a city entirely secure from the invasion of the river. At the time referred to, this plateau presented the aspect of a beautiful prairie, but already giving the promise of renewed luxuriant vegetation in consequence of the dispersion of the larger animals of the chase and the annual fires being kept out of the country. It was on this spot that the prescient mind of M. Laclède foresaw and predicted the future importance of the town to which he gave the name of St. Louis and about which he discoursed a few days afterwards with so much enthusiasm in the presence of the officers at Fort Chartres. But winter had now set in (December), and the Mississippi was about to be closed by ice. M. Laclède could do no more than cut down trees and blaze others to indicate the place which he had selected. Returning afterwards to the fort where he spent the winter, he occupied himself in making every preparation for the establishing of the new colony.

Leadership of men is a quality bred. Laclède inherited it. He developed the trait while forming his settlement. When the expedition reached Ste. Genevieve in November, 1763, winter was beginning. A thin crust of ice formed mornings in the still, shallow water along shore. Laclède learned for the first time of the treaty ceding French possessions east of the Mississippi to England. Timorous excitement was in every French household. French garrisons were receiving the word to get ready to go south. French settlers of the Illinois country were of more than half mind to abandon their homes and follow. Laclède pushed on his flotilla a few miles to Fort Chartres. He unloaded his goods and warehoused them in the fort. The panic spread. The influence of actual military preparation to evacuate was reinforced by the urgent advice of the commandant to the settlers to go with him.

In the midst of winter Laclède found his location. He hurried back to Fort Chartres to spread the information of his plans. He delegated the actual work of clearing the ground and erecting the first buildings. Against the ill-advised exodus Laclède opposed his power of persuasion. He won. Settlers turned from the official head to the born leader. When Neyon de Villiers floated away down the Mississippi, only the weaklings of the pioneer communities followed him. Laclède mastered the situation. Relations with de Villiers were strained. The commandant saw his purpose to draw away to New Orleans the entire population thwarted. He was resentful. Yet such was the tact of Laclède that no open outbreak occurred and the founder carried on his campaign to win habitants for St. Louis up to the very day of de Villiers' departure. He drew to his settlement the strong and courageous.

Before St. Louis was six months old Laclède had given further evidence that his was no ordinary character. He had drawn the plan of the settlement for the guidance of Auguste Chouteau even before he left Fort Chartres and the disturbed communities on the east side of the river. Influenced by Laclède's courageous reasoning rather than by de Villiers' ruinous forebodings the settlers began the migration to the new settlement. Some moved before de Villiers and the soldiers left for New Orleans. Others came later. But as these new settlers arrived they found the town laid out. They were assigned, by

Auguste Chouteau first and by Laclède after he took up his residence, sites on which to build their new homes.

The word of Laclède was accepted as law. By what authority? His charter from the French governor-general at New Orleans was the exclusive trade with the Indian nations of the Missouri country for a period of eight years. This privilege was quickly enforced. One of the early acts of Laclède was the expulsion of a trespassing fur trader. This was done summarily. The moral effect on the settlement was marked. Laclède was the governor of the new settlement. He had no commission. He had what was stronger—recognition of his authority by common consent of the governed. Laclède's house was the seat of this government. If the founder had no written authority, no code, he was a man born to lead, and was accepted by those he led.

Not alone were the settlers and traders of the Illinois country in their recognition of Laclède's influence. When, in 1765, St. Ange de Bellerive turned over Fort Chartres to Captain Stirling and the English, he faced the question of his future. Without hesitation he marched his garrison of forty French soldiers to St. Louis and remained there. He lived in Laclède's house. He performed the duties of commandant. The news had come up the river that St. Louis was in Spanish territory. In Lower Louisiana there was revolt. The right to self government was proclaimed at New Orleans. Over St. Louis the flag of France still floated. Through those years of uncertainty and bloodshed at New Orleans, the settlement of Laclède passed without anything more than well controlled excitement. Laclède was a republican at heart. He awaited the issue in Lower Louisiana. If Lafreniere and his compatriots won, Laclède and St. Ange would join in the organization of the republic. They had created the capital of Upper Louisiana. While the revolution below went on, Laclède was cultivating the fur trade. He was laying foundations for the greater St. Louis.

The plan which Laclède drew for his settlement is the basis of the present map of St. Louis. The founder laid out three streets following the curve of the river front. These are today Main, Second and Third streets; they agree with the lines of Laclède's map. In his planning the founder showed in one particular more foresight than those who came after him. He established a public square, or park, on the river front in the heart of his settlement. The Place d'Armes was the name he bestowed upon the reservation. Its boundaries were the river, Main, Walnut and Market streets. The locality was not a steep slope from Main street to the water in those days. The river, when of good stage, swept along the base of a cliff or bluff of rock, about thirty-five feet high. The Place d'Armes was a little plateau with this bold front on the river. In the year 1908, the Civic League of St. Louis planned and proposed to the people of St. Louis a treatment of the river front which was almost an artificial reproduction of Laclède's Place d'Armes, as he tried to preserve it one hundred and forty-seven years ago. Utilitarian St. Louis put a market house on the Place. When the French names of the streets gave way to English, Market street took its title from the practical use to which Laclède's square had been put. Then came the day when St. Louis, looking westward, saw nothing beautiful in a river front. The Place d'Armes passed into private



PIERRE LACLEDE, THE FOUNDER OF ST. LOUIS
Bust in Merchants-Laclede Bank, by George Julian Zolnay

possession. Across the street from where Laclède located his house and place of business, was built the Merchants' Exchange to become the city's trade center until the removal to the Chamber of Commerce on Third and Pine streets.

St. Ange came to St. Louis in 1765. Just after the beginning of 1766 he began to govern. Until that time the habitants had held the locations which Laclède assigned them for homes. They wanted titles, evidences on paper, of ownership. Laclède and St. Ange considered the problem. Two lawyers, Labuscieri and Lefebvre, who had moved from the east side of the river, were called into the conference to help frame the forms to be adopted. St. Ange added to his functions the issue of grants or titles. Among the first to take out these grants to the property they occupied were Laclède and Labuscieri. The founder showed the people his faith in the land system which he had devised. In making his allotments to newcomers Laclède usually bestowed a quarter of a block. In some cases, which were exceptional, he gave half a block. In a very few instances the assignment covered an entire block. The deeds or grants which St. Ange issued to the holders to confirm the assignments made by Laclède were recorded in a book. The system of Laclède stood the test of Spanish authority first and of American authority later. Laclède's distribution of land to settlers, confirmed in instruments of writing by St. Ange, remains today undisturbed, with all of the authority of government sustaining it. The livre terrien of Laclède, St. Ange, Labuscieri and Lefevre is the beginning of the realty records of St. Louis.

The year came round which terminated the period of exclusive trading in the Missouri country by Maxent, Laclède & Company. Indeed that privilege was not really in force after the cession by France to Spain. In 1770 arrived the Spanish governor, Piernas, with a garrison to put into effect Spanish authority. Laclède met the new conditions readily. He had made St. Ange a member of his household. He now welcomed the Spanish governor and gave him headquarters in his house. A new flag went up in front of the stone house, the yellow between the red. But Laclède still continued to be the power behind the government. He still controlled the fur trade of the Missouri. The personality of the founder was greater than the flag.

In 1774 St. Ange died. Perhaps the old soldier hadn't much to leave. His will was the expression of his confidence and admiration. He named Laclède as the executor of his will.

In 1778 Laclède coming up the river from New Orleans on the tedious three months' journey, was stricken. He died near the mouth of the Arkansas river. His body was buried at the foot of a tree. The next year an expedition was sent down to bring the body of the founder to St. Louis. The effort was useless. In the flood period the river had undermined the bank. The body of Laclède and the tree which marked his grave had been carried away. The founder's days of useful citizenship for St. Louis were ended.

When the estate of Laclède was inventoried one item told the story of the founder's sacrifice of self interest for the help of others. It was:

Notes of various parties irrecoverable 27,891 livres.

Laclede left the mill and the water power, which sold at auction for 2,000 livres. He left a farm on the grand prairie. This farm brought 750 livres or \$150. Colonel Maxent, the New Orleans partner in the firm of Maxent, Laclede & Co. was the chief creditor of Laclede. He chose Auguste Chouteau to be the executor of Laclede's estate. Chouteau was Laclede's stepson. He had been the chief clerk of the firm of Maxent, Laclede & Co. More than this, he had been the trusted confidant of the founder from the beginning of the settlement. The selection of Auguste Chouteau showed two things—the complete confidence Colonel Maxent had in Laclede's family and the disposition to treat his heirs with liberality. In New Orleans as well as in St. Louis, the public spirit of Laclede was known. His invaluable services to St. Louis were recognized. The governor general took a personal interest in the settlement of Laclede's affairs. He wrote from New Orleans to the lieutenant governor at St. Louis asking him to interest himself:

“Endeavor to have the heirs of Laclede satisfied as far as possible in regard to what is due the deceased.”

Chouteau, after a year, was able to pay Colonel Maxent 2,625 livres and to deliver to him sundry notes, the face of which was 38,523 livres. But this included 27,527 livres “irrecoverable” and 7,527 livres “which may be collected.”

Upon the memorandum submitted to him by Auguste Chouteau, Colonel Maxent wrote “from all of which I release said Chouteau from any responsibility, he having executed his commission.”

This was all there was to show for the fifteen years Laclede had devoted to the founding and upbuilding of St. Louis. He had secured to his wife and children a home on Main and Chestnut streets. To protect his partner, Colonel Maxent, from loss on account of the notes, bad and doubtful, which he was carrying, Laclede, the year before he died, conveyed to Colonel Maxent all of his interest in the block of ground and in the buildings thereon, bounded by Main, Second, Walnut and Market streets. His principal asset of value was the mill. Even that had not been a source of profit to him personally. In 1767 he had purchased the mill because it was not equipped to meet the needs of the community. He had expended a great deal of money, increasing the water power and enlarging the capacity. So liberally had Laclede managed the mill for eleven years that it had cost him much more than he had made out of it.

The founder of St. Louis did not amass wealth. He formed “a settlement which might become hereafter one of the finest cities of America.” With foresight which seems marvelous now, he located his settlement and planned it. He carried the community through the crisis of organization and established government. He drew to him strong men from half a dozen other settlements, much older and seemingly permanent. He distributed the lots without cost to the newcomers. He obtained for the holders formal confirmation of the holdings. He made St. Louis the capital of Upper Louisiana with a population nearly half as large as New Orleans. He was a useful citizen.

Until May, 1840, the working day of St. Louis was “from sun up to sunset.” Mechanics and laborers, when employed by the day, began as the sun rose and stopped as it set. This made a day of varying length. In the summer time, when the sun rose very early, an hour from six to seven o'clock was

allowed for breakfast. The day was broken by a full noon hour from twelve to one. This was custom, but it was well settled custom. Bricklayers started a movement to have ten hours made a working day. The employers refused to accede. The journeymen stopped work and paraded the streets without disturbance. They called a mass meeting in the afternoon of May 23rd. Members of all trades attended the meeting. By some one's happy inspiration Thornton Grimsley was nominated to be chairman. He was a manufacturer who had built up a large business and had found time to perform many public duties. If a celebration was to be gotten up, Thornton Grimsley was the first one thought of for the committee to make the arrangements. He was the grand marshal of more processions than any other man of his generation in St. Louis. He was a high officer in the military organization of his day. He was responsive to every kind of a public call and he always did the right thing. So when a hard-fisted bricklayer moved "that Colonel Thornton Grimsley take the chair," the colonel didn't flinch. He went forward and called for order with as much dignity as if he were to preside over a gathering of "the best citizens."

The colonel expressed the sense of the honor he felt upon being called upon to be chairman of a mass meeting of journeymen. He told his hearers that he would discharge the duties as well as he was able. And then Colonel Grimsley proceeded in his own excellent way to solve the first labor problem presented to St. Louis. He said he wasn't a bricklayer, but a maker of saddles and harness; that he employed many journeymen. His hearers might think from that he was not in sympathy with such a movement as the mass meeting represented. That would be a mistake, for he believed a ten-hour day was honorable and just.

"I see many employers of journeymen in other trades before me," Colonel Grimsley went on. "If they come into this ten-hour system, they may in some instances lose a little time of painful toil, but they will be rewarded for the sacrifice in better, willing labor, and will enjoy the smiles of wives and little children at the early return of their husbands and fathers from labor, if they will go and see them."

Thus Colonel Grimsley talked until he had sentiment all one way. Other employers of labor followed him with expressions of willingness to make the concession. Without legislation, without disorder, with a single day's strike that was not attended by an unpleasant incident, the ten-hour labor day went into effect in St. Louis.

Wage-earners from the earliest times found good treatment in St. Louis. When this was no more than a fur trading settlement, labor was recompensed at the rate of two livres a day. That was \$11.25 per month. At the same time similar labor in the American colonies and later in the American states on the Atlantic coast was paid six dollars a month. The flat boatmen, who constituted the lowest class of unskilled labor, received not less than eight dollars a month at St. Louis.

Consideration for employes has gone farther in St. Louis than in any other city of the United States. A fine example of this, not exceptional perhaps, is given in the policy of the Norvell-Shapleigh Hardware Company. Of 450 employes in the Washington avenue house of this company, 150 are women.

They have a rest room with a matron who, on proper representation by a woman employe that she needs to rest for a few minutes or an hour, approves an application-for-leave card to the proper department head, and the female employe is released. The hours for work and lunch are so arranged that the women work one hour less than the men, and go to and return from lunch half an hour later. One hour is allowed for lunch, and there are lunchrooms in the building. A roof garden with gymnastic apparatus is provided for lunching and for outdoor exercise in good weather. At Christmas the company makes a present to every employe of a half month's salary. Nine months in the year the house observes the Saturday half-holiday, except that it is an essential part of its system that a force shall remain Saturday afternoons to finish the week's work in the entry and invoicing departments. No invoice received Saturday is ever carried over till Monday. The staff which works the Saturday half-holiday is given a Wednesday half-holiday. The company maintains a sick-benefit fund, made up of fees received by all officers and employes for jury and witness fees. This is a considerable fund, as the total of employes, including the force employed in the company's big warehouse, numbers over six hundred. There is also a house physician, whose services are given employes without charge, at the expense of the company.

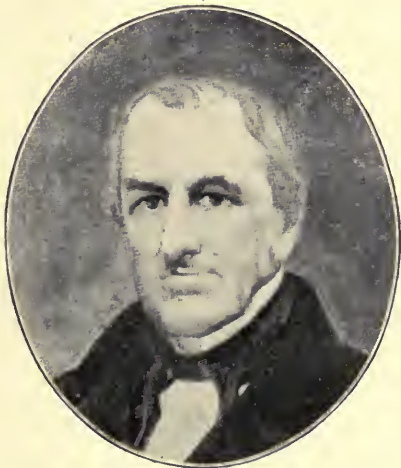
In five weeks of 1832 five per cent of the population of St. Louis died of cholera. It was as if in 1911 the deaths from an epidemic disease had numbered 35,000 in a little more than a month. The visitation came in October. The weather was cool and cloudy. Laborers stopped work and stood on the street corners. Business was almost suspended. The feeling of depression was general. Men were seen one day and missed the next. Those who kept their minds occupied with ordinary affairs and made no changes in the habits of dress and food, seemed less liable to attack and had the best chance of recovery. The panic stricken, those who stopped work, those who doctored themselves with preventatives, were easy victims.

The epidemic of cholera which most severely afflicted St. Louis, which brought out the ability of the city to deal with a great emergency and which led to permanent measures of protection from these visitations was in 1849. The community consisted of 63,000 people. The number of deaths from cholera, according to Dr. Engelmann, was 4,317 and from other causes 4,000 more. St. Louis dealt with the unprecedented situation through a committee of public health. Colonel Robert Moore, the author of "Notes on the History of Cholera in St. Louis," says:

On the 25th of June, a mass meeting was assembled at the court house, at which the propriety of quarantine was at last suggested, and the authorities strongly denounced for their inaction. A committee of twelve, two from each ward, was appointed to wait upon the city council and urge immediate action. The latter body was not at that time in session, and many of its members had sought places of safety outside the city. By vigorous efforts, however, they were hastily assembled on the afternoon of the next day (June 26), and audience given to the prayer of the committee. By way of answer, an ordinance was passed at the same sitting, and approved by the mayor, Jas. G. Barry, by which the city government was virtually abdicated in favor of the petitioners. The committee of twelve appointed by the mass meeting the day before, composed of T. T. Gantt, R. S. Blennerhasset, A. B. Chambers, Isaac A. Hedges, James Clemens, Jr., J. M. Field, George Collier, L. M. Kennett, Trusten Polk, Lewis Bach, Thomas Gray, and Wm. G. Clark,



JOHN O'FALLON



OLIVER D. FILLEY



JAMES E. YEATMAN

USEFUL CITIZENS

were made a "committee of public health" with almost absolute power. Authority was conferred upon them to make all rules, orders, and regulations they should deem necessary, and any violation of their orders was made punishable by fine up to five hundred dollars. This authority was to continue during the epidemic. Vacancies in the committee were to be filled as they themselves should determine, and \$50,000 was appropriated for their use.

The committee, thus suddenly clothed with the sole power and responsibility, at once took up their task. At their first meeting, held on Wednesday, June 27, certain school houses in each ward were designated as hospitals, and physicians appointed to attend them. They also provided for a thorough cleansing of the city, to be begun at once, with an inspector or superintendent for each block. Among these "block inspectors," as they were termed, were many of the best citizens of the city, who entered into the work with the utmost zeal, and declined afterward to receive any pay.

On the next Saturday, June 30, the committee recommended "the burning, this evening at 8 o'clock, throughout the city, of stone coal, resinous tar, and sulphur"—a measure which seems to have met with much favor, for in the next day's paper we are told that on the night before "in every direction the air was filled with dense masses of smoke, serving, as we all hope, to dissipate the foul air which has been the cause of so much mortality." The committee also appointed Monday, July 2, to be observed as a day of fasting and prayer—a recommendation with which, as with that for bonfires, there was general compliance.

The committee, however, did not content themselves with prayers and smoke alone. Thus, we are told that on Sunday the block inspectors continued their work of purification without regard to the day, and on the very day of fasting and prayer appointed by themselves, the committee dictated to the city council an ordinance, which was passed the same day, establishing quarantine against steamboats from the south.

On the first day of August the committee of public health in a proclamation declared the epidemic to be over. At the same time they closed their accounts, turning back to the city treasury \$16,000 of the \$50,000; resigned their trust and adjourned sine die.

During this epidemic there was not a case of cholera among the students or in the faculty of St. Louis University. The institution at that time was at Ninth and Washington avenue, near some of the most fatal centers of the disease. In the vicinity of the Sheridan Exchange, on Franklin avenue, were two wells with only the thoroughfare separating them. It seemed as if everybody who drank from one well was smitten with the cholera while all who drank from the other were immune. One of the victims of the cholera epidemic in 1850 was General Richard V. Mason. He was living at Jefferson Barracks and was in charge of construction work there.

Masterful treatment of a crisis St. Louis showed in 1854. One of the spasms of Know Nothingism occurred that year. Immigrants had been flocking to St. Louis for several years. Irish and Germans were numerous among the newcomers. They had votes. They were eager to embrace political opportunities. American residents of the city were resentful and inclined to regulate the brand new citizens. At the city election of 1852 the Germans who were classed as Benton Democrats took control of the First Ward polls at Souard market and prevented Whigs from voting. Dr. Mitchell was mobbed and Mayor Kennett, the Whig candidate for reelection, was hissed. When the report was brought up-town, Bob O'Blennis, the gambler, and Ned Buntline, the story writer, assembled 5,000 men and marched down to Souard market. Pistol shots were fired. Stones were thrown. The crowd from up-town fired into the market house. A shot from Neumeyer's tavern, on Seventh street and Park avenue, killed Joseph Stevens of the St. Louis Fire company. The Amer-

icans charged the tavern, gutted it and burned it. They got two six-pounders and located them on a Park avenue corner to rake the streets to the south but did not fire. One party of fifteen hundred started for the office of the *Anzeiger* "to clean it out," but met the militia and turned back. This trouble wore itself out in a day. It was the curtain raiser for the election tragedy of August, 1854. Antagonism toward foreigners had become intense. Foreign born citizens offering to vote were challenged and called on to show their papers and then declared to be disqualified.

At the Fifth Ward polls an Irishman stabbed a boy and ran into the Mechanics' boarding house. The crowd followed, smashed the windows and broke the furniture. Shots were fired; other boarding houses in the neighborhood were attacked. The crowd, swelled to several thousand, marched to Cherry street and continued the wrecking of the boarding houses. It started for the levee and met a crowd of Irishmen. In the fight two were killed. Battle Row on the levee was stoned. Doors were broken in and furniture destroyed in many houses. The mob went up-town, wrecking Irish boarding houses on Morgan, Cherry and Green streets. At Drayman's hall on Eighth street and Franklin avenue, the mob divided into parties, which continued the work of destruction on the saloons until the militia dispersed them. The next day the Continentals while proceeding along Green street were fired on. Two militiamen, Spore and Holliday, were wounded. Near Seventh and Biddle, under the shadow of St. Patrick's church, E. R. Violet, a well known and much liked citizen, attempted to disarm a man, who was flourishing a pistol, and was killed. Fighting occurred about the same hour at Broadway and Ashley street. A saloon keeper named Snyder was killed. Three men were wounded. The rioting went on until late that night. The next morning a meeting of citizens at the Merchants' Exchange was called by the mayor. James H. Lucas was chairman and Hudson E. Bridge was secretary. The inherent sentiment of the community for law and order asserted itself. After an expression, the gathering adjourned to the court house. A larger meeting was held. Captain N. J. Eaton was commissioned by the voice of popular will to get up an organization to suppress the disorder. Before the afternoon was over a force of seven hundred citizens had been recruited. Major Meriwether Lewis Clark was given the command. He had thirty-three captains in command of squads. This force, composed of the best class of citizens, went on duty. The ordinary police force was withdrawn. The rioting ceased immediately.

As they walked home from the breaking of ground near Fifteenth street and Walnut street for the first railroad out of St. Louis, the Missouri Pacific, James E. Yeatman asked John O'Fallon:

"Colonel, do you think it will pay?"

"No," said Colonel O'Fallon, with deliberation; "not in my time. Perhaps not in yours. Eventually it will be profitable."

Colonel O'Fallon was one of the largest subscribers to the stock of the original company. He had made his investment with the conclusion that he would not see financial returns from it. After a little pause he resumed the conversation:

"Mr. Yeatman," he said, "you will please not mention the amount of my subscription."

John F. Darby, twice mayor of St. Louis, wrote of Colonel O'Fallon as "the most open, candid and liberal man the city of St. Louis ever produced, the leader of every public enterprise. He sprang to every business man's assistance, without waiting to be called upon. He has done more to assist the merchants and business men of St. Louis than any man who ever lived in the town."

In the old days of banking in St. Louis those who desired loans wrote their requests and dropped them in a box. On stated days, once or twice a week, the box was opened; the applications were considered by the directors. John O'Fallon was regular in his attendance at these meetings to consider loans. He followed closely the reading of the requests. The mention of names well known, of business men of established credit, interested him in only routine way. But when an application from some one unknown to him was read, he was all attention. Noting a disposition to turn upside down the request, which was the token of disapproval, Colonel O'Fallon would ask: "Who is that man? What does he do? How old is he?"

The last question was the most important. Often the responses were meager. The applicant was almost a stranger to every director present. Did anyone know anything to his discredit? If the answer was negative, Colonel O'Fallon would say: "Let him have the money. I will indorse his paper."

Not once, not scores, but hundreds of times John O'Fallon did this. The younger the man, the stronger the sympathy. The less known of the man, provided that little information was not discreditable, the quicker the action in favor of the loan.

Very rapidly St. Louis was expanding from 1840 to 1860. These were years in which John O'Fallon, from his fiftieth to his seventieth year, staked the trade and commerce of the rising city. In ways entirely his own, John O'Fallon was the useful citizen of that period. He was the great indorser among St. Louis business men. When the Polytechnic Institute was opened in the new building on Seventh and Chestnut streets in 1857 John How said this:

It is not considered wise to indorse paper, and I shall not here justify the practice; still this I may say on the authority of Colonel O'Fallon, that it is pleasant to look around you as you descend into the vale of tears, and see the good done, business created, families comfortable, city prospering, even if it has been brought about by the want of common prudence in indorsing. True, as Colonel O'Fallon said, he had been often disappointed in those he had aided, yet, on the whole, he was satisfied with the result.

John O'Fallon organized the first Sunday school in St. Louis. He continued his well doing all of his life. And when John O'Fallon died Bishop Hawks told the people of St. Louis his philanthropies are "lithographed in your very streets."

"I never permit myself to feel so bitter against a man that I cannot speak to him." One who could say that and act it in 1861, as did O. D. Filley, was qualified to be chairman of the Committee of Public Safety. The orator and resolution writer were busy in St. Louis that winter. Captain Sam Gaty went into the office of his lawyer, Samuel T. Glover, on Fourth and Olive streets, and saw a gun in the corner. He asked a question and was answered with one.

"You secessionists don't expect to drive the Union men out of the city, do you?" the lawyer said to his client in a rasping tone which had no good humor in it.

On the 8th of January those who sympathized with the south resolved "that we pledge Missouri to a hearty cooperation with our sister southern states, in such measures as shall be deemed necessary for our mutual protection against the encroachments of northern fanaticism and the coercion of the Federal Government."

On the 9th of January the Constitutional Union men met and organized for the purpose of opposing Black Republicanism.

On the 11th of January the Union men met in Washington Hall and took steps to organize Union clubs, inviting all Union men to act together. Shortly before the meeting Thornton Grimsley met his son-in-law, Henry T. Blow, and warned him that the Washington Hall meeting was to be broken up. He told him that one hundred secessionists had pledged themselves to do this. Colonel Grimsley sympathized with the South. Colonel Blow was just as strongly a Union man.

On the 11th of January Mayor O. D. Filley sent to the common council the following:

A very general and unusual excitement prevails in our community, and, although I do not apprehend that any actual disturbance or interference with the rights of our citizens will ensue, yet I deem it best that all proper precautionary measures should be taken to prepare for any event. I would, hence, recommend that the members of the council, from each ward, select from among their best citizens such a number of men as the exigencies of the case may seem to require and organize them to be ready for any emergency. Our citizens are entitled to the full protection of the laws and must have it.

On the 12th of January Archbishop Kenrick published a card to the Catholics of St. Louis advising them to avoid all occasions of public excitement:

To the Roman Catholics of St. Louis:

Beloved Brethren: In the present disturbed state of the public mind, we feel it our duty to recommend you to avoid all occasions of public excitement, to obey the laws, to respect the rights of all citizens and to keep away, as much as possible, from all assemblages where the indiscretion of a word, or the impetuosity of a momentary passion might endanger public tranquillity. Obey the injunction of the Apostle, St. Peter: "Follow peace with all men and holiness, without which no man can see God."

PETER RICHARD KENRICK,
Archbishop of St. Louis.

In the presidential campaign of 1860 there were "wide awakes" on the republican side and "broom rangers" on the democratic side. Two months before the inauguration of Lincoln, armed organizations, built upon the political clubs, were drilling in St. Louis. Those whose sympathies were with secession were "minute men." This organization came into existence at a meeting in Washington hall the first week in January. Simultaneously began the formation of union clubs, which were called "union guards," "black jaegers," "home guards." The minute men had headquarters in the Berthold mansion at Fifth and Pine streets. They hung out a southern flag with its single star and crescent.

In six weeks sixteen companies of the union guards had been formed. The minute men were numerous. The drills were nightly. There was little attempt at secrecy. In the central and northern parts of the city the minute men were overwhelmingly strong. South of Market street were the strongholds of the union guards. Every hall was an armory.

Giles F. Filley bought fifty Sharp's rifles, the crack fighting piece of that day, and armed the men in his factory. Governor Yates of Illinois sent two hundred muskets which were wagoned under cover of beer barrels to Turner hall and distributed to union guards. To get more guns a fund of \$30,000 was raised. These historical incidents show how sentiment was seething in St. Louis during the winter and spring of 1861.

Isaac H. Sturgeon had nearly \$1,000,000 of gold and silver in the sub-treasury. He was apprehensive about Federal property and made inquiry as to conditions at the arsenal. Major Bell told him that there were 60,000 stand of arms, 200 barrels of powder, many cannon and war supplies, with only one man on guard over them at night. Mr. Sturgeon quickly reported this situation to Washington. Lieutenant Robinson came with forty men. Troops were moved up from the barracks. Captain Nathaniel Lyon arrived with a company of regulars from Fort Riley but was not immediately put in charge. He wrote to Blair in Washington of the inadequate plan of his superior, Major Hagner, to defend the arsenal. "This," he said, "is either imbecility or villainy."

Coming to St. Louis from Jefferson City about this time, Governor Claib. Jackson remarked "that if his advice had been taken the arsenal would have been seized, when he could have walked in with ten armed men and taken it, as it had no protection, but to do so now would cost the lives of a great many men and the probable destruction of the city."

The Committee of Public Safety deserved the name. It saved the priceless contents of the arsenal to the government. It held St. Louis loyal. It mastered the most critical situation in the history of the city. It averted bloodshed through the months while two hostile armies of its own fellow citizens were camped within eyesight and earshot.

At the head of the Committee of Public Safety was Oliver Dwight Filley. The other members were Samuel T. Glover, Francis P. Blair, Jr., J. J. Witzig, John How and James O. Broadhead. These six men received their commission to act from a mass meeting of unconditional Union men. Republicans, Douglas Democrats and Bell and Everett Democrats united in this movement. They had but one plank in their platform—"unalterable fidelity to the Union under all circumstances." Previous to the 11th of January a little group of Union men met in Mr. Filley's counting room from time to time and planned the course which was followed. The Committee of Public Safety was an evolution. When the six men had been chosen, they made the Turner hall on Tenth near Market street the headquarters. Their meetings were held daily.

Those winter and spring months of 1861 were a continuous crisis in St. Louis. The marvel is that the city was not a battlefield long before Sumter was fired upon. The fact of martial law long preceded the form. Again and again the feeling approached dangerously near the line of mob violence and was checked. On the side of those who sympathized with the south were men who clung to the hope that war could be avoided by pacificatory measures. They were Constitutional Union men. Among them were Henry Overstolz, D. A. January, Albert Todd, J. W. Willis, William T. Wood, H. S. Turner, N. J. Eaton, George Penn, Lewis V. Bogy, L. M. Kennett, P. B. Garesche, John D. Coalter. The influence of these men was exerted to restrain the minute

men and their leaders from any overt act. Especially was it exerted to prevent the seizure of the arsenal. No other city in the Union was so distracted as was St. Louis in that period. But the bloodshed would have been much greater if it had not been for these men who hoped to hold the southern states in the Union by pacification. The Committee of Public Safety formally organized, with Oliver D. Filley as president and James O. Broadhead as secretary. Black Republicans who had voted for Lincoln were looked upon as enemies to the public peace. Their expulsion from St. Louis was openly advocated. In a county adjoining St. Louis a school teacher named Landfield, who had voted for Lincoln and talked republicanism, was told to leave. He asked for a hearing. A committee of twenty-eight leading citizens of the county heard what the teacher had to say and confirmed the order of banishment. Citizens resolved "that they would do what they could to remove from St. Louis the stigma of being an anti-slavery Black Republican county hostile to the institutions of Missouri."

That gun in the corner of Samuel T. Glover's law office was not the only one made ready. The stock of arms and ammunition in Woodward's hardware store on Main street was depleted. More than one respectable church-going resident swore occasionally in those times. The conditions, if they did not justify, mitigated the offense of profanity.

The personal composition of the Committee of Public Safety was most fortunate. Mr. Filley was from Connecticut, a descendant of one of the families which came over in the Mayflower. Mr. How had been reared in Pennsylvania. Mr. Witzig represented the great influx of German population. Mr. Blair was of Kentucky birth, the son of a Virginia father. Mr. Glover was a Kentuckian. Mr. Broadhead was of Virginia parentage. The widespread sources of St. Louis population were well represented in the formation of the group. Glover and Broadhead were lawyers of high standing, known personally to Mr. Lincoln. John How had been mayor two terms and was a business man of wide influence. Witzig had the confidence of his fellow countrymen. Blair was the Washington connection. He had served one term in Congress and was Representative-elect. To tell what manner of man the chairman was detracts nothing from the honor due the men who were his associates on the committee. Familiarly he was called "O. D." He was kindly and approachable. When the Committee of Public Safety had won, when it had become safer in St. Louis to be a Union man than a secession sympathizer, the spirit of retribution was indulged. Men were arrested and punished for words. Mr. Filley protested. "Let them talk," he said. "If they do no overt act, do not disturb them." But behind the kindly disposition was the spirit which knows neither variableness nor shadow of turning when right is at stake. When cloth was wanted to uniform the force he was recruiting, O. D. Filley gave his word it would be paid for, and his word was accepted where another man's note would have been asked. That was the reputation the chairman had in the community.

Protection of persons prompted in the beginning the movement which took form in the Committee of Public Safety. Then Mr. Filley and his associates planned and armed to save the arsenal for the government. Next they en-

gineered the course which saved Missouri to the Union. The companies of union guards grew into regiments. There wasn't enough blue cloth in the city to uniform all. The committee sent one regiment, John D. Stevenson's, into service clad in Kentucky homespun. When the committee called on Colonel Robert Campbell for cloth he refused to sell; he said he would uniform Blair's regiment at his own expense, and he did. The committee was making headway.

Delegation after delegation came from the south to show Missouri that it was her duty to secede. Vest, of Cooper, offered the bill providing for a convention to determine what course Missouri should pursue, the decision of the convention to be submitted to the people for popular vote. St. Louis had fifteen delegates in that convention. The unconditional Union men nominated a ticket on which there were four Republicans and eleven Douglas, and Bell and Everett Democrats. The ticket carried the city by a majority of 5,000. The Committee of Public Safety not only had an army but it had scored a political victory. The convention met in Jefferson City. Its purpose, as defined by the Legislature, was "to adopt such measures for vindicating the sovereignty of the state and the protection of its institutions as shall appear to them to be demanded." The convention, after two days, adjourned to meet in St. Louis on the day that Lincoln was to be inaugurated. The convention met in Mercantile Library hall, up two long flights of stairs, in the old building on Fifth and Locust. Two blocks down Fifth street the southern flag floated in front of the Berthold mansion. In the convention the advocacy of secession grew weaker session by session. Uriel Wright, the great advocate who had moved juries as had no other man of that day at the bar of St. Louis, spoke:

I looked one day toward the southern skies, toward that sunny land which constitutes our southern possessions, and I saw a banner floating in the air. I am not skilled in heraldry, and I may mistake the sign, but as it first rose it presented a single dim and melancholy star, set in a field of blue, representing, I suppose, a lost pleiad floating through space. A young moon, a crescent moon, was by her side, appropriately plucked from our planetary system, as the most changeable of all representatives known to it, a satellite to signify the vicissitudes which must attend its career. The sad spectacle wound up with the appropriate emblem of the cross, denoting the tribulation and sorrow which must attend its going. I could not favor any such banner.

Hamilton R. Gamble, from the committee on Federal relations, reported to the convention the resolutions for adoption. These resolutions declared:

That while Missouri cannot leave the Union to join the southern states, we will do all in our power to induce them to again take their places with us in the family from which they have attempted to separate themselves. For this purpose we will not only recommend a compromise with which they ought to be satisfied, but we will endeavor to procure an assembly of the whole family of states in order that in a general convention such amendments to the constitution may be agreed upon as shall permanently restore harmony to the whole nation.

Missouri had gone on record against secession. The Committee of Public Safety continued to hold its meetings in Turner hall. For three months the committee had existed without official recognition. It had created, and uniformed and drilled regiments. The government at Washington called upon Missouri for four regiments. On the 17th of April Governor Jackson replied to the call, refusing to furnish the troops. He wrote to Secretary of War Simon Cameron, that the requisition was "illegal, unconstitutional and revolu-

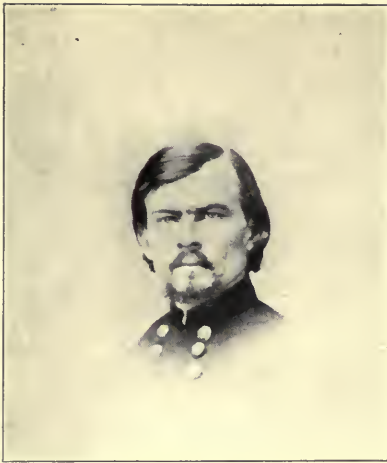
tionary." Four days later Lyon, at the arsenal received a telegram from Washington, sent to East St. Louis and carried by messenger across the river for greater security. The message directed him "to arm the loyal citizens to protect public property. Muster four regiments into the public service."

Before nightfall the regiments raised by the Committee of Public Safety, commanded by Blair, Boernstein, Sigel and Schuttner, were within the arsenal walls, armed and supplied with ammunition. The Committee of Public Safety had its own detective force, organized soon after the committee came into existence. The head of the detective force was the ex-chief of police, J. E. D. Couzins. One of the reports brought by the secret service to the Committee of Safety was that the minute men were making preparations to attack the arsenal on the night of the day the four regiments of union guards were mustered in. The night passed without incident. The minute men wanted the guns and powder in the arsenal. Their leaders discussed the possibilities of capture. They were held back by those who sympathized with the south, but who still hoped for a pacific settlement.

The last day of April brought from Washington complete recognition of the Committee of Safety. The adjutant general sent, bearing the approval of "A. Lincoln," this order to Lyon: "You will, if deemed necessary by yourself and by Messrs. O. D. Filley, James How, James O. Broadhead, Samuel T. Glover, J. J. Witzig and F. P. Blair, proclaim martial law in the city of St. Louis."

The Committee of Public Safety was to all practical purposes the government, so far as St. Louis was concerned. Perhaps never before was such power placed in the hands of half a dozen men. These men derived their representative capacity from no election. The committee was the result of a mass meeting of citizens. It had earned its recognition by what it had accomplished. The work went on. A fifth regiment, Colonel Salomon's, was organized. A brigade was formed with Lyon as general. The regiments were numbered. Blair was colonel of the First and his major was J. M. Schofield, who was to reach the highest rank in the regular army, lieutenant-general. Five additional regiments were organized as the reserve corps. Their colonels were Almstedt, Kallman, McNeil, B. Gratz Brown and Stifel.

Governor Jackson called a special session of the legislature for the second of May to "enact such measures as might be deemed necessary for the more perfect organization and equipment of the militia." At the same time he ordered the commanders to assemble their men in each militia district. The organized militia of the St. Louis district obeyed orders. On the 6th day of May, General D. M. Frost assembled the First and Second regiments on Washington avenue and marched to Camp Jackson, which had been laid out in Lindell grove, a beautiful slope dotted with large trees on the east side of Grand avenue, extending from Olive street on the north to Laclede avenue on the south. The camp was named in honor of the governor, as custom required. Three troops of militia cavalry under Major Clark Kennerly arrived in the camp the next day. The First Regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel John Knapp commanding, was composed of long established military companies. The majority, perhaps two-thirds of the members of this regiment and of the Engineer Corps, National Guards, were Union men. Many of them afterwards served with



GEN. FRANZ SIGEL



GEN. JOHN C. FREMONT



GEN. U. S. GRANT



GEN. W. T. SHERMAN



GEN. JOHN McNEIL



GEN. P. J. OSTERHAUS

ST. LOUIS IN THE CIVIL WAR

distinction in the Union army. The Second Regiment, Colonel John S. Bowen, was composed largely of the minute men who had been organized as militia in January from the "broom rangers" of the political campaign of 1860. The United States and the Missouri State flags floated over Camp Jackson.

The general spirit of the camp was not warlike. Many of the militia obtained daily furloughs and attended to the business down town, reporting for dress parades and sleeping in camp. Of the plans of the governor very few were informed. The forms of loyalty to nation as well as to state were maintained. This concession to the strong Union element in the older military companies was necessary.

What the governor of the state had planned he was not given opportunity to carry out. "O. D." and the committee, sitting long and late, knew better what was going on than did the citizen soldiers under the tents in Lindell grove. Cousins' detectives were alert. When he called the legislature in extra session and ordered the Missouri State guard into camp, Governor Jackson sent Captains Duke and Green on a secret mission to President Jefferson Davis at Montgomery, Alabama, the Confederate capital. He asked for cannon to enable him to take the arsenal at St. Louis by siege and assault.

The President of the Confederacy was quickly responsive. He was a soldier and a fighter. He knew the arsenal and its surroundings. As an officer in the regular army he had been stationed at Jefferson Barracks. Giving the officers from Missouri an order on the arsenal at Baton Rouge for two 12-pound howitzers and two 32-pound guns, with a supply of ammunition, Jefferson Davis wrote to Governor Jackson: "These guns from the commanding hills will be effective against the garrison and to break the enclosing walls of the place. I concur with you as to the great importance of capturing the arsenal and securing its supplies. We look anxiously and hopefully for the day when the star of Missouri shall be added to the constellation of the Confederate States of America."

The Committee of Public Safety learned of the visit of the officers to Montgomery. On the evening of the 8th of May, two days after the column had marched out to Camp Jackson, the steamboat, J. C. Swon, with a southern flag flying, arrived at the St. Louis levee. She had taken on board at Baton Rouge the cannon and the ammunition intended for the siege of the arsenal. The guns and the powder and ball were in boxes of various sizes marked "Tamaroa marble." They were addressed to "Greeley and Gale." Carlos S. Greeley and Daniel Bailey Gale were New Hampshire born. They were most pronounced Union men. They were in the wholesale grocery business. When the boxes of "Tamaroa marble" were unloaded Major James A. Shaler was there to receive them, and the secret service men were there to see what became of the consignment. Major Shaler was a staff officer of Colonel Bowen's regiment of minute men. He removed the boxes quickly to Camp Jackson. The detectives followed and then reported to the Committee of Public Safety at Turner hall. The information was at once sent to Lyon at the arsenal. By midday of May 9 Lyon, in disguise, was at Camp Jackson, examining the surroundings. The boxes of "Tamaroa marble" were there, but unpacked. It developed long afterwards that but very few officers and probably no men in

the ranks knew of the arrival of the shipment. At four o'clock in the afternoon Lyon was back in the arsenal and sending out messages to the members of the Committee of Public Safety to come to him at seven o'clock in the evening. Lyon, like Davis, was soldier and fighter. He had made up his mind what to do. He wanted the committee to approve his plan. He proposed to take Camp Jackson. Late into the night the members of the committee talked. They were divided. There was no question of the gravity of the situation. The guns and ammunition from the government arsenal at Baton Rouge were in Camp Jackson. But the United States flag floated over Camp Jackson. There had been no "overt act"—how those two words did roll from the tongue in 1861. The lawyers on the committee favored a legal process. They proposed to Lyon to get out a writ of replevin for government property and have it served on General Frost as the first step. That was law, they said, and should be the first step. But Lyon said it was not war. Perhaps, in his mind he saw those big guns on the high grounds south of him toward the marine hospital and west of him where the Anheuser-Busch brewery is now. He insisted that the bringing of the guns and the ammunition from Baton Rouge and the removal of them to Camp Jackson were sufficient provocation. Late that night the committee voted. Four approved Lyon's proposition to take Camp Jackson. Two opposed and urged the legal process be tried first. One of the two was Samuel T. Glover. He insisted that the writ of replevin be sworn out and that the United States marshal march at the head of the troops, carrying the writ to serve as the first step. He went so far as to prepare the writ and place it in the hands of United States Marshal Rawlings. But when the marshal went to the arsenal next morning he was denied admittance. Another early morning visitor was not only refused admission, but the written note he carried was not accepted by Lyon. He was Colonel Bowen, commander of the Second regiment, the minute men. Colonel Bowen bore a letter from Frost to Lyon in which the commander of Camp Jackson denied that he or any of his command had any hostile intention toward the United States government. He referred to the reports that Camp Jackson was to be attacked, and expressed the hope that they were unfounded. He concluded: "I trust that after this explicit statement we may be able by fully understanding each other to keep far from our borders the misfortunes which so unfortunately afflict our common country."

Bowen carried the letter back to Camp Jackson. He was a West Pointer, a Georgian. He had resigned from the regular army and had established himself in St. Louis as an architect. There was no question as to his sympathies. He believed in the right of secession. He was undoubtedly in sympathy with Governor Jackson's purpose to get the arsenal. Frost, also, was a West Pointer. His service in the army had been marked by special bravery. He was a New Yorker by birth and of one of the old families of that state. Strangest of all to tell, he had graduated at West Point in the same class with Lyon. Other classmates of Frost were Grant, McClellan, Rosecrans and Franklin, all to become famous Union generals. In the same class was Beauregard of Louisiana. Frost carried the class honors in such company.

Bowen reported to Frost he was certain from what he had seen Lyon was about to move on Camp Jackson. There was a hurried consultation. These were brave men, but they had been trained in military precedents. They had 650 men in camp, some of them unarmed. Bowen had not been able to get guns for all of his minute men. Resistance was folly. So the leaders, who had studied in the same school that Lyon had, waited while the battalion of regulars and six regiments of the ten recruited by the Committee of Public Safety, marched up from the arsenal. Blair took Laclede avenue; Boernstein, Pine street; Schuttner, Market street; Siegel, Olive street; Gratz Brown, Morgan street; McNeil, Clark avenue. In this order the regiments moved westward toward Grand avenue; thousands of men, women and children filling the sidewalks and many following. The men who were marching were St. Louisans. They were going out to kill or to take prisoners several hundred of their fellow citizens. Lyon went through all of the forms of war. He posted his artillery. He disposed of his troops so that the camp was surrounded. He demanded surrender. He had been a captain in the regular army when he came to St. Louis. He was in command of the army raised by a Committee of Public Safety, but was still without the commission suitable to the rank. He was calling for the surrender of his former classmate who had stood above him in the class at West Point and who was a brigadier general of state troops. When his force was in position Lyon sent his demand in writing. His note set forth that Frost was in communication with the Confederacy, and had received war material therefrom which was the property of the United States. He charged Frost with "having in direct view hostilities to the general government and cooperation with its enemies." Thirty minutes were given for the answer. Frost replied, protesting against the action of Lyon as unconstitutional. He added that being wholly unprepared to defend his command from the unwarranted attack he was forced to comply.

Lyon offered immediate parole to all who would take the oath of allegiance. Several accepted the terms. The others refused, stating that they had already taken the oath of allegiance, and to repeat it would be an admission that they had been enemies. The regulars gathered up the arms, including the "Tamaroa marble." The state militia were marched out and formed in line as prisoners, with armed guards on both sides of them. A long wait occurred. The crowds which had followed the regiments from down town pressed closer. They became noisy. They geyed the soldiers. They grew bolder. Insults were shouted. Clods were thrown. A pistol was fired. Then came war of the character which Sherman described—"War is Hell!" Ninety men, women and children were shot. Twenty-eight of them died on the streets or in the hospitals. A baby in its mother's arms was killed. The column moved on slowly, armed men and prisoners, to the center of the city and then southward to the arsenal. The prisoners were paroled. The baptism of blood, which the Committee of Public Safety for four months stayed, had come at last.

From the steps of the Planters House, Uriel Wright, who had fought secession in the convention, Virginian born though he was, addressed a great throng of excited men. He denounced "the Camp Jackson outrage." He said: "If Unionism means such atrocious deeds as have been witnessed in St. Louis, I

am no longer a Union man." Mobs formed and wildly cheered the violent speeches made by secession orators. One body of men started down Locust street to destroy the Missouri Democrat office. Mayor Daniel Gilchrist Taylor, who had succeeded Oliver D. Filley as the city's executive a few weeks before, met the rioters and warned them to go back. Behind the mayor was a line of policemen under Chief McDonough, blocking the entire street. The police were armed with guns. Their instructions were to use the bayonet and then fire. In the Democrat office the shooting stick had been laid aside for the shooting iron. The force was armed. The building was prepared for desperate resistance. This coming of a mob was the fulfillment of many threats from those who sympathized with the secession movement. For this night the newspaper force had been waiting weeks. The mob listened to the words of the mayor and went back to the Planters to be satisfied with oratory.

The next day one of Lyon's regiments marched through the city. At Fifth and Walnut streets a crowd hooted the soldiers. At Seventh and Olive streets, the demonstrations became more hostile. Shots were fired. The troops replied with a volley. Another long list of wounded was added. Sunday came with a wild panic over reports that Lyon had determined to turn loose his regiments to teach the city a lesson. By thousands, people fled from the city, to return a day or two later. Union men were shocked. One delegation went to Washington to urge the removal of Lyon. Another delegation went to urge Lyon's retention. The Committee of Public Safety sent on its report of the Camp Jackson affair, and every member signed the declaration that Lyon's act was justifiable. The answer came in the relief of General Harney from the command of the Department of the West on the 16th of May. The next day Lyon was appointed brigadier-general to date from the 18th of May. He followed up the success of Camp Jackson by stationing strong detachments of his troops in different parts of the city. General Harney was out of the city when Camp Jackson was taken. He returned the next day. Before the order relieving him was delivered to him Harney sent for Sterling Price, the major general commanding the Missouri state guard. Price had been president of the convention which had declared against secession. He was classed as a Union man, while sympathizing with the south. With Harney, Price entered into an agreement that peace and order should be maintained in "subordination to the general and state governments." This meant that Missouri would remain in the Union, but that there must not be military movements by the general government in the state. Harney was relieved the last of May. Governor Jackson and Sterling Price came to St. Louis and sought a meeting with Lyon. A conference was held on the 11th of June at the Planters. Governor Jackson proposed that the regiments raised by the Committee of Public Safety and the state militia be disbanded. He promised that no munitions of war should be brought into the state; that citizens should be protected in their rights; insurrectionary movements should be suppressed; that strict neutrality should be preserved. Lyon listened and replied. The discussion occupied several hours. It ended when Lyon, rising from his chair, said:

Rather than concede to the state of Missouri the right to demand that my government shall not enlist troops within her limits, or bring troops into the state whenever it pleases, or move its troops at its own will into or out of or through the state; rather

than concede to the state of Missouri for one single moment the right to dictate to my government in any matter, however unimportant, I would see you (pointing in turn to each man in the room) and you, and you, and every man, woman and child dead and buried.

Addressing the governor, Lyon concluded: "This means war. In an hour one of my officers will call for you and conduct you out of my lines."

The high moral courage of one man averted what threatened to be a gross injustice. In the summer of 1862 there issued from the general commanding at St. Louis an order "to assess and collect without unnecessary delay the sum of five hundred thousand dollars from the secessionists and southern sympathizers" of the city and county of St. Louis. The order stated that the money was to be "used in subsisting, clothing and arming the enrolled militia while in active service, and in providing for the support of the families of such militiamen and United States volunteers as may be destitute."

The unpleasant duty of making and collecting the assessment was imposed upon half a dozen of the best known citizens of St. Louis. The assessment was begun. Collections were enforced by the military. Suddenly the board having the matter in charge suspended the work. The order countermanding the assessment came from Washington. It was terse: "As there seems to be no present military necessity for the enforcement of this assessment, all proceedings under the order will be suspended."

Two weeks before General Halleck directed discontinuance, a letter was sent to Washington saying "that the 'assessment' now in progress, to be levied upon southern sympathizers and secessionists, is working evil in this community and doing great harm to the Union cause. Among our citizens are all shades of opinion, from that kind of neutrality which is hatred in disguise, through all the grades of lukewarmness, 'sympathy' and hesitating zeal up to the full loyalty which your memorialists claim to possess. To assort and classify them, so as to indicate the dividing line of loyalty and disloyalty, and to establish the rates of payment by those falling below it is a task of great difficulty."

Reviewing the work as far as it had progressed, the writer continued: "The natural consequence has been that many feel themselves deeply aggrieved, not having supposed themselves liable to the suspicion of disloyalty; many escape assessment who, if any, deserve it; and a general feeling of inequality in the rule and ratio of assessments prevails. This was unavoidable for no two tribunals could agree upon the details of such an assessment either as to the persons or the amounts to be assessed without more complete knowledge of facts than are to be attained from ex parte testimony and current reports."

The writer appealed for a stay of the assessment proceedings. When the letter was written the intention was to have it signed by a number of loyal citizens of St. Louis. But the leading Union men declined to sign. Their feeling against the southern sympathizers was bitter. The war sentiment gripped. Business had been paralyzed. Sentiment rather sustained a policy which proposed to make sympathizers pay heavily toward the war expense. One man, with a deep sense of justice, stood out alone. He had been among the foremost the year previous in counseling the aggressive measures which made St. Louis a Union city. But now, when the Union elements were all powerful, his appeal for fairness toward the minority, got no hearing. He signed his letter and sent

it to Governor Gamble who forwarded it at once to Washington. Years after the war this letter was printed in a St. Louis newspaper but without the signature and without mention of the name of Rev. Dr. William G. Eliot.

The character of the assessment proceedings will seem almost incredible to this generation. When the board had organized to make the assessment the president addressed a request to "the unconditional Union men of St. Louis" to send in "such information as they have in their possession which will aid in carrying out the requirements" of the orders. He concluded his request with, "the board wish it to be understood that all communications and evidence will be considered strictly private."

Unpreparedness was the state of the Union when Civil war broke out. Men could be enlisted. Guns and uniforms could be bought. Cartridges could be made. The fighting began as if no thereafter was taken into account. Back from the front trickled the earliest human stream of wounded and sick. It swelled rapidly as the months passed. The fighting became heavier. The campaign told on the unseasoned. Born of a great emergency, late in the summer of 1861, the Western Sanitary commission came into existence.

Fremont gave the Western Sanitary commission its being. The Pathfinder's military career at St. Louis was brief. It was of sufficient duration to show the need of an organization to mitigate the suffering. Fremont launched the organization on its career of mercy by declaring in a military order: "Its general object shall be to carry out, under the properly constituted military authorities, and in compliance with their orders, such sanitary regulation and reforms as the well-being of the soldiers demands."

The general proceeded to indicate in specific details some of the services which might be performed. These were the selection and furnishing of buildings for hospitals, the finding of nurses, the visiting of camps, the inspection of food, the suggestion of better drainage, the obtaining from the public of means for promoting the moral and social welfare of soldiers in camp and hospital.

To avert friction and enlarge usefulness, Fremont concluded his order with the following: "This commission is not intended in any way to interfere with the medical staff or other officers of the army, but to cooperate with them and aid them in the discharge of their present arduous and extraordinary duties. It will be treated by all officers of the army, both regular and volunteer, in this department with the respect due to the humane and patriotic motives of the members and to the authority of the commander-in-chief."

The hour had come. Where was the man? The people recognized the emergency. Hearts were throbbing with sympathy. Hands were ready to contribute. St. Louis was the center of activities for an extensive military front. Here troops were mobilized. Hence armies moved southwest and south. Here supplies were received and forwarded. Back to St. Louis came the boatloads and trainloads of wounded. Whether Fremont's Western Sanitary commission meant much or little depended upon the head. The man was found. He was southern born, a native of Tennessee. He had lived in St. Louis nearly twenty years. He was a banker, a little past forty years of age.

James E. Yeatman made the Western Sanitary commission. Good men of St. Louis held up his hands. They were named with him—Carlos S. Greeley,

Dr. J. B. Johnson, George Partridge and Rev. Dr. William G. Eliot. They were wise in counsel, efficient in assistance. But Mr. Yeatman was "Old Sanitary" to the soldiers in a thousand circling camps. This banker, in the prime of manhood, had a bed put in a room connected with his office so that he might be ready to respond to any call. He was on duty while he slept. A great organization was gradually built up under Mr. Yeatman's direction. Everywhere in the north were local branches of the Western Sanitary commission. The great work of relief was systematized and made effective. The collection and forwarding of supplies contributed were directed and controlled as a banker might deal with his country correspondents. There was no waste.

One of the first acts of Mr. Yeatman and his associates was to fit up and open a hospital for five hundred soldiers on Fifth and Chestnut streets. In this building were received the sanitary stores contributed from hundreds of cities, towns and villages. As needed, these stores were distributed. Hospital after hospital was prepared and opened as the wounded increased in numbers. Hospital boats were put in service to bring the wounded from the battlefields. A soldiers' home was opened in St. Louis to care for the furloughed and discharged sick as they came from the front. The military prisons in and around St. Louis were filled with Confederate soldiers and those who sympathized. The Western Sanitary commission carried its work of relief into the prisons. Refugees flocked to the city and were temporarily cared for. Homes for soldiers' orphans were provided.

Nowhere else in the country was there a like center of suffering and misery from the war. Nowhere else were relief measures of such magnitude undertaken. The efficiency of Mr. Yeatman's organization came to be recognized the country wide. An appropriation of \$50,000 by the state of Missouri was made for the commission. Another of \$25,000 came later. The government of St. Louis made appropriations and placed the money in Mr. Yeatman's hands. Contributions came from all parts of the country. Here was the suffering. Here came the contributions. In the midst of business depression, of war hard times, the Mississippi Valley Sanitary fair held in St. Louis produced more than \$500,000. When the books of the Western Sanitary commission closed they showed that Mr. Yeatman had handled in money and stores for mitigation of the horrors of war \$4,270,098.55. The magnificent liberality had been begotten of implicit confidence in the integrity of the Western Sanitary commission.

Year after year, almost from the very beginning of hostilities, Mr. Yeatman gave himself to this work. Repeatedly he left the headquarters of the commission in St. Louis and went to the front to see for himself the needs. He sought the suffering and applied the measures of relief. It was this personal visitation and inspection that won for him the tender regard of the soldiers and the affectionate title of "Old Sanitary."

Catholic in his conception of the commission's purposes, this southern born man, once a slave-holder, recognized the necessities of the freedmen. Great numbers of these ex-slaves had drifted away from the plantations and into communities. The commission sent physicians and nurses and then teachers. Mr. Yeatman suggested the plan of the Freedmen's Bureau. He recommended the leasing of abandoned plantations to negroes, to encourage them to become

self-supporting. These views were indorsed as offering an "absolute solution of the cotton and negro questions." They appealed so to President Lincoln that he sent for Mr. Yeatman and offered him the commissionership of the Freedmen's Bureau. Four years previously Mr. Yeatman, accompanying Hamilton R. Gamble, had called upon Mr. Lincoln. He was a Union man. His step-father, John Bell, had headed the Union ticket as the Presidential nominee the year before. Mr. Yeatman and Mr. Gamble believed that a pacificatory policy, such as General Harney was pursuing in St. Louis, was wiser than the more radical course advocated by Francis P. Blair, who wanted Harney superseded. Mr. Lincoln rejected the advice of his visitors. Mr. Gamble and Mr. Yeatman came back to St. Louis, Mr. Gamble to become the provisional governor of Missouri and to hold it in the Union at the cost of his life, Mr. Yeatman to devote himself unsparingly to the mitigation of the horrors of war.

A committee of public safety dealt with the railroad strike of July, 1877. It was composed of General A. J. Smith, Judge Thomas T. Gantt, General John S. Marmaduke, General John S. Cavender, General John D. Stevenson and General John W. Noble. Here were men who had faced each other on opposite sides in the Civil war of the previous decade, men of northern and men of southern birth. They were named by the mayor. The situation was put in their hands. The committee announced recruiting offices in various localities and called for volunteers. Within twenty-four hours five regiments were organized and the distribution of arms from the state government followed. The force was called a posse comitatus. The second day found these volunteers on guard duty at all public buildings and central points. Without uniforms, with cartridge belts strapped around their waists and with guns on their shoulders these citizen soldiers went on duty like minute men. The civilian army of law and order was 5,000 strong. Business was suspended. In the doorways of stores stood or sat squads of men with guns. The rioters marched through the streets two days, compelling industries to shut down. At Schuler's hall on Broadway and Biddle streets an executive committee of the strikers sat in continuous session issuing proclamations and orders "in the name of all workingmen's associations." This revolutionary junta addressed the governor of the state, John S. Phelps, calling for a special session of legislature to pass the eight-hour law and provide for its stringent enforcement:

Your attention is respectfully called to the fact that a prompt compliance with this, our reasonable demand, and that living wages be paid to the railroad men, will at once bring peace and prosperity such as we have not seen for the last fifteen years. Nothing short of a compliance to the above just demand, made purely in the interest of our national welfare, will arrest this tidal wave of industrial revolution. Threats or organized armies will not turn the toilers of this nation from their earnest purpose, but rather serve to inflame the passions of the multitude and tend to acts of vandalism.

To Mayor Overstolz "we the authorized representatives of the industrial population of St. Louis" addressed a request for "cooperation in devising means to procure food." Then followed the declaration: "All offers of work during this national strike cannot be considered by us as a remedy under the present circumstances, for we are fully determined to hold out until the principles we are contending for are carried."

"The stringency of food," the address continued, "is already being felt; therefore to avoid plunder, arson or violence by persons made desperate by destitution, we are ready to concur with your honor in taking timely measures to supply the immediate wants of the foodless."

Another of the announcements of the "executive committee" notified physicians and surgeons, members of the medical profession, that they would be "professionally regarded during the present strike by wearing a white badge four inches long and two inches broad, encircling the left upper arm, bearing a red cross, the bars of which to be one inch wide by three inches long, crossing each other at right angles, allowing the bars to extend one inch each way."

The day before the appeal for food, a mob broke into the Dozier, Weyl & Co. bakery where the Globe-Democrat building stands on Sixth and Pine streets and appropriated the bread and cakes. At Ninth street and Franklin avenue a store was gutted and the dry goods, soap and other stock were thrown into the street "so that the poor people might pick them up." At the Atlantic mills, the proprietor George Bain, with sturdy Scotch determination, protested against mob dictation to close. He was assaulted by a negro who attempted to brain him with a hatchet.

The day after the issuing of the pronunciamientos the police and a large force of the citizen soldiery marched to Schuler's hall, dispersed the crowd assembled there, made some arrests and raided the offices of "the executive committee." Members of the committee escaped over the roof and through adjacent buildings. The industrial revolution was ended. The citizens' military organizations continued under arms until the 31st, paraded through the business section of the city and disbanded. This show of law and order strength was impressive. St. Louis passed through the crisis without the loss of a life and with very little loss of property. It suffered far less than most of the other large railroad centers of the country. The quickness of the preparation to meet the exigency was wonderful. The cool courage and perfect plan of the campaign were admirable. Out of the test the city came with added evidence that her self-government had reached its best development.

Out of the emergency of 1877 grew a military organization unique in the martial life of St. Louis. The citizen volunteer companies did not disband wholly. John F. Shepley, John W. Noble and other advisers passed upon the legal questions and found the way clear to form Police Reserves. The crisis of the railroad strikes had come so suddenly that it taught the lesson of quick action. The state militia law required certain forms to be complied with. The sheriff must apply; the governor must feel assured of the necessity. Police Reserves could be called upon by the mayor. The citizen volunteers were consolidated into a full strong regiment of Police Reserves. Colonel James G. Butler supplied the military genius which fashioned and trained the regiment of Police Reserves into one of the most effective bodies of citizen soldiery any American city ever had. The Police Reserves were uniformed and armed like militia. They drilled, according to regular tactics, in the most convenient police stations. They were subject to call at any hour of the day or night and the summons was sounded on fire alarm bells. Colonel Butler perfected a plan which made the Police Reserves minute men. If the Reserves' alarm sounded at night

a policeman was under instructions to arouse the nearest Reserve on his beat, whose name and address he held. The first Reserve out had charge of the members of his squad living in his neighborhood who were to be summoned by himself and the policeman. Those Reserves living farthest from the police station were called earliest. By the time the last of the Reserves were called the movement in twos and threes and in groups of half a dozen toward the police station was under way. So well was the plan of alarm and summons arranged by Colonel Butler that the members of a company arrived at a station almost simultaneously. The entire regiment, with the exception of the most distant companies could be mobilized at the Four Courts with amazing quickness.

To realize the importance of this organization to the city, the inadequacy of the police force of that period must be recalled. It must be remembered, too, that those were the days of the red flag, of the International, of mysterious brotherhoods, of anarchical oratory. Labor and the trades had not organized with the intelligence and conservatism they now show. A strike was almost invariably seized upon as an opportunity by the lawless and the vicious. The Police Reserves served St. Louis well. They became thoroughly drilled. So strong was the esprit de corps that changes among the officers were rare. For a long period the only officer to resign was Captain Shepard Barclay who reluctantly ceased to be a Police Reserve because his fellow citizens had elected him to go to Jefferson City as a justice of the supreme court.

About the middle of the last decade of the century—1895—there developed marked changes in St. Louis. Younger men forged to the front. The tendency of organization and of public spirit for the common good began to show results of great importance to the community. The Business Men's League, headed successively by Samuel M. Kennard, Cyrus P. Walbridge, James E. Smith and Walker Hill, with W. F. Saunders as general manager, entered upon a career of beneficial effort such as no other organized body of business men in the country has achieved in the past sixteen years. It came into virile force just in time to make possible the World's Fair. The Civic Federation, organized in 1896, with J. Charless Cabanne as president, also entered upon a career of great usefulness. It drafted a school law which leading educators of the country pronounced the best in existence. It pressed the bill through the legislature and secured the reorganization of the board in spite of opposition. A saving of \$250,000 the first year with greatly improved facilities was the immediate result. Isaac M. Mason, Elias Michael, Daniel G. Taylor, Rev. Leon Harrison, Everett W. Pattison, Frederick N. Judson, Albert Arnstein, Henry Kortjohn and A. L. Berry were notably active in this movement. Out of the Civic Federation grew the Civic Improvement league and then the Civic league with George B. Leighton, Edward C. Eliot, Henry T. Kent, H. N. Davis, J. L. Hornsby, George D. Markham and Saunders Norvell, successively giving time and energy to the work, as presidents of the league.

1901-1909

Water Purified
New City Hospital built
First Public Bath House
First Playground opened
The City Hall completed
Five Playgrounds conducted
Seventy miles of Alleys paved
Home of Detention established
Water Rates reduced 25 per cent
Tuberculosis Commission created
Two Branch Dispensaries provided
City Forestry Department organized
Public Buildings Commission named
A Municipal Testing Laboratory built
Public Recreation Commission created
Nine new Parks of 150 acres acquired
Public Service Commission established
Tonnage Tax on Steamboats abolished
Smoke Abatement Department organized
Board of Examiners of Plumbers selected
City divided into seven sanitary Districts
Expended upon Public Works, \$3,844,920
Quarantine and Smallpox Hospital rebuilt
Commission of Hydraulic Engineers created
Two hundred and five miles of Streets paved
Six Engine Houses added at cost of \$273,354
Emergency Hospital purchased at cost of \$50,417
King's Highway Boulevard Commission appointed
Juvenile Court and Probation System inaugurated
Diphtheria Antitoxin supplied those unable to buy
Plans prepared for first section of Des Peres Sewer
Steel Hull Harbor Boat acquired at cost of \$69,000
Work House placed on almost self-supporting basis
Assessed Valuation of Realty increased \$98,785,520
One hundred and fifty miles of Sewers constructed
House of Refuge transformed into Industrial School
Office of City Bacteriologist and Pathologist created
Quarantine Launch substituted for Ambulance Service
Contract for Gas Lighting effected at saving of \$957,363
King's Highway Boulevard, nineteen miles long, laid out
Fire Department Companies increased by additional men
Contract for Electric Lighting made at saving of \$615,040
Betterments provided at Waterworks at Cost of \$5,500,000
Board of Control, St. Louis Museum of Fine Arts, appointed
Twenty-five School Buildings provided at cost of \$3,719,547
Two Public Bath Houses Built; sites secured for three more
Assessed Valuation of Personal Property more than doubled
Interest saved on Bond Purchases before Maturity, \$546,680
Three Branch Libraries completed and two under construction
Additions to Insane Asylum under Construction to cost \$546,680
Improvements at Insane Asylum cut down death rate 50 per cent
Appropriated for Public Works in course of Construction, \$859,771
About \$2,000,000 saved annually to business by Terminal Commission
Four new Buildings added to Poor House and Old Buildings remodeled
Sanitary Inspection of Groceries, Meat Shops, Bakeries and Restaurants

On the 13th of April, 1909, the World's Fair mayor, Rolla Wells, concluded eight years at the head of the municipal government and was succeeded by Frederick H. Kreismann. On the evening of the 14th, a testimonial dinner was given in honor of the retiring mayor by 440 citizens, embracing all vocations, without regard to party. The president of the Business Men's League, James E. Smith, was the chairman of the evening. The participants in the program were the Rev. Dr. Samuel J. Niccolls, Mayor Frederick H. Kreismann, Former Mayors Cyrus P. Walbridge and David R. Francis, Archbishop John J. Glennon, and Frederick W. Lehmann, president of the charter commission. A notable feature was the concise presentation of municipal achievement and advancement during the eight years, 1901-1909—the World's Fair period and the administration of Mayor Wells.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE WORLD'S FAIR

Centennial of the Louisiana Purchase—Pierre Chouteau's Suggestion—Initial Action by the Missouri Historical Society—The Committee of Fifty—"Design and Form of Celebration" Long Considered—"Some Form of Exposition" Recommended—Convention of State and Territorial Delegates—Preliminary Organization of Two Hundred—Capital Stock, City Bonds and Government Appropriation—Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company Formed—Heavy Financial Obligations Assumed—The Clean Work Done at Washington—Stockholders Classified—William H. Thompson, "the Hitching Post"—Unprecedented Record of Collections—High Ideals of the Exposition Management—President McKinley's Proclamation—Radical Departure in Exposition Organization—President and Four Directors of Divisions—Man of the World's Fair Hour—The Devoted Executive Committee—Foreign Participation That Broke Precedents—Representation from Forty-three States and Five Territories—Processes Rather Than Products, the Plan and Scope—New Wants Born to Millions—The Educational Motive—Admissions, 19,694,855—A Resident Population of 20,000—Analysis of the Attendance—Exposition Life—The 428 Conventions—Revenues and Expenditures—World's Fair and the Press—The University Relationship—Material Gains of St. Louis—Jefferson Monument.

Open ye gates. Swing wide ye portals. Enter herein ye sons of men and behold the achievements of your race. Learn the lesson here taught and gather from it inspiration for still greater accomplishments.—David R. Francis, *Opening Day, April 30, 1904.*

A descendant of the founder of St. Louis was the father of the World's Fair of 1904. To the group of men and women who were keeping alive the sacred fire of historical sentiment in St. Louis, Pierre Chouteau, in 1897, talked of the coming centennial. He was insistent. He did not so much as suggest at first the form of the universal exposition. But he dwelt upon the coming anniversary and urged the celebration of it in a manner commensurate with the character of the occasion and with the importance of the city.

Others besides Mr. Chouteau had been inspired. William Vincent Byars, Charles M. Harvey, Will C. Ferrill and perhaps some other editorial writers had repeatedly and forcibly directed public attention to the propriety of a celebration. As early as the selection of Chicago for the location of the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893, David R. Francis had reminded a Congressional committee that in a decade more another great anniversary would be claiming attention.

But in the rooms of the Missouri Historical society, the movement which culminated in the Universal Exposition of 1904 had its inception and the progenitor was Pierre Chouteau, great great grandson of Pierre Laclede. What Pierre Chouteau advocated in the beginning was a celebration which should worthily commemorate the century of American sovereignty west of the Mississippi and which might result in an adequate fireproof building for the Missouri Historical society. Up to that time no formal step had been taken anywhere within the Louisiana Purchase looking to the observance of the centennial, then half a dozen years away.

The Historical society acted. The subject was taken up by the advisory committee, which is the governing body of the society, composed of:—

Marshall S. Snow, Chairman.

Joseph Boyce,
D. I. Bushnell,
Pierre Chouteau,
Melvin L. Gray,
Anthony Ittner,

George E. Leighton,
J. B. C. Lucas,
P. S. O'Reilly,
Charles D. Stevens,
John H. Terry.

W. J. Seever, Secretary.

On the 11th day of January, 1898, the advisory committee appointed a special committee on "centennial celebration of the Louisiana Purchase." The Historical society approved the report. The committee was composed of:

Pierre Chouteau, Chairman.

Charles F. Bates,
Goodman King,

J. B. C. Lucas,
Isaac W. Morton,

Marshall S. Snow.

Mr. Chouteau smiled grimly as he saw the result of his agitation had brought upon himself the leadership of the movement. He half suspected his associates in the society had taken this course to unload responsibility on him. But the special committee was strong in character. The members were energetic. Goodman King was especially active. After several meetings Mr. Chouteau's committee determined to ask through the Historical society the appointment of a conference committee by the Business Men's League.

While Mr. Chouteau and his committee were holding meetings, Congressman Bartholdt, at Washington, in February, 1898, introduced a bill for an international exposition at St. Louis to be held in 1903.

A few days previous the Central Trades and Labor Union of St. Louis adopted resolutions favoring a World's Fair.

On the 26th of April, 1898, the Business Men's League acceded to the request of the Historical society and named this conference committee:

George W. Brown,
L. D. Dozier,
Frank Gaiennie,

Clark H. Sampson,
C. P. Walbridge,
John C. Wilkinson.

These gentlemen, without exception, entered into the spirit of the movement. As yet there was not even the suggestion of a World's Fair. But the propriety, the advisability of a centennial celebration of some character was assumed with enthusiasm from the first meeting. Outside of the two committees the movement had attracted at this time only languid interest. The conference resulted in a recommendation that the Missouri Historical society call a meeting of professional, business, social and trades organizations. On the 17th of May, 1898, the call went out. It was addressed to these bodies inviting their officers to a meeting to consider the observance of the centennial:

Academy of Science.
Bar Association of St. Louis.
Business Men's League.
Commercial Club.
Engineers' Club.
Exposition & Music Hall Association.
Implement & Vehicle Board of Trade.
Latin American Club.

Master Builders Association.
Mercantile Club.
Merchants' Exchange.
National Building Trades Council.
Noonday Club.
Round Table.
St. Louis Board of Fire Underwriters.
St. Louis Clearing House Association.

St. Louis Chapter, American Institute of
Architects.
St. Louis Club.
St. Louis Cotton Exchange.
St. Louis Real Estate Exchange.

St. Louis Furniture Board of Trade.
St. Louis Manufacturers' Association.
Union Club.
University Club.

The meeting was held. Those who attended resolved that the centennial should be fittingly observed. They provided for a temporary organization to be composed of a committee of fifty, such committee to be selected by a committee of fifteen. The fifteen were chosen on the 30th of June, 1898. They were called "the nominating committee for preliminary organization." They were:

Pierre Chouteau, Chairman.

D. R. Francis,
Wm. Hyde,
E. C. Kehr,
L. D. Kingsland,
Isaac W. Morton,
Julius Pitzman,
Chris. E. Sharp,

H. W. Steinbiss,
John H. Terry,
W. H. Thompson,
Festus J. Wade,
Prof. S. Waterhouse,
James A. Waterworth,
John C. Wilkinson.

The committee of fifteen acted promptly. The committee of fifty to form the preliminary organization was selected and brought together on the 12th of July, 1898. The committee of fifty was widely and strongly representative:

E. B. Adams,
Robert S. Brookings,
George W. Brown,
Adolphus Busch,
Pierre Chouteau,
Seth W. Cobb,
George O. Carpenter,
Murray Carleton,
H. I. Drummond,
Wm. Duncan,
Edward Devoy,
James J. Early,
W. S. Eames,
Benj. Eiseman,
D. R. Francis,
Frank Gaiennie,
Jacob Furth,
August Gehner,
William Hyde,
H. C. Haarstick,
D. S. Holmes,
H. Hitchcock,
Anthony Ittner,
H. C. Ives,
L. D. Kingsland,

E. C. Kehr,
S. M. Kennard,
George E. Leighton,
F. W. Lehmann,
George D. Markham,
Isaac W. Morton,
Charles Nagel,
F. G. Niedringhaus,
Julius Pitzman,
Charles Parsons,
H. W. Steinbiss,
Christopher Sharp,
A. L. Shapleigh,
E. O. Stanard,
W. H. Thompson,
John H. Terry,
John W. Turner,
Dr. William Taussig,
Prof. S. Waterhouse,
J. A. Waterworth,
Festus J. Wade,
C. P. Walbridge,
C. G. Warner,
M. C. Wetmore,
John C. Wilkinson,

W. J. Seever, Secretary.

At the first meeting, the committee of fifty named a sub-committee "on design and form of celebration," composed of the following:

Pierre Chouteau, Chairman.

W. S. Eames,
D. R. Francis,
William Hyde,
Halsey C. Ives,

Frederick W. Lehmann,
Julius Pitzman,
William Taussig,
John H. Terry,

Sylvester Waterhouse.

When this committee on design was appointed a motion was offered in the committee of fifty that the members be instructed to not consider the advisability of a World's Fair. On the argument that the committee ought to be left unhampered, the motion was withdrawn. That it was offered may be taken as evidence of the sentiment prevailing at the time. There was no doubt the feeling against the exposition form of celebration was strong.

The committee worked zealously and intelligently. Regular meetings were held at what was then the St. Nicholas hotel, now an office building, on Eighth and Locust streets. While they lunched together the members took up and discussed various forms of celebration. To each meeting was invited the representative of some interest of the city and suggestions and opinions were sought. Four months, in the late summer and fall of 1898, these meetings continued, until the committee of ten had heard and deliberated upon every suggested form of celebration. A park on the city front was considered. A monument to Jefferson was discussed. A fireproof historical museum found much support. But out of the four months of deliberation came more and more clearly the crystallized conclusion that only by a universal exposition could the centennial be properly observed.

On the 28th of November the committee of fifty was called together. A unanimous report from the committee on design and form of celebration was presented by Pierre Chouteau. It was a report which revealed the virile pen of Frederick W. Lehmann. Taking up the various suggestions and showing their inadequacy, meeting the several objections to an exposition, the committee concluded:

For the purposes of a general commemoration your committee is of opinion that only some form of exposition will serve, at which the development and progress of the arts of civilized life in the territory during the last hundred years may be appropriately displayed.

We have to deal with a territory that a hundred years ago was, throughout almost its entire extent, a wilderness and a desert. The white settlements within its borders were not of our nationality. The people spoke not our language nor did they profess our laws. In no spirit of boasting may we say that now no portion of the United States is more thoroughly American than the Louisiana territory. In public spirit and in private enterprise it stands with the first. The achievements of this people during the hundred years that have passed since the American flag was planted here, may well challenge the attention of the world, and an exposition of them must prove to be an object lesson of universal interest.

We believe, too, that St. Louis is the place for such an exposition, and that once determined upon, our people would make it worthy of themselves and of the great occasion.

But the exposition should be in no sense a local one. It should be not only by the city of St. Louis, nor even by the state of Missouri, but by the entire Louisiana territory. That it may be so, nothing should be forestalled. All those who are to take part in it should have a voice in determining where it shall be held and what shall be its characteristics.

To this end we recommend that there be called a convention of representatives from all the states in the Louisiana Purchase to meet in St. Louis at an early day to determine the time, place and manner of commemorating the acquisition of this territory by the United States, and we submit herewith a resolution to that effect for the consideration of the Committee of Fifty.

The report was adopted unanimously by the committee of fifty. Resolutions requested Governor Lon V. Stephens to invite the governors of states and territories within the Louisiana territory to send delegates, one for each congressional district and two at large for each state, to a convention at St. Louis on the 10th of January, 1899, "for the purpose of determining the time, place

and manner of fittingly commemorating the centennial anniversary of the acquisition by the United States of the Louisiana territory."

Every governor responded. The convention was held. It declared un-
animously in favor of an exposition, chose St. Louis for the place, pledged sup-
port of the states and called upon the general government to aid the project.

St. Louis lost no time in perfecting the temporary organization for actual
preparation. A committee of ten to select a general committee of two hundred
was appointed. This committee of ten consisted of:

David R. Francis, Chairman.

James L. Blair,	Jonathan Rice,
Adolphus Busch,	W. H. Thompson,
C. W. Knapp,	Festus J. Wade,
D. C. Nugent,	Rolla Wells,
H. C. Pierce,	

Breckinridge Jones, Secretary.

On the 10th of February, 1899, the Committee of Two Hundred was named. This was the organization which carried through the preliminary work making possible the Exposition. It is the roll of honor of the World's Fair of 1904. These men raised the \$5,000,000 in subscriptions, carried through the legislation and the election which secured \$5,000,000 from the municipality and conducted the campaign which inspired the United States Government to support the movement on a scale of liberality which was beyond all exposition precedents. They did it in just two years and two months. For the necessary expenses these gentlemen raised a fund by voluntary contributions.

COMMITTEE OF TWO HUNDRED ORGANIZED.

February 10th, 1899.

Pierre Chouteau, Chairman.

D. R. Francis, Chairman Executive Committee.
W. H. Thompson, Chairman Finance Committee.
F. W. Lehmann, Chairman Committee on Legislation.
J. L. Blair, Chairman Legal Committee.
James Cox, Secretary.

A. A. Allen,	Murray Carleton,
George L. Allen,	George O. Carpenter,
D. Bowes,	D. W. Caruth,
George W. Baumhoff,	A. C. Cassidy,
George D. Barnard,	Enos. Clarke,
James Bannerman,	Charles Clark,
S. A. Bemis,	Theo. P. Cook,
L. R. Blackmer,	D. A. Cowan,
Henry Blackmore,	Charles A. Cox,
C. F. Blanke,	Seth W. Cobb,
Wilbur F. Boyle,	D. Crawford,
Henry Braun,	G. Cramer,
A. D. Brown,	T. W. Crouch,
George W. Brown,	W. W. Culver,
E. P. Bryan,	John D. Davis,
Adolphus Busch,	John T. Davis,
J. B. Case,	H. N. Davis,
J. P. Camp,	Edward Devoy,
James Campbell,	Alex. N. DeMenil,

S. M. Dodd,
 P. J. Doerr,
 C. J. Dougherty,
 L. D. Dozier,
 W. H. Dittman,
 F. A. Drew,
 Wm. Druhe,
 J. T. Drummond,
 R. B. Dula,
 William Duncan,
 George F. Durant,
 W. S. Eames,
 James J. Early,
 Benjamin Eiseman,
 George L. Edwards,
 H. W. Eliot,
 Howard Elliott,
 Daniel Evans,
 J. M. Faithorn,
 J. S. Finkenbiner,
 Nathan Frank,
 R. Graham Frost,
 S. W. Fordyce,
 C. August Forster,
 Jacob Furth,
 Frank Gaiennie,
 G. W. Garrels,
 Charles F. Gauss,
 August Gehner,
 H. W. Gays,
 Morris Glaser,
 Emile Glogau,
 B. B. Graham,
 Norris B. Gregg,
 J. D. Goldman,
 W. T. Haarstiek,
 Russell Harding,
 A. B. Hart,
 Walker Hill,
 F. D. Hirschberg,
 Henry Hitchcock,
 Joseph M. Hayes,
 B. F. Hobart,
 W. D. Holliday,
 D. S. Holmes,
 J. L. Hornsby,
 Richard Hospes,
 D. M. Houser,
 E. R. Hoyt,
 W. L. Huse,
 C. H. Huttig,
 Anthony Ittner,
 Halsey C. Ives,
 George T. Jarvis,
 Breckinridge Jones,
 F. N. Judson,
 John W. Kauffman,

E. C. Kehr,
 S. M. Kennard,
 J. H. Kentnor,
 R. C. Kerens,
 Goodman King,
 L. D. Kingsland,
 George J. Kobusch,
 Max Kotany,
 Charles W. Knapp,
 J. J. Lawrence,
 Arthur Lee,
 George E. Leighton,
 Wm. J. Lemp,
 I. H. Lionberger,
 Isaac P. Lusk,
 J. H. McCabe,
 W. S. McChesney,
 Wm. N. McConkin,
 Robert McCulloch,
 J. W. McDonald,
 Thomas H. McKittrick,
 Wm. N. McMillan,
 T. S. McPheeters,
 George A. Madill,
 George D. Markham,
 F. E. Marshall,
 E. Mallinckrodt,
 C. F. G. Meyer,
 Haiden Miller,
 Isaac W. Morton,
 Charles Nagel,
 L. C. Nelson,
 T. K. Niedringhaus,
 John W. Noble,
 W. F. Nolker,
 Byron Nugent,
 J. B. O'Meara,
 E. S. Orr,
 W. J. Orthwein,
 Charles J. Osborne,
 C. F. Parker,
 H. C. Pierce,
 Julius Pitzman,
 H. S. Potter,
 Emil Preetorius,
 David Ranken, Jr.,
 Joseph Ramsey, Jr.,
 James A. Reardon,
 Charles Rebstock,
 Leo Rasseieur,
 Valle Reyburn,
 Jonathan Rice,
 E. C. Robbins,
 D. B. Robinson,
 L. M. Rumsey,
 C. H. Sampson,
 Wm. J. Scott,

E. G. Scudder,
 John Scullin,
 R. M. Scruggs,
 Louis Schaefer,
 W. E. Schweppe,
 Isaac Schwab,
 E. H. Semple,
 M. Shaughnessy,
 Chris. Sharp,
 A. L. Shapleigh,
 M. S. Snow,
 C. H. Spencer,
 Wm. J. Stone,
 H. W. Steinbiss,
 C. A. Stix,
 E. J. Strauss,
 E. O. Stanard,
 Adiel Sherwood,
 L. B. Tebbetts,
 John H. Terry,
 Wm. H. Thomson,
 Zach W. Tinker,
 Charles H. Turner,
 John W. Turner,
 J. J. Turner,

David S. Tarbell,
 Wm. Taussig,
 C. E. Udell,
 C. P. Walbridge,
 W. H. Walker,
 Richard Walsh,
 C. G. Warner,
 James A. Waterworth,
 Julius S. Walsh,
 Festus J. Wade,
 Ellis Wainwright,
 Sylvester Waterhouse,
 Thomas H. West,
 Ben Westhus,
 Nat. Wetzel,
 M. C. Wetmore,
 Rolla Wells,
 J. J. Wertheimer,
 John C. Wilkinson,
 Edwards Whittaker,
 W. H. Woodward,
 Florence White,
 O. L. Whitelaw,
 Thomas Wright,
 George M. Wright.

The same careful regard for representation of all interests in the city that had governed the composition of the Committee of Two Hundred was observed in the selection of the ninety-three directors. In eight years of the corporation's existence comparatively few changes took place in the board. For the most part vacancies were caused by death. The ninety-three memberships were filled within the period mentioned by one hundred and eighteen persons. With one exception the elective officers remained the same from the organization of the company. They were:

David R. Francis, President.
 Corwin H. Spencer, First Vice-President.
 Samuel M. Kennard, Second Vice-President.
 Daniel M. Houser, Third Vice-President.
 Cyrus P. Walbridge, Fourth Vice-President.
 Seth W. Cobb, Fifth Vice-President.
 Charles H. Huttig, Sixth Vice-President.
 August Gehner, Seventh Vice-President.
 Pierre Chouteau, Eighth Vice-President.
 Wm. H. Thompson, Treasurer.
 Walter B. Stevens, Secretary.
 Fred. Gabel, Auditor.

The only exception was the election of Franklin Ferriss, general counsel, in place of James L. Blair. Judge Ferriss resigned from the circuit bench of St. Louis to take the position of general counsel and held it from the date of his election, through pre-exposition, exposition and post-exposition periods.

A list of all persons who served as Directors of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company between the date of incorporation and 1911 is as follows:

- Allen, Andrew A.
 Anderson, Lorenzo E.
 Baker, George A.
 Bell, Nicholas M.
 Bixby, Wm. K.
 Blanke, Cyrus F.
 Blair, James L.
 Boyle, Wilbur F.
 Brown, Alanson D.
 Brown, Geo. Warren.
 Brown, Paul.
 Busch, Adolphus
 Butler, James G.
 Campbell, James.
 Carleton, Murray.
 Chouteau, Pierre.
 Cobb, Seth W.
 Coyle, James F.
 Cram, George T.
 Crawford, Hanford.
 Davis, John David.
 Davis, H. N.
 De Menil, Alexander N.
 Dodd, Samuel M.
 Dozier, Lewis D.
 Drummond, Harrison I.
 Dula, Robert B.
 Edwards, G. L.
 Elliott, Howard.
 Felton, Samuel M.
 Ferriss, Franklin.
 Fish, Stuyvesant.
 Francis, David R.
 Francis, Thomas H.
 Frank, Nathan.
 Frederick, A. H.
 Gabel, Fred.
 Garrels, Gerhard W.
 Gehner, August.
 Greene, William M.
 Gregg, Norris Bradford.
 Haarstick, W. T.
 Hart, Augustus B.
 Hill, Walker.
 Hirschberg, Francis D.
 Holmes, John A.
 Houser, Daniel M.
 Huttig, Charles H.
 Ingalls, M. E.
 Ives, Halsey C.
 Jones, Breckinridge.
 Kennard, Samuel M.
 King, Goodman.
 Kinsella, W. J.
 Knapp, Charles W.
 Lawrence, J. J.
 Lee, William Hill.
 Lemp, Wm. J.
 Lemp, Wm. J., Jr.
 Lehmann, Frederick W.
 McDonald, James W.
 McKeen, Benjamin.
 McKittrick, Thomas Harrington.
 Madill, Geo. A.
 Markham, George D.
 Marshall, Finis E.
 Meyer, C. F. G.
 Michael, Elias.
 Miller, Henry I.
 Morton, Isaac W.
 Niedringhaus, F. G.
 Nolker, W. F.
 Nugent, Daniel C.
 O'Neill, Peter A.
 Orr, Edward S.
 Parker, George W.
 Pierce, Henry Clay.
 Ramsey, Joseph, Jr.
 Ranken, David, Jr.
 Rice, Jonathan.
 Sampson, Clark H.
 Schotten, Julius J.
 Schroers, John.
 Schwab, Isaac.
 Scruggs, R. M.
 Scullin, John.
 Shapleigh, Alfred Lee.
 Simmons, E. C.
 Smith, James E.
 Spencer, C. H.
 Spencer, Henry B.
 Spencer, Samuel.
 Steigers, William C.
 Steinbiss, Herman W.
 Stevens, Walter B.
 Stix, Charles A.
 Stockton, Robert H.
 Tansey, George Judd.
 Taylor, Isaac S.
 Thompson, Collins.
 Thompson, Wm. H.
 Turner, Charles H.
 Turner, J. J.
 Van Blarcom, Jacob C.
 Wade, Festus J.
 Walbridge, Cyrus P.
 Walsh, Julius S.
 Warner, C. G.
 Wells, Wm. B.
 Wells, Rolla.
 Wenneker, Charles F.
 Wertheimer, Jacob J.
 Whitaker, Edwards.
 Whitelaw, Oscar L.
 Woerheide, A. A. B.
 Woodward, W. H.
 Wright, George M.
 Yoakum, B. F.



DAVID R. FRANCIS

The high honor of directorship carried weighty responsibilities. The financial obligations were not light. After the city had been well canvassed for subscriptions, the men selected for directors, each assumed the task of providing \$10,000 additional subscriptions to make up the total necessary to secure the United States Government aid. They gave the following pledge:

WHEREAS, the undersigned, all citizens of the City of St. Louis, are deeply interested in the successful inauguration of a World's Fair in St. Louis, to be held in celebration of the Centennial of the Purchase of the Louisiana Territory; and

WHEREAS, we believe that the holding of said Fair will tend to enhance the value of our property by conducing to the general prosperity of the City and State; and

WHEREAS, it is necessary to the holding of said Fair that the popular subscription of \$5,000,000 should promptly be completed.

Now, in consideration of the premises and of the mutual promises and undertakings of the several subscribers, hereto, each and every one of us, each for himself and not for any other, does hereby agree to procure subscriptions in good faith, from solvent persons to the stock of the corporation to be organized for the holding of said Fair to an amount of \$10,000 and in the event of his failure or inability to secure the full amount of said \$10,000 of subscriptions on or before the second day of January, 1901, then, on demand, to subscribe and pay for in accordance with the usual subscription blank, such part of said \$10,000 as he shall have not then procured, or such less amount as shall be fixed by the Finance Committee as his proportion of the then total deficit when such deficit shall have been equitably apportioned among all those of the subscribers hereto who are then in default, provided that each one who has made subscriptions in his own name hereunder shall have the privilege, from time to time, for sixty days thereafter, of substituting other solvent subscribers for all or any part of said subscription.

This agreement is not to become operative until there shall have been obtained a number of subscribers hereto, or to copies hereof, sufficient in the judgment of the Finance Committee, to complete, with the subscriptions already obtained, the total popular subscription of \$5,000,000, and in no case shall any subscriber hereto be required to procure or subscribe for more than 1,000 shares of said stock of the par value of \$10,000.

When the first call for ten per cent on the stock was issued the directors advanced \$1,000, each, in addition to paying the assessment, that there might be no delay in the organization of the corporation.

In the pre-exposition period, the summer of 1903, there arose an emergency. Money was needed to keep the work going. Directors gave their notes, each for \$5,000, guaranteeing in advance the collections on the stock.

To comply strictly with the law requiring repayment of the Government loan the directors at a subsequent time, in the summer of 1904, gave their notes, each for \$10,000, to raise money in anticipation of revenues.

When bonds were to be given the city for the use of Forest Park the directors signed personally, obligating themselves to the amount of \$200,000. Again and again during the progress of preparation and during the exposition, personal bonds upon land leases, upon loaned machinery, upon other conditions were signed by these directors.

To the president, the treasurer, the vice-presidents no salaries were paid. For the president, not long after the organization, a contingent fund of \$25,000 was set apart. When the exposition closed less than \$1,500 of the \$25,000 had been expended and that had been used to pay for the service of a personal representative to look into complaints brought privately to the president's notice. Officers and directors not only gave time without compensation but they paid for personal expenses in the performance of their duties many thousands of

dollars which might, without cavil, have been charged against the company's treasury. There was on the part of these directors a sense of personal honor and dignity which barred all littleness.

The Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company was not a one-man or a two-man organization. It was a board of ninety-three directors, the strong characters, the positive individualities of the city's industries, trades and professions. That there was never schism nor faction nor revolt was because every one of the ninety-three was recognized as entitled to his opinion. More than that, his opinion was invited and weighed on fair scales. In the nine hundred typewritten pages of the proceedings of directors may be found the submission of every important proposition and question for judgment and decision before action. In the thirty-six hundred typewritten pages of the executive committee record is the evidence of the thoroughness with which all details were threshed out and settled by majority vote.

The manner in which sentiment for the celebration of the centennial of the acquisition of Louisiana made progress with the Administration, the Senate and the House at Washington was wonderful. Even the St. Louis people who had become imbued with the spirit were agreeably surprised at the rapidity with which the sentiment spread and the strength which it displayed so far from its starting point. Congress never before warmed up so rapidly and so effectively to an exposition movement.

But sentiment, even of the strongest and best, must be backed by skillful handling when it comes to a question of taking \$5,000,000 out of the United States Treasury. The Louisiana Purchase Exposition bill was managed without a single mistake in the methods employed. If some precedents had been followed the St. Louis delegation would have employed a lobby and would have spent money freely to expedite the legislation. Such employment would have been a handicap. The money for it would have been thrown away. Not a hired agent raised his voice for the bill. Not a dollar was squandered. It was from inception to finish at Washington "clean legislation."

The St. Louis delegation was peculiarly fortunate in that three men well versed in the ways of Washington had much to do with coaching the legislation. As a former member of the cabinet, as a frequent visitor to the national capital on public business, David R. Francis possessed not only personal acquaintance with many in Senate and House, but practical knowledge of methods. Former Congressmen Nathan Frank and Seth W. Cobb, both having been strong men in their respective Congresses, had the advantage of floor privileges. Mr. Frank knew all of the leading Republicans in Congress and how to approach them. Mr. Cobb had been so recently a representative that his appearance on the Democratic side was the occasion for renewal of agreeable acquaintance.

In the House the three St. Louis Republican representatives, Richard Bartholdt, Charles F. Joy and Chas. E. Pearce devoted themselves day and night to this measure, having the cordial cooperation of their twelve Democratic colleagues in the Missouri delegation. If Representative Wm. A. Rodenberg of East St. Louis had been a Missouri member he could not have been more loyal or effective in the World's Fair movement. The appearance at Washington from time to time of prominent St. Louisans, of the type of Corwin H. Spencer,

D. M. Houser, Charles W. Knapp, Cyrus P. Walbridge, S. M. Kennard and F. G. Niedringhaus had the effect to convince Congress that the entire city was enlisted in the movement.

Individuals, firms and corporations contributing to the stock of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company numbered 16,927. The payments on subscriptions had reached, in April, 1909, the sum of \$4,925,000. The stockholders were classified as to amounts paid, as follows:

No. of Subscribers	Amount paid by Each.
2169.....	Less than \$10. each.
5118.....	\$10.
4607.....	\$10. to \$50.
2276.....	\$50. to \$100.
204.....	\$100. to \$150.
535.....	\$150. to \$200.
488.....	\$200. to \$300.
60.....	\$300. to \$400.
530.....	\$400. to \$500.
80.....	\$500. to \$750.
353.....	\$750. to \$1,000.
179.....	\$1,000. to \$2,000.
208.....	\$2,000. to \$5,000.
56.....	\$5,000. to \$10,000.
61.....	\$10,000. to \$50,000.
1.....	\$75,000.
1.....	\$210,000.

16,927

Vice President Walbridge spoke of William H. Thompson as "the hitching post of the movement from the time of his connection with it." This was said when the first stake for the World's Fair was driven in Forest Park. The description was a happy one for the occasion. If a hitching post can be conceived to be animate, to have the faculty of moving itself when and where it is most needed, the description applied many times in the history of the exposition.

In successive crises the World's Fair movement tied to Mr. Thompson and he was "the hitching post." While David R. Francis, Corwin H. Spencer and their associates in the winter of 1901 were nursing the World's Fair legislation at Washington they were called upon to show that the city of St. Louis had provided its share of \$5,000,000 for the Exposition. This was during the short session of Congress and what had to be brought about was record breaking action by the Municipal Assembly. Mr. Thompson accomplished it but when both branches of the Municipal Assembly had passed the ordinance Mayor Ziegenheim couldn't be found. James Cox carried the bill to the mayor's house and waited on the door step hour after hour one cold winter evening until the mayor returned and his signature was secured. The vital news was flashed to Washington and poor Cox went home with a heavy cold which took him to his grave a few months later.

Mr. Thompson was not a "dominating influence" in the World's Fair organization and never wished to be so considered. He was a positive man. He expressed his opinions and they had great weight. On more than one occasion he found himself in a minority of the executive committee. When he was out voted he took the result good humoredly. If events demonstrated that he had been in the right he never said "I told you so." Early in the pre-exposition period there occurred one of these differences of opinion when Mr. Thompson found himself almost alone. So strong was the antagonism of sentiment that some of the directors were apprehensive of the consequences. They feared that Mr. Thompson might withdraw from the exposition board. The issue was taken. Instead of manifesting any resentment Mr. Thompson when sounded as to his future action said with a trace of a smile:

"I never go back on my partners."

And he didn't. He was a "partner" in the World's Fair enterprise from start to finish, in all that the word "partner" implied.

"Had it not been for the steady brain, the iron will and the quick perception of Mr. Thompson this stake would not have been driven." Vice President Walbridge did not put the sense of dependence of the World's Fair directors upon the sustaining qualities of the treasurer too strongly. The treasurer of the exposition was all that Mr. Walbridge described him. He was more. He possessed an attribute which contributed not little to make him the mainstay of the exposition. Mr. Thompson was self controlled, strong willed and far sighted but he was at the same time winning. The combination character was extraordinary. Here was a man respected for his ruggedness of temperament, admired for his native ability and loved for himself. Mr. Thompson drew to him the affections of those with whom he was associated. He was a reticent man. He was a positive man. He was a courageous man. He was a stubborn man. He was a most lovable man.

The sentimental regard which so many entertained, in some cases with surprise to themselves, toward Mr. Thompson was a powerful lever for the financial success of the exposition. Men and interests that could have been affected in no other way were drawn into the support of the movement by the personal influence of Mr. Thompson, until the entire city's backing was behind the enterprise. After the subscriptions were in and the amount necessary was on paper; after this community had contributed as never before did a city of like population and wealth to a public enterprise, Mr. Thompson's call upon his fellow directors for checks of large amount was honored again and again to meet emergencies. To no other man in St. Louis would such a tribute of confidence in four and five figures have been paid.

It is an oft-told story that the solid men of St. Louis were not of one mind as to the advisability of a World's Fair. Some held a conviction that the city ought not to take upon itself such a burden. They stood aloof even after the money had been pledged and the company had been organized. Then, without ostentation, and in some cases without any publicity, one after another they went to Mr. Thompson and handed to him personally their contributions in large sums.

The exposition passed through a series of financial crises, in every one of which the vital value of William H. Thompson's personality was expressed. The first subscriptions were taken in the Spring of 1899. When the company was organized in the Spring of 1901 the finance committee was able to show the sum of \$5,070,845 pledged. There is not of record such a manifestation of public spirit on the part of any other community. In what degree this splendid result was due to the wise suggestion, the indefatigable effort, the personal influence of William H. Thompson only those who were with him throughout that campaign can appreciate.

The realization upon the pledges was another chapter. The first call on the subscriptions was in the Spring of 1901. Thereafter Mr. Thompson devised and pursued a systematic policy of appeal to subscribers. So well considered and so tactfully executed was the policy that the collections on the subscriptions had reached \$4,766,472.57 on the 18th of May, 1904. That was the date of the filing of the first suit. Up to that time the cost of collections had been only \$20,071.02, a little more than one-third of one per cent to cover all expenditures for salaries, stationery, rent, printing, postage and incidentals. In the history of expositions there is no parallel to this successful management of the subscriptions. To this record of exposition finance without precedent, belongs the item of interest. Mr. Thompson collected from the banks and trust companies with which he placed the funds of the Exposition company over \$200,000 for interest on the deposits pending disbursements.

High ideals in the evolution of the Universal Exposition, resources generous beyond precedent for such an enterprise, historic sentiment of great strength for motive, flood tide of national prosperity—these formed a combination of conditions to encourage. As preparation progressed there were no backward steps. There were no blunders to be excused. From inception to culmination this World's Fair movement passed successfully through the periods of agitation, of legislation, of financiering, of construction, of installation, of attendance, to a glorious finish. It grew in magnitude with the passing months. The exposition gained in impressiveness upon the public mind until in its closing days it became the theme of praise on every tongue.

The greatness of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition was not in its acres of length and breadth. Possibly, physical bigness was the first impression made upon the minds of most visitors. That speedily gave way to more discriminating and more worthy credit. Those who planned, occupied more ground; they built larger; but they did not stop with acres and palaces. This World's Fair of 1904 was designed in plan and perfected in execution during a period of three years to a month. It opened within three days of the third anniversary of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company's organization. The first year saw the site secured, the foundations laid and the exposition palaces planned—on paper. During the remaining two years the creation of the exposition—those vital and essential parts of it which were not comprised in grounds and buildings—progressed through the days and nights of unceasing thought and toil. Frequently this was spoken of as "The St. Louis Exposition" or "The St. Louis World's Fair." From the creative point of view the title was not a misnomer. The Universal Exposition of 1904 was the more comprehensive

and appropriate title. The movement had its beginning with this community. The great burden of responsibility was carried by the city and citizens of St. Louis, but the Universal Exposition of 1904 in its entirety, physical and spiritual, was due to the combined genius and experience of the whole world. From the day the commission of architects convened in St. Louis, summoned by wire, to view the grounds and to outline the main picture, it was more than "The St. Louis World's Fair." As details of architecture and landscape were added to the original scheme the construction and embellishment became more and more the work and the glory of cities, states and nations until the exposition grew into its just designation of universal.

Never in the world's history has there been such an assembling of nations in competition, of that which was best in art and industry, of that which represented the civilization of each. To St. Louis came commissioners and exhibitors of sixty-two independent nations, dependent sovereignties, if that expression may be permitted, and colonies. The world conditions had changed since 1893 when the Columbian Exposition was held at Chicago. The American market, as well as the American territory had expanded. This country had in the year preceding the exposition of 1904 bought of other countries more than \$1,000,000,000 worth of what they had to sell. This was considerably more than \$100,000,000 above any preceding year in the history of American commerce. The commercial argument or inducement for participation at St. Louis was unanswerable. The political argument was of like potency. As a world power this country had assumed vastly increased importance in a decade. The warmly pressed invitation of the President of the United States to all the nations of the earth to join in this "exhibit of arts, industries, manufactures and products of the soil, mine, forest and sea" was entitled to most respectful heed and received it.

A condition which materially encouraged and promoted universal participation by nations and their colonies, as well as by the states of this Union, was the high and distinctive character of the plan and scope of this exposition. Foreign commissioners, returning to their homes from their first visits to St. Louis and from their first acquaintance with the advanced policies of this exposition, almost without exception, increased their space applications. State commissioners, after visiting St. Louis and conferring with the World's Fair management, carried back the wondrous story until the whole world knew that this was to be an exposition upon higher planes and with loftier ideals than any preceding World's Fair. Parts of the world may have been exposition tired when the Louisiana Purchase Exposition was suggested. They awakened rapidly to the fact that this was a new kind of an exposition.

A radical departure in the theory of exposition organization was made at St. Louis. No director-general was appointed. The president of the board of directors was made the administrative and the executive head. Four grand executive divisions were organized to report to the president: They were Exhibits, Works, Exploitation, and Concessions and Admissions. The title of the head of each division was director. These four coordinate officers, chief lieutenants to the President, were:

Director of Exhibits.

Director of Works.

Director of Exploitation.

Director of Concessions and Admissions.

This innovation in exposition practice was adopted after deliberation extending through several months. Doubt as to the practical operation of the plan was expressed by some persons with exposition experience. It proved to be not well founded. An unusual condition existed. The president of the board of directors had been with this exposition movement from its inception. He was the master spirit in all preliminary stages. His counsel prevailed in the convention of delegates from the Louisiana Purchase states and territories. He headed the executive committee which survived that convention, entrusted with its recommendations. He became chairman of the executive committee of the Committee of Two Hundred which constituted the preliminary local organization. Withdrawing gradually from his own business affairs, he permitted the interests of the exposition movement to engross his mind and his time. Leading the delegation selected to visit the National capital he came to be recognized, abroad and at home, as the head of the movement. When national, state and city aid had been pledged and the time arrived to incorporate and organize the Louisiana Purchase Exposition company, he alone was considered for the presidency of the board of directors. Committed in his own mind, responsible in the opinion of the public, the president of the board of directors dedicated himself to the success of the exposition. The four directors of divisions, Frederick J. V. Skiff, Isaac S. Taylor, Walter B. Stevens and Norris B. Gregg, were the staff.

Not the least interesting or significant of the motives which prompted David R. Francis to give so generously his energies and time to the World's Fair is embodied in this expression regarding the influence such a movement would have upon the people of St. Louis: "St. Louis has needed something like this," reasoned Mr. Francis. "We are a peculiarly self-centered people. We own our own city. We have always stood ready to furnish capital to others. We are strong and prosperous financially. But we are perhaps too independent. We need to be brought more closely into contact with the outside world. We need to have a certain narrowness of vision altered. We need to learn something of our own merits and possibilities, so that many of our own people will realize a little better than they do that St. Louis is, in its way, as great a city as any on the continent."

The man of the World's Fair hour cannot be characterized in fine words or with elegant phrases. His personality and his acts made the impression which did him justice.

In the early summer of 1901 Mr. Francis sat with the World's Fair directors in a meeting of the house of delegates of St. Louis, called to consider the merits of a proposed ordinance, essential to the success of the enterprise. He spoke earnestly and persuasively of the exposition as a great public enterprise, entitled to consideration from the municipality. He introduced others. In the midst of the hearing a pale-faced man came down the aisle and whispered to him:

"Northern Pacific has gone to \$1,000 a share."

"We haven't any," replied Mr. Francis in an undertone, "What of it?"

"Everything else is down fifteen to twenty-five points. There's a panic on Wall street. We've been called for \$450,000," the bearer of news went on from bad to worse.

"Go back and get the money together. I'll be down town in a couple of hours." And so dismissing his private affairs, Mr. Francis arose and introduced another friend of the World's Fair to urge upon the delegates prompt performance of duty. It was characteristic of his perfect self-command.

Devotion to detail was another marked trait. Members of the executive committee of the World's Fair came into their room one afternoon, for regular session, and found Mr. Francis lunching on a sandwich. He had lingered too long over business with one of the directors of divisions, and had missed his usual luncheon. The committeemen chided him for neglect of himself. The president looked thoughtful.

"I suppose you are right," he said. "Cold lunches are bad. They made me sick at one time. When I got out of college I owed \$300. I got a place as shipping clerk at \$50 a month with a commission house and thought I would save money to pay the debt by carrying my lunch to work. Jim! I expect you remember when we used to carry our lunches, don't you?"

"Yes," said Mr. Campbell, "I remember."

"Well," continued Mr. Francis, "one day I became dizzy and fell against a wall. The doctor told me to stop carrying a cold lunch. The committee will come to order. What is the first business today?"

The executive committee was in session almost daily for many months. The members, besides the president, were:

William H. Thompson, Vice-Chairman.

Charles W. Knapp.

Wilbur F. Boyle.

C. G. Warner.

John Scullin.

Rolla Wells.

Nathan Frank.

Corwin H. Spencer.

Murray Carleton.

L. D. Dozier.

James Campbell.

A. L. Shapleigh.

Breckinridge Jones.

Howard Elliott.

The expenditures by the sixty-two foreign nations and colonies participating amounted to \$8,134,500. This amount does not take into consideration the expenditures of private exhibitors from foreign countries, but only the disbursements by foreign government officials. At Chicago, in 1893, were represented forty-five foreign nations and colonies by expenditures aggregating \$5,982,894. Even the Paris Exposition of 1900 did not approach the measure of foreign participation which characterized the exposition of 1904 at St. Louis.

There was world wide significance in the extent of Asiatic participation. The oriental sleeper awakened. Until this time no World's Fair had known the official presence of China. Not only did that country officially accept but the government proceeded with an impressive measure of vigor in this new enterprise. The assistant commissioner general of China, with a retinue, was the first of the foreign commissioners to take up residence in St. Louis. The



THE STATUE OF ST. LOUIS

Presented to the City of St. Louis by the Louisiana Purchase
Exposition

flag of the yellow dragon was raised quickly on the World's Fair grounds, following France, Germany, Mexico and Great Britain, which had in that order taken formal possession of their sites for government buildings. A prince of the imperial blood was the head of the Chinese commission.

Japan constructed and exhibited upon a scale beyond all previous exposition participation by her enterprising government and people. Siam, Ceylon, Formosa, India, New Zealand were well represented.

It was to be expected that France, the country which gave to the United States for \$15,000,000 the domain which made all things possible to this country, would respond to the sentimental movement which prompted the celebration of the centennial of the Louisiana Purchase by a world's fair. France accepted the invitation of the President of the United States quickly. That set a pace for European action. Germany followed. Then came Great Britain, Italy, Russia, Austria and Hungary, Belgium, Sweden, Holland, Denmark, Greece, Bulgaria, Monaco, Switzerland, Portugal, Turkey.

Following so closely upon the Paris Exposition of 1900, this universal exposition encountered in some European quarters inertia based upon a complaint of exposition tiredness. The indisposition was temporary. It gave way to rivalry and spirit of competition which rapidly occupied all of the floor space allotted to foreign nations and clamored for nearly twice as much more.

From Alaska to Patagonia, with few and insignificant exceptions, the republics and colonies on mainland or island belonging to the western hemisphere joined in greater or lesser degree to make this a truly universal exposition. Among South American republics, Brazil led with an appropriation of \$600,000, American money. Canada's participation was independent of Great Britain, which decision when made was greeted with cheers in the Canadian legislative body. Canada participated in magnitude and in character to emphasize Dominion enterprise and inclination toward the best of new world development. Mexico's government building was the first of the foreign structures to be completed. The pavilion of the youngest nation stood side by side with that of the oldest nation. China and Cuba were such close neighbors that only an imaginary line separated their reservations in the universal exposition. The presence of China and Cuba at this World's Fair told the story of the evolution of a world power. No doubt China remembered that in recent dire international peril the little finger of an American secretary of state had proven more potent than the thigh of European diplomacy. Cuba had not been born into the family of nations when the World's Columbian Exposition was held.

Algeria, Morocco, Egypt, the greater South Africa and the dependencies of Central Africa were represented. British and Boers came to set up their mementos of war and their evidences of restored peace and returning prosperity.

In point of magnitude, utility and importance, foreign representation in the Louisiana Purchase Exposition greatly excelled that at any previous undertaking of a similar nature and established a record that will be difficult to equal for generations to come.

Twenty-three foreign national pavilions were erected on the World's Fair grounds at St. Louis, while there were only eighteen at the Columbian Expositi-

tion. Those at St. Louis aggregated sixty per centum more in cost, \$1,439,000, and were forty per centum greater in combined area, 189,258 square feet.

The keen interest felt in this universal exposition was also well exemplified by the unprecedented character and number of representatives sent to St. Louis by the foreign countries. Three of the leading nations sent commissions presided over by princes of the blood royal, while the remainder had ambassadors, officers of high rank, and other distinguished men at the heads of their commissions.

When Georgia in the early summer of 1903 placed upon her statute books a World's Fair appropriation, forty-nine states, territories and island groups of the United States had made financial preparation to be represented. Included were New Mexico, Arizona, Oklahoma, Indian Territory, Alaska, the Philippines and Porto Rico. Subsequently three more states joined the World's Fair movement.

Briefly epitomized the growth of the United States found expression in the participation by forty-three states, by five territories and by all territorial possessions save Hawaii. This participation at St. Louis cost \$9,346,677. Eleven years before, at Chicago, forty-one states and two territories expended on their exposition participation \$4,539,428, and were proud of it.

Every state and territory within the boundaries of the United States except one responded to the invitation to participate in the exposition, either through the appropriation of funds by legislative enactment or by popular subscription. Many of the states resorted to both methods. In addition to the states and territories within the United States proper, the District of Alaska, the Philippine Islands, Porto Rico and Hawaii provided for participation through proper official channels. All of these were worthily represented except Hawaii, where the appropriation made by the legislature was rendered invalid by a decision of the supreme court. The legislature of South Carolina made a preliminary appropriation but the state failed to complete the plans through complications which arose in the succeeding legislature. South Carolina, Delaware and Hawaii were, therefore, the geographical subdivisions of the United States which did not take active part in the exposition.

Forty-four states, territories and possessions had their own buildings on the grounds; some of them had more than one. Never before in the history of expositions were the states and territories of the American Union so comprehensively represented. The total value of the participation, \$9,346,677, included all moneys appropriated by legislative assemblies, all funds raised by popular subscription, and all exhibits loaned or donated to the commissions representing the states and territories. The amount of money actually expended by the commissions, derived from legislative enactment and popular subscription was \$7,092,786. The difference between the total cost of state participation, \$9,346,677, and the cash expenditures, \$7,092,786, represented the value of exhibits donated or loaned to the commissions of the states and territories.

For the first time in the history of expositions the United States Government made appropriations to defray the cost of exhibits of the resources of Alaska and the Indian territory.

For the first time in the history of expositions a special feature was made of municipal exhibits. To the exploitation of this feature was given much attention. The rapid advancement and development of the larger American cities within the past decade and the numerous reforms and innovations made in the management and government of municipalities prompted the Exposition management to expect that the various cities would be able to illustrate the methods which have made this development possible, in ways to elicit the admiration and wonder of the millions of visitors. The Exposition erected the Town Hall and laid out the Model Street along which the various cities were invited to erect buildings in which to place their exhibits. The management also erected an emergency hospital and provided for a children's playground. The paving of the street was done with a variety of material—*asphalt, brick, macadam, concrete*—at an expense of several thousand dollars. San Francisco, New York, Minneapolis and St. Paul and Kansas City erected buildings and installed municipal exhibits therein. Boston had no building but placed splendid exhibits in the Town Hall.

Under far spreading roofs of the palaces of Manufactures and Varied Industries nine hundred industries found expression. Miles of aisles were bordered by exhibits utilitarian and exhibits artistic. The House Beautiful, The Home Comfortable, the Thing Useful and the Person Adorned were exemplified. Two lessons were taught to the thousands of visitors who daily wandered over the twenty-eight acres embraced within these two buildings. The luxuries of life for the few in the nineteenth century may become the utilities of life for the many in the twentieth. The artistic and the beautiful are no longer beyond the reach of those moderately circumstanced.

New wants were born in millions of minds as the means to meet them passed in countless review. Discriminating judges considered the displays in the two hundred and thirty classes of exhibits of this department. When their work was completed more than seven thousand grand prizes and medals had been awarded for the superior excellence of things which contribute to comfort of body and to pleasure of eye. Not merely progress in industrial art since the Columbian Exposition of 1893 was marked, but advance since 1900 was shown in comparisons with the Palace of Industries at Paris.

From "Old Ironsides" to "Saint Louis" the history of the steam locomotive in this country was told in the exhibits of the Transportation department. Its first successful chapter was the crude and clumsy product of 1831. This was strikingly similar to the Planet which George Stephenson invented in England a year or two earlier, a model of which was shown. In the group of earlier inventions was a model of the locomotive which Napoleon's engineer, Cugnot, fashioned in 1792, and which upon its initial trial on the streets of Paris became unmanageable, butted into the church La Madeline and was condemned as a device of Satan. "The Spirit of the Twentieth Century," weighing two hundred thousand pounds, turning slowly upon a great steel turn table, with drive wheels revolving, with electric headlight penetrating the remotest recesses of the great building, with mechanism running noiselessly, completed the history. But the record was not without forecast. Week after week, month after month, from the opening to the closing of the Exposition, the latest products of the

locomotive builders of this and other countries were submitted to tests, scientific and practical. Coal was weighed. Ash was measured. Steam was gauged. Speed and power were recorded. The iron horse has reached his maximum growth. His future development is the refining and perfecting process. The locomotive tests of the Universal Exposition, conducted under the most perfect conditions and under the closest technical supervision, became the standards to guide the builders for years to come.

In many respects the exposition at St. Louis stood for years of lasting influence and practical benefit to the world. There were tests and competitions of various kinds conducted publicly and by unbiased experts. In the Mining Gulch were carried on throughout the exposition tests of coal. The products of the coal fields north and south, east and west were brought in carload lots. Day and night the fires burned. Under the supervision of the United States government the progress of consumption was studied in all of its stages and bearings. Results of the coal tests constituted a record of permanent value.

Six months before the Exposition opened model dairy barns built upon the most approved plans for such construction and with the latest improved devices were occupied. Beside them were silos filled with milk-producing forage crops. The dairy tests according to closely defined conditions and under rigid rules began in December, 1903. They continued through many months. Food was measured. Temperature and appearance of the cows were noted day by day. Milk product was weighed. Cream, butter and cheese came under critical examination by experts as to the quantity and quality. Successively the barns were occupied by representative animals of various breeds. The findings were based upon perhaps the most elaborate dairy tests ever conducted in this country.

Under scientific auspices balloons containing delicate instruments were sent up to obtain records of temperature, of currents and of other upper air conditions to add to the knowledge of aerostatics. Associated with these ascensions were kiteflying experiments and aeroplane trials. While no navigator of the air was able to meet the conditions for the \$100,000 airship flight, a new world's record, well in advance of what had been done, was made in dirigible ballooning.

Processes rather than products, which it was proclaimed should distinguish the plan and scope of this Universal Exposition, were conspicuous in every department. Wireless telegraphy was illustrated by daily operation of the mechanism in the department of Electricity. Under the observation of judges, officially appointed, messages were transmitted three hundred miles. The successful sending of aerograms short distances, from one to ten miles, was demonstrated in numerous instances. Transmission of sound without wire was shown to be possible. Rays of light for medical purposes were produced in several forms.

It was this policy of processes which filled to overflowing the great palaces and which demanded such an assembling of power makers. The heaviest single exhibit required one hundred cars, hauled by three engines. It weighed 3,325 tons. In the sixteen boilers of this exhibit were fourteen miles of four-inch tubes presenting two acres of heating surface. Yet this exhibit was only one and a small part of the power plant required to make the innumerable wheels

go round. Steam was generated in a building of fireproof material about three hundred feet square. It reached the engines occupying a space six hundred feet long in another building, being carried in great pipes through a tunnel. The power created represented the combined strength of forty thousand horses. It was needed. A single process in the department of Manufactures was a complete cotton mill occupying space eighty-one feet long and sixty-nine feet wide. Marvelous performances with machinery were shown in weaving, in shoe making and in scores of mechanisms. Twice the power provided at Paris in 1900 and three times that required at Chicago, 1893, proved to be none too much in the Universal Exposition of 1904. The value of the exhibits in the department of Machinery exceeded \$8,000,000. They demonstrated the wonderful progress in creation of power. The prime movers of half a dozen countries worked side by side in competition.

If travel is educational, how could be estimated the benefits to almost twenty millions of visitors by the Philippine Exposition, occupying thirty-five acres and including in epitome the resources, the industries, the government and the life of the Archipelago; by Jerusalem with its reproduction of the sacred and historic structures of the Holy City; by the Tyrol with its Alpine scenery; by the Kraal from South Africa; by the Cliff Dwelling community; by the Bazaars of Stamboul; by the Streets of Cairo; by India; by Fair Japan; by the Chinese Village?

If the proper study of man is mankind what should be said of the opportunities afforded by object lessons such as the Pygmies of Central Africa; the massive Patagonians; the polite Ainus, original people of Japan; the Vancouver Islanders with their wealth of folk lore; the Igorotes; the Negritos; the Visayans; the Moros; the Esquimaux; the Cliff Dwellers; the representatives of seventy tribes of Indians?

If there is satisfaction in close acquaintance with historic and typical national architecture, among the benefits of the Exposition must be taken into account the Castle of Charlottenberg, reproduced by Germany; the Grand Trianon, reconstructed in the midst of a French garden; the Palace of a prince of the royal family of China; the Orangery with its quaint surroundings after the landscape methods of two centuries ago; the Villa of Italy; the Town Hall of Belgium; the Temple of Ceylon; the Chalet of Switzerland; the Imperial structure of Japan; the home of Holland; the country mansion of Sweden; the sacred edifice of Siam; the characteristic structures of Spanish America. If there is inspiration in the lowly homes of some of the world's greatest men, then among the cherished memories of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition should be the cottage of Robert Burns; the cabin in which Abraham Lincoln, a boy of ten, lived; the log house erected by General Grant, built in his earlier manhood; the hunting ranch cabin of Theodore Roosevelt during his wild western, health seeking experiences.

If historic sentiment is worthy of cultivation in these later days, let it be recalled that the Exposition included in its construction many buildings which helped to familiarize this generation with the past. Notable were the New Jersey tavern where Washington had his headquarters during one of the memorable campaigns of the Revolution; the home of Swedenborg, founder of a religious

philosophy; the Hermitage associated with Jackson; Monticello the pride of Thomas Jefferson; the Beauvoir of Jefferson Davis; the Cabildo of Louisiana; the colonial mansions of Connecticut, Rhode Island and Massachusetts.

The Exposition was satisfying. It was grand as a whole. It was beautiful in detail. This verdict the visiting millions rendered with enthusiastic unanimity. The architectural picture first amazed and then charmed. The scene southward from the Louisiana Monument embracing the Grand Basin, the classic facades of Education and Electricity, the Cascades in motion, the majestic Colonnade of States, with the gem of all, Festival Hall, in this setting, must live as long as the memory abides in those who saw it. The music of the famous bands, of the orchestra swayed by Komzak, of the greatest of organs responsive to Guilmant are recalled as the years pass. The stately maples, the Sunken Garden, the flowers, the lagoons and above all, the myriads of lights remain fond recollections.

To those who participated, actively or as lookers-on, the ceremonies and the social events are pleasing reminiscences. In millions of lives the Universal Exposition was an experience to be treasured to the end.

But what did the Universal Exposition inspire? In magnitude, in participation, in number and character of exhibits it was far in advance of its predecessors. The competition of the world was passed upon by a jury system superior to any yet devised. The forty thousand awards to exhibitors stood for excellence and superiority which cannot be questioned.

When the plan and scope of this Exposition was laid before one of the crowned heads of Europe he listened without much comment until was reached the proposal to bring together in a Universal Congress of Arts and Science the wise men of all the world. Thereupon the Emperor gave, more than his assent to participation, his hearty approval. The new thing of this Exposition was the harmonizing, the unification of all knowledge to the uplifting of humanity, to the betterment of mankind. That was the great lesson attempted. That was to be the distinguishing note of progress in this Universal Exposition. Time only can demonstrate the fulfillment of the high purpose.

Upon the one hundred and eighty-four days of the Exposition there passed through the turnstiles and were counted 19,694,855 persons. On a balmy spring day, the last day of April, the invocation of the Opening Ceremonies ended with the Lord's Prayer while 187,000 people stood reverent. At midnight, the first day of December the lights died away for the last time while a vast mass of decorous humanity filled the Plaza of St. Louis. From first to last of these impressive scenes one reads the history of this Universal Exposition in vain for a record of unworthy demonstrations. There have been expositions where fences have been razed to gain entrance, where riotous acts characterized closing hours, where panics led to much distress, where holocaust or crime cast gloom over all. The Universal Exposition of 1904 was remarkably, exceptionally free from disorders and untoward incidents. The life of the World's Fair is entitled to the award of most notable of all of the exhibits.

During the official hours of the Exposition the population averaged much more than 100,000 persons daily. When the gates closed the population rarely fell below 20,000. A site far exceeding that of any preceding World's Fair

encouraged conditions which were without precedent. A hotel within the grounds with thousands of guests and hundreds of employes was an unusual exposition feature. The Philippine camps and villages housed a permanent community the equivalents in numbers to a small city. The colonies of primitive peoples scattered their habitations over many acres and numbered some hundreds of persons. Within their camps the battalions of Boers and British dwelt in harmony by night as well as by day. The Jefferson Guard and the Fire Brigade were intramural contingents having no occasion to pass the gates when off duty. Barracks and camps accommodated visiting bodies, military or semi-military in character, numbering at times several thousand uniformed men. The Pike was an avenue of nations, upon which communities, brought from all parts of the world, had their habitations throughout the exposition period. There were other not inconsiderable elements of permanent population. Many buildings on the Plateau of States and in the Place of Nations had living and sleeping rooms as well as their public accommodations. Commissioners, their staffs and employes remained within the grounds.

When the music ceased, when the lights went out, when the Forest City rested, here was still a great community of souls. This resident population gave to the Exposition a character of its own. The two square miles of territory during the seven months was a city of 100,000 and more by day and of 20,000 and more after midnight. Into this city were gathered the peoples of all hues and all climes. Babel had not so many tongues. Manners and customs ranged from highest to lowest types of humanity.

Wonderful facts of this World's Fair community are to be recorded. Not a contagious disease of serious character was reported. No universal exposition has come and gone with so few casualties, so little crime. An intramural railroad of thirteen miles operated under the supervision of the director of transportation, John Scullin, who gave his time without compensation, transported 6,274,000 passengers without serious accident to any of them. The holiday spirit never degenerated to that license which prompted disorder. The pastimes were of endless variety but never degrading. The utilities never failed before the demands of the greatest gatherings. The provisions for safety as well as for comfort were always adequate.

Analysis of the attendance led to several interesting conclusions which tended to give this Exposition a character of its own. No other exposition, universal, technical, or local, drew such a large proportion of its attendance from students and school children. No other exposition was so thoroughly studied as was this by young visitors. From the middle of June to the Thanksgiving holidays, the presence of the student and teacher was a very noticeable fact. The Exposition made encouragement of this kind of attendance one of its pronounced policies. During the summer, on certain days of the week, children coming in company of adults were admitted without charge. When the schools opened in September, children coming as schools or as classes, accompanied by teachers to conduct them for study, in a systematic manner, of the exhibits, were admitted on nominal charge. Day after day during the fall months, flocks of children led by teachers were to be seen everywhere. Courses of study of exhibits were laid out by teachers for their pupils and were

pursued faithfully. This was the first of expositions to elevate the educational above the commercial in its plan and scope. The practical application of this theory was made by the exposition management of lasting good by the encouragement of attendance on the part of the teachable.

The fact may be stated that the rule of radius in attendance was not borne out in the experience of this Universal Exposition of 1904. The usual proportions between local and distant attendance was not sustained at St. Louis. Greater attendance than experience promised came from considerable distances. Many cities, towns and localities about equi-distant from St. Louis and Chicago sent larger numbers of their citizens to this Exposition than they did to the Columbian. This was demonstrated by the railroad statistics.

Attendance from foreign countries was much greater at St. Louis than at Chicago. The Pacific slope sent to this Exposition perhaps three times as many visitors as went from there to Chicago. It was estimated that seventy per cent of the attendance at Chicago was local; of the attendance at St. Louis not fifty per cent was local.

Organized attendance never before was given such consideration in exposition management. In the life of no preceding exposition were the ceremonial programs so important; the social events so conspicuous. Along these lines the Universal Exposition of 1904 made for itself a distinctive character. It added millions to what otherwise would have been the normal admissions. It emphasized the permanent good.

In the evolution of the exposition the time has passed when exhibits are more than of coordinate influence to attract the public. The architecture, the landscape and the statuary are not of overshadowing interest. They can be photographed and lithographed and pictured in words to satisfy the curiosity and interest of many who must be moved by something more stimulating if their presence is secured. Professional amusements are not of far reaching attraction.

To 428 conventions, international, national and state,—professional, industrial, religious, political, fraternal, educational,—the Exposition owed millions of visitors who would not otherwise have seen its glories. The most of these bodies which convened during the World's Fair were of national organization. They drew their delegates from every part of the United States. They gave to the sight-seeing the zest which comes through companionship. The spirit of organization, of fraternity was strengthened by the coupling of the convention with the Exposition. The individual delegate, the body to which he belonged, the Exposition—all were gainers by the association.

In the light of the experience of this Universal Exposition, palaces and their inanimate contents will never again constitute an exposition. The ceremony, the special event, the anniversary celebration, the human performance, the social feature will be utilized and given increasing prominence. The exhibit, no matter how wonderful, and the picture, no matter how grand, no longer compel the attendance. Of 19,694,855 persons who passed through the turnstiles, the presence of 5,000,000 was due to other than the exposition sight-seeing motive. To realize this it was only necessary to take the days made of special interest by an unusual program appealing to the general public or to



ST. LOUIS AND GUIDING SPIRITS

a section of it. Comparison of such days with those upon which the Exposition was at its best, but without this extraordinary appeal, showed the marked difference in attendance.

State and city pride responded to the appeal and brought together fellow citizens in great numbers. In exposition patronage the gregarious inclination of humanity must be taken more and more into account. There was an instance of this illustrated during the Exposition of 1904 when 2,100 of the 2,400 residents of a little Illinois city closed their stores, their shops and their homes, and came in one day to the Exposition. There were many instances in which fifty per cent of the population of a town came to the Exposition. The group, not the individual, is the unit in Exposition attendance. The swelling of the groups, not the adding of the individuals, is the line of least resistance in promotion of Exposition attendance. The policy of the Universal Exposition of 1904 took this into account in a variety of methods adopted to increase the admissions. Special days were not limited to states and cities. Educational institutions, fraternal organizations, religious bodies, family associations were given meeting places, supplied music, and encouraged to carry out programmes of direct interest to their memberships. Hundreds of thousands of visitors spent days upon the grounds when they scarcely saw the interior of a single exhibit building. They were there for social reunion and for celebration; esprit de corps was above all. Sight-seeing was subordinated. It would not have been an exposition without the palaces and the exhibits. It might not have been an exposition with them.

Gate receipts did not alone measure the success which came to the Exposition through special days and extraordinary programs. The ceremonies, the receptions, the celebrations and the entertainments did much more than swell the admissions. They enlarged interest in exhibits, they enriched sense of grandeur in architecture and of charm in landscape. They rounded out the greatness of the Exposition. The millions of visitors more than marveled and admired. They lived the life of the Exposition.

From a plan and scope which determined that processes, not products, should characterize, which insisted that exhibits must be operative, the evolution of an Exposition life was entirely natural. Day after day, night after night, the heart of this Exposition throbbed; the mind of it brightened; the soul of it broadened.

Those who lived the Exposition life for a month, a week, a day even, went out having gained more than information, more than gratification of the artistic sense. They learned better consideration for fellowmen, stronger pride in country, deeper appreciation of the whole world.

This Exposition life was inspiring, uplifting, ennobling. It found expression in acts and utterances to become precious in memory, lasting in impressiveness. Its keynote was struck in the tone of the Dedication ceremonies. From that time the pitch was not lowered, the high purposes did not fail, the enthusiasm did not flag, the fascination of the Exposition life did not wane.

Something doing every minute was the forcible though perhaps inelegant tribute often paid to the Universal Exposition of 1904. It was truthful. Activities were scheduled from early morning to late evening. They were varied.

There was no hour when special programs of entertainment or of instruction were not provided to meet widely different tastes. Long lists of announcements in the papers, the daily Official Program of many pages, the large bulletin boards about the grounds kept before the visiting public the current events. Those persons methodically inclined, the seekers after knowledge, the visitors of pronounced tastes were enabled and encouraged to form definite purposes in their exposition sight-seeing and study. Wide range of choice in recreation and amusement was made possible. No former exposition carried the daily provision of special features to such an extent as did this.

Financial results of the World's Fair at St. Louis were satisfactory. It has come to be the accepted condition of these enterprises that they do not return considerable dividends in cash. Expositions are "timekeepers of progress," "milestones of civilization," not money makers. The capital invested looks to indirect but not to direct returns. If an exposition pays its way in operation, makes to the greatest good of the greatest number, then the individual, the corporation, the government, the municipality considers the trial balance satisfactory. So judged, the Universal Exposition of 1904 passed into history as having been eminently successful.

The capital was \$15,000,000 contributed in thirds by the United States Government, by the municipality of St. Louis and by individual and corporation stockholders forming the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company. This capital was invested permanently. It was the endowment of a great institution for the public benefit.

The revenue from various sources amounted to over \$27,000,000 the chief of these yielding as follows:

Admission collections	\$ 6,243,835.15
Concession collections	2,878,554.94
Concession rentals	218,187.50
Intramural railroad fares	627,473.84
Service, power and light receipts.....	669,745.30
Interest on deposits.....	213,575.10
Transportation department collections	222,305.32
Music department receipts	146,538.48
Premiums on souvenir coins	53,296.48
Photo pass receipts	50,336.00
Miscellaneous (refrigeration, garbage, etc.).....	152,853.41
General Service settlement	83,934.15
Salvage	616,843.78
Government appropriation	5,000,000.00
St. Louis bonds	5,000,000.00
Collections on stock	4,908,958.65
Total	\$27,086,438.10

The expenditures of the management to the close of the Exposition aggregated over \$26,479,947 leaving a surplus sufficient to meet the necessities of the post-exposition period economically administered. The principal disbursements were classified as follows:

Preliminary expenses	\$ 37,418.78
Construction, grounds and buildings.....	16,745,857.10
Maintenance and rents	2,379,721.79
Division of Exhibits	2,271,947.98
Division of Exploitation	1,498,537.03
Protection, police, fire insurance.....	1,113,209.66
Division Concessions and Admissions	590,244.18
Executive and Administrative	581,002.05
Division of Transportation	378,233.79
Special Installation	125,000.00
Board of Lady Managers	97,305.14
Park Restoration	308,370.27
National Commission	239,056.78
Miscellaneous	114,043.06
Total	\$26,479,947.61

To the newspapers of St. Louis the Louisiana Purchase Exposition movement owed much. It might almost be said to have had its origin in a newspaper office, or perhaps more truthfully in several newspaper offices of the city. Publications were so nearly simultaneous as to suggest several newspaper minds moving abreast in the same channel. The St. Louis press advocated a World's Fair years before the preliminary organization. Newspaper encouragement kept alive the project at succeeding crises from the beginning to the assured fruition. Newspaper endorsement held up the arms of the men who were in the forefront of the movement.

The first structure completed and dedicated on the World's Fair grounds was fittingly the Press Building. President Francis paid this tribute:

It is meet that the first building we dedicate upon these grounds should be devoted to the use of those whose labor and talents made known to the world our accomplishments and our ambitions. In these days when the earth is in reality girdled, and when deeds of import are related in words that burn, and heard by an audience more comprehensive than that included in the limits of the missionary hymn, it is proper to promote in every feasible way the facilities of those who represent agencies so useful and so potential.

From June, 1901, to December, 1904, covering the pre-exposition and exposition periods, the daily newspapers of St. Louis printed 31,625 columns of reading matter about the Exposition. The treatment was thorough. No previous exposition was so interestingly described in all its subjects and in all its phases. At no time was the tone of the St. Louis press unfriendly. The Exposition was never belittled. No fakes were put out. No misrepresentations were made which had to be subsequently explained. The result of the policy of the St. Louis newspapers was seen in the growing popularity of the Exposition from inception to closing day; in a favorable appreciation by the public more widespread, more earnest, more permanent than attained by any preceding world's fair.

The Globe-Democrat printed of World's Fair matter between the dates mentioned 1,006 pages, of which 400 pages were printed during the World's Fair period.

The Republic, 1,012 pages, of which 421 pages were printed during the World's Fair period.

The Post-Dispatch, 785 pages, of which 328 pages were printed during the World's Fair period.

The St. Louis Star, 482 pages, of which 204 pages were printed during the World's Fair period.

The Chronicle, 148 pages, of which 65 pages were printed during the World's Fair period.

The St. Louis World, 272 pages, of which 107 pages were printed during the World's Fair period.

The Westliche Post, 709 pages, of which 409 pages were printed during the World's Fair period.

The Amerika, 154 pages, of which 60 pages were printed during the World's Fair period.

There were published by weekly and monthly papers of St. Louis many hundreds of pages of World's Fair matter.

The World's Fair Bulletin, edited and published by Colin M. Selph, was the most ambitious periodical ever devoted to an exposition.

There came to the Exposition, accredited to the daily, weekly and monthly press, 52,706 writers. The treatment of the Exposition by these writers insured its lasting glory. The World's Fair at St. Louis was neither boomed nor discredited. The treatment in the main was fair, discriminating, just. While the Exposition was without form and void, it was in certain quarters a subject of press skepticism. The Exposition was three months old before it was accepted by newspapers three hundred miles away at its face value. The heart of the Mississippi Valley was not exactly Nazareth, out of which no good could come, but it was an unknown land to the most of the writers, and the ability of the people of St. Louis to produce such an exposition as they promised was doubted until long after the gates were opened. The ripples from this center of interest grew larger and stronger, spread farther and farther, gradually shocking apathy and overwhelming incredulity. It was not until the waning days of Autumn that the wise ones journeyed from the far east to acclaim that the half had not been told them. This Exposition grew upon the world as a discovery, a matter of marvel. It passed into history with a practically unanimous verdict by writers as the greatest of expositions, as better entitled to be called a Universal Exposition than any of its predecessors.

Five years passed after the close of the Columbian Exposition before Chicago began to realize what a World's Fair had done for that community. And ten years afterwards the impression of beneficial results was stronger than at any preceding time.

Twenty-five years after the Centennial Exposition, one of the foremost men of the city pointed out that the industrial activities of Philadelphia had their awakening in the World's Fair of 1876. He made it clear that Philadelphia had become the great manufacturing center because of the Centennial Exposition.

The speaker of the House of Representatives, Mr. Cannon, visited the World's Fair of 1904 in November, the closing month. Some one in his company drew attention to the number of young people on the grounds. A remark was made about the benefit the youth would derive from such an experience as the Exposition afforded.



THOMAS JEFFERSON, BY KARL BITTER

Heroic Statue for Jefferson Monument

Erected by the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company, 1911

"My friends," said the Speaker, in his deliberate, impressive manner, "The good influence of this Exposition will be felt by a generation yet unborn."

A notable and permanent asset of the St. Louis World's Fair was the profit gained by Washington University through an intimate relationship with that event. And a very notable contribution to the success of the World's Fair was this relationship. The addition of three splendid granite buildings to the quadrangles of Washington University was only one of the benefits the institution derived from the World's Fair. Within three months after the organization of the Exposition Company negotiations were opened with Washington University for the use of its new campus and the buildings in course of construction thereon. This came about through the selection of the site for the Exposition.

When the World's Fair management in the summer of 1901 sought a suitable exposition site, the choice was the western half of Forest Park. The city readily agreed to lend that section of the park which was then in a state of nature, a considerable portion of it being known locally as "The Wilderness." The park acreage was not sufficient for the plans of the Exposition. Adjacent tracts were obtained by rental. Two or more years earlier Washington University, which had been located for half a century near the center of the city, had acquired 113 acres adjoining Forest Park on the west for a new site. Grading was in progress and the first quadrangle was in course of construction when the university trustees were approached with the suggestion of leasing the property to the Exposition. The first reply of the president of the University Board of Trustees, Robert S. Brookings, was that if the proposed exposition was to be conducted upon a high plane, if its dominating purpose was to be educational and instructive rather than merely amusing, he saw no objection to consideration of the proposition to lease. The exposition management had high ideals. It had set forth in the beginning a plan and scope comprehensive in the way of entertainment, and also contemplative of benefits far beyond temporary amusement. The earliest negotiations satisfied the Washington University trustees as to the purposes of the exposition management. Before the close of 1901, the exposition management had secured the use of the campus, three-quarters of a mile in length, and the use of the seven university buildings then in the course of construction. The terms of the lease provided that the buildings might be occupied for exposition purposes as soon as completed, that the rental to be paid would be applied on the construction of other buildings in the university group, and that these buildings would be completed in time for occupancy before the opening of the World's Fair.

The exposition management had possession of the Washington University site and buildings from the end of 1901 to the end of 1904. As rapidly as the first quadrangle was completed the offices of the exposition management were moved from rented quarters down town to these university buildings. When the World's Fair opened the Exposition had in use ten great granite structures, three of which had been built with the rental money, about \$750,000. Perhaps somewhat to the surprise of the exposition management, these university buildings proved to be readily adaptable to the uses of a World's Fair, so much so that they might have been planned with that end in view. The main building of

the quadrangle became, until the close of the Fair, the Administration Headquarters. Other buildings supplied the exhibit halls for the department of Anthropology and Ethnology, for the department of History and for the Physical Culture department. They afforded convenient and comfortable offices for the National Commission and the Board of Lady Managers. One of the buildings was occupied by the Jefferson Guards. The permanent and fireproof character of the university structures made it possible to secure such priceless exhibits as the Queen's Jubilee presents, the Vatican mosaics and the historical collection. These buildings furnished halls of various sizes which were in continual use throughout the exposition period for conventions, for congresses, and finally for the International Congress of Arts and Science and for the Superior Jury.

When the lease with the Exposition Company went into effect the university management was in the midst of construction involving \$1,500,000. Plans for extensions had been made by the university architects, but the execution of them would have been delayed five or ten years under the existing conditions of the university's finances. The contract with the Exposition, however, made available \$750,000. The University was enabled at once to increase its construction expenditures 50 per cent. By the terms of the contract, as already stated, the additional buildings were made ready for occupancy before the World's Fair opened. Thus the facilities and capacity of the University were enlarged not only greatly but more expeditiously than would have been the case under ordinary circumstances. The material gain to the University was very large. The moral benefits were even more important. Washington University was then nearing its first semi-centennial. It was an institution which had received no government, state, municipal, or denominational endowment. It had been the product of the voluntary contributions to buildings, to support and to productive permanent funds by business and professional men of St. Louis. It was an institution in which the people of St. Louis took great pride, but except for the personalities of distinguished graduates it had not much more than local repute. This association with the World's Fair gave Washington University a national and an international character. To quote the words of David R. Francis, president of the World's Fair, also a graduate and trustee of the University:

The Universal Exposition of 1904 and Washington University will continue inseparably connected in the minds and the memories of all who visited the St. Louis World's Fair or came under its far-reaching influence. The university site was the scene of one of the greatest triumphs of peace. On it were assembled in friendly rivalry all nations, all races,—brought together to demonstrate the achievements of human endeavor, the development of the human intellect, and to make manifest what progress western civilization had made in the short space of one century. So distinguished a company would consecrate any ground upon which it assembled and when it established new and uniform international standards and promoted so effectively the brotherhood of man, it immortalized the spot. The university structures, graceful and substantial, commanded the admiration of millions of visitors, who at the same time were deeply impressed with the liberality, the farsightedness and the wisdom of a people that had made provision upon so broad and secure a plan for the conservation of what has been attained, and for the accomplishment of still greater aims.

From the great arch of the Administration building, the main structure of the first quadrangle of Washington University, was viewed a scene the like of which no other World's Fair has afforded. This scene embraced the reservations of Austria, Sweden, Belgium, China and the British Empire. Beyond and over the palaces of Transportation and of Varied

Industries, on the left, in the Plaza of St. Louis, stood the great Louisiana monument, surmounted by a female figure typifying peace, standing high above the eastern horizon of this view. A little to the south and across the Grand Trianon of France and the pavilions of Brazil, Cuba, Mexico and Siam, over the power building and the palaces of Machinery and Electricity, the vision followed the graceful curve of the Terrace of States, with Festival Hall as its center. It traced the incomparable outlines of that magnificent structure and was fixed admiringly upon the goddess of victory, perched on the pinnacle of the dome. Those figures symbolized the scope and achievements of man. Peace and victory. A victory of peace. The temporary structures passed away, but from the grand arch of the main building of Washington University, memory preserves the incomparable scene.

Leading educators of the country became actively associated with the Exposition, and this was promoted by the relationship between the Exposition and Washington University. Many members of the faculty of Washington University served upon boards and committees of the World's Fair organization. Prominent members of the Exposition's Board of Directors were at the same time members of the Board of Trustees of Washington University; they were: David R. Francis, W. K. Bixby, Adolphus Busch, and A. L. Shapleigh.

Several of the most notable educational features of the Exposition were made possible and fostered by the occupancy of the university buildings. Classes of blind children were brought from various institutions in different parts of the country and housed in one of the university dormitories with their teachers, attending a model school day after day in the department of Education. This "live exhibit" was carried on for many weeks. During the summer eight hundred superintendents and principals of schools were given comfortable accommodations in one of the fire-proof dormitories, and passed their vacations in a leisurely study of the Fair. Upon the University campus were conducted the aeronautic contests, the results of which the world is now realizing. One of the most active promoters of those experiments was Prof. C. M. Woodward, Dean of the Engineering Department of Washington University. At the head of the Advisory Council of the Missouri Historical Society where the World's Fair movement had its inception was Dr. Marshall S. Snow, Dean of the College of Washington University.

The material benefits which St. Louis received from the World's Fair were set forth in impressive comparisons by the secretary and general manager of the Business Men's League, W. F. Saunders, at the end of 1910.

During the five years beginning with 1906 and ending with 1910, the people of St. Louis expended \$116,536,564 on new buildings. During the preceding five years, beginning with 1901 and including the preparation for the World's Fair and the costly construction for exposition purposes the amount expended was \$78,116,984. Instead of depression after the World's Fair St. Louis entered upon a period of improvements and general prosperity such as the city had never before known. Business doubled in ten years.

Bank clearings for 1900 were \$1,688,849,494 and for 1910 they were \$3,727,949,379, more than twice as much.

In 1900 the freight brought into and carried out of St. Louis by rail and river was 25,313,330 tons. In 1910 it was 51,918,100 tons, more than double.

Post office cash receipts, which measure the volume of business, were \$2,031,664 in 1900 and in 1910 they were \$4,539,185, an increase of considerably more than 100 per cent.

The census valued the factory product of St. Louis at \$193,733,000 in 1900 and at \$327,676,000 in 1910. The gain was sixty-nine per cent, better than any other city of the class of St. Louis could show.

In 1900 the people of St. Louis built 2,513 houses of all kinds at a cost of \$5,916,984. In 1910 they built 9,419 houses and spent \$19,600,063 upon them.

The assessed value of real estate and personalty of St. Louis in 1900 was \$380,779,280, and in 1910 it was \$565,725,320.

"Louisiana Purchase Day" was observed by St. Louis following the World's Fair. Annually, on the 30th day of April, the officers and directors of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition assembled with city officials as their guests. In 1910 the gathering was of much more than local importance. It was made memorable by the presentation of the plan for "the erection at St. Louis of a monument to Thomas Jefferson in commemoration of the acquisition of the Louisiana Territory."

The quoted words are from an act of Congress passed in March, 1909, to encourage the movement. More than twelve months a commission was engaged upon the work, to be submitted, first to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition directors, and, upon their approval, to the city of St. Louis. Beginning with the assurance that at least \$200,000 would be available, the commission from time to time submitted sketches of no fewer than five different designs.

The subject of a fitting monument to Jefferson in connection with the acquisition of the Louisiana Territory grew upon the minds of the commission and of the board of directors of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. The commission was given increased latitude. The result was that the monument as proposed at the anniversary dinner of 1910 was designed to cost approximately \$500,000.

On Louisiana Purchase Day, 1911, the cornerstone of the monument was laid. Addresses were delivered by Mayor Frederick H. Kreismann, President David R. Francis of the Exposition Company, and F. J. V. Skiff, director of the Field Museum of Chicago. With the Jefferson Monument the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company redeemed its obligations to the United States Government and to the City of St. Louis. By this concluding act the Exposition Company fulfilled the objects for which it was given existence by special act of the Missouri Legislature. Under that act the incorporation was authorized:

(1) To inaugurate and hold national, international or world's fair, centennial or other exposition; (2) to promote and encourage literature, history, science, information or skill among the learned professions, intellectual culture in any branch or department, or the establishment of museums, libraries, art galleries or the erection of public monuments commemorative of state or national historic events or persons, or for all of said purposes; (3) in general, to promote, establish and maintain an institution or organization which tends to the public benefit in relation to any or several or all of the objects above enumerated; and whatever may be incidental thereto; provided, that the powers conferred by subdivisions 2 and 3 of this section shall not be exercised by any corporation organized under this article unless the main purposes of the organization of such corporation shall be those specified in division 1 of this section.

The Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company would not have accomplished that which it set out to do if it had stopped with the holding of the World's Fair. It stood committed to remove the reproach voiced a quarter of a century

ago by James G. Blaine. The time was the 31st of March, 1887. The place was the Merchants' Exchange. The occasion was a reception tendered to the statesman. Standing before a great assemblage of business and professional citizens, Mr. Blaine delivered one of the most pregnant utterances upon St. Louis. He said:

Your growth, gentlemen, is the growth of the republic. In a peculiar sense, your growth is the growth of the trans-Mississippi republic, a republic which is a far grander one, a far richer one, than the entire Federal Union when Missouri became a member of it. And it is in that great nation, hitherto and as yet scarcely developed—it is in that region that this great city is to have its imperial growth and its enormous development. With 20,000 miles of river by which you are connected with steam navigation; with 40,000 miles of railway in the old Territory of Louisiana, which did not have one solitary mile when I was first in this city—with all these vast agencies of transportation, what may not be expected of the place that you have—that which, as a representative in Congress, I was long since familiar with? You have that jealous, that watchful, care of your access to the sea for which the original Territory of Louisiana was purchased during the administration of Jefferson.

It was to give this western country access to the open ocean of the world that the Mississippi was desired as an American river, and the people of St. Louis do well to jealously guard that great outlet to the waters of the world.

But, gentlemen, with all the congratulations which I feel it in my heart to extend to you, with all the compliments which your immense growth calls from every lip, I feel that I have one reproach against the great trans-Mississippi republic. A little over eighty years ago it belonged to a foreign power; and by the narrowest possible chance it was kept from falling into the hands of England; but the watchful care, the great nerve and courage, the statesmanlike grasp of Thomas Jefferson, standing between the embarrassment of France and the aggressive energy of Great Britain, plucked the whole Territory of Louisiana from the ambition of both and made it an American stronghold throughout its borders. And the vast domain for which Jefferson gave \$15,000,000 is now represented in seven great and prosperous states and three large territories, which, in course of time, will add four or five states possibly to the American Union. Never was a conquest so great—so extensive—acquired by peaceful methods. Never was so great a conquest made by war that a conquering power was able to hold.

Then, let me say that my reproach to St. Louis, to every inhabitant of the Territory of Louisiana, is that on its entire surface, which represents a third part of the United States, there is not a statue raised in the honor of Thomas Jefferson.

St. Louis is the capital, the emporium, and will be for all time, of that which was the Territory of Louisiana. I will be forgiven, I am sure, for reminding you of that gratitude to the great man who, in the annals of those who founded the republic, should stand next to Washington. I will be forgiven, I am sure, when I say that the duty of St. Louis, the duty of the merchants of St. Louis, is to erect within your beautiful city a statue of him who, more than any other man, created the republic.

Consideration of the form most appropriate to the character of Jefferson and most appropriate to commemorate the Louisiana Purchase led by a prolonged process of evolution to the plan adopted. Arches were sketched and discarded. Jefferson was not a general of armies; he was not distinguished for oratory. Therefore, the exposition directors quickly disposed of two of the most common forms in monumental design—the man on horseback and the man making a speech.

Jefferson was a scholar, a writer, a maker of far-reaching history. Upon two deeds of the pen rests his everlasting reputation with the American people—the Declaration of Independence and the Louisiana Purchase. There are oil portraits of Jefferson; there are several marble or bronze figures of Jefferson. Nowhere else in this broad land is there a monumental structure, an historical collection, to commemorate the man and his greatest deeds.

It is not difficult to trace the evolution by which directors and experts reached the conclusion that this Jefferson monument should stand for something more than architecture and art; that it should perpetuate in a living institution the memory of Jefferson; that it should symbolize his spirit.

The commission which planned the details of the Jefferson monument as the result of more than a year's labor was composed of Isaac S. Taylor, who was Director of Works for the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, Karl T. F. Bitter, who was Chief of Sculpture for the Exposition, and George E. Kessler, who was Landscape Architect for the Exposition.

The Jefferson monument is without counterpart in this country. Under an immense arch will be the marble statue of Jefferson by Bitter. On either side of the arch extend wings to be occupied by historical collections having special reference to the Territory of Louisiana. There is a Jefferson Hall, upon the walls of which will be placed portraits of persons most conspicuous in the history of the Louisiana Territory and of the thirteen states formed therefrom. Occupying a considerable portion of one of the wings will be an archæological collection which the Missouri Historical Society has been assembling with continuous effort directed to all parts of the Louisiana Territory during the last forty years. Another feature will be the historical library which will include not only books but thousands of manuscripts, diaries and letters, bearing upon the history of this territory of the thirteen states. The collection of this material has been in progress at St. Louis for more than half a century. The collection of manuscript goes back to the earliest settlements in what was the Louisiana Territory. It is already one of the largest collections in the United States. Many of the manuscripts relate to the French and Spanish sovereignty. Included are original petitions of many early settlers of Missouri and other states in the Louisiana Territory for land grants. There are early marriage contracts. There are official letters of the governors and commanders before the American authority superseded the Spanish. There are contracts and negotiations more than a century old. The first printing press set up and used west of St. Louis and the second printing press brought to this side of the Mississippi is one of the historical exhibits. It was used at Franklin, Missouri, to print the "Missouri Intelligencer" as early as 1819. One of the cannon carried on the steamboats of the American Fur Company one hundred years ago is preserved. There are oil portraits of governors and prominent pioneers of the states within the Louisiana Purchase.

The Indian collection is already large; it includes 30,000 specimens. One of the prized possessions of the Historical Society is the sun dial which Thomas Jefferson made and used at his home, Monticello, in Virginia. Genealogies, private letters and diaries of persons resident in the Louisiana Territory will be included in a family history department. Some years ago the collection of material of this kind was undertaken by the Missouri Historical Society. The accumulation is already large and receiving frequent additions. With assurances of protection against fire, this department devoted to the history of families resident in the Purchase states, will increase rapidly.

In such condition as to be easily accessible will be preserved in one of the wings the plans, records and reports of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition.

Since the close of this exposition communities contemplating enterprises of the exposition class have called upon the St. Louis organization at frequent intervals for documents and forms. In many respects the organization and the methods at St. Louis are regarded as furnishing models by those promoting exposition projects. The St. Louis company has preserved blanks of every character, drawings of all kinds of construction and reports of every division and department, faithfully perpetuating the experience of this exposition. An exposition library, containing probably the largest collection of exposition reports and exposition literature in this country will find a place in this structure. The collection goes back to the Crystal Palace in London and includes reports from expositions of other countries and of the United States.

The monument combines architecture, sculpture and landscape treatment. The site selected was that made historical as the main entrance of the World's Fair. The rotunda or arch is sixty feet in diameter with decorative features. The entire front including the arch and the wings is more than three hundred and thirty feet.

The facade of the central section is fronted by great stone columns. The rotunda or arch is open. The width of the wings is fifty-five feet. The exterior of the structure is of Bedford stone. The building is fireproof in the most modern sense. To quote the architect, "There is not in it a piece of wood as large as a lead pencil. The floors are of concrete composition; the doors and the window casings are of metal."

Bitter's immortal "Signing of the Treaty" will have a conspicuous place under the arch. It represents Monroe, Barbois and Livingston putting their signatures to the treaty of acquisition on the 30th of April, 1803.

Within the arch will be placed tablets of bronze bearing inscriptions relating to the history of the Louisiana Purchase. One of these inscriptions will tell what Jefferson himself thought of the acquisition of Louisiana when it had been accomplished. It is taken from President Jefferson's special message to Congress after the transfer of Lower Louisiana, but nearly two months before the raising of the United States flag at St. Louis. The words are these:

On this important acquisition so favorable to the immediate interest of our western citizens, so auspicious to the peace and security of the nation in general, which adds to our country territories so extensive and fertile and to our citizens new brethren to partake of the blessing of freedom and self-government, I offer to Congress and our country, my sincere congratulations.—(*President Jefferson's Special Message to Congress, January 16, 1804.*)

CHAPTER XXX

CENTENNIAL WEEK

The Century of Incorporation—Seven Days of Celebration—Organization and Preparation—Policy of the Executive Committee—The Coliseum Dressed—A Court of Honor—Decorations and Illumination—Music Day and Night—Historical Tablets—Planning the Pageants—The Torpedo Flotilla—Church Day—Archbishop Glennon on the City's Individuality—The 444 Religious Organizations—Dr. Niccolls' Historical Sermon—Sunday Schools at the Coliseum—The Parishes on Art Hill—Welcome to 400 Mayors—The Civic League Luncheon—Flight of the Sphericals—Welcome Mass Meeting—Centennial Water Pageant—Reception on 'Change and Luncheon by Merchants—Veiled Prophet, Pageant and Ball—Municipal Parade—Corner Stone Ceremonies—Police Review—The Dirigibles in Forest Park—Three Miles of Industries on Floats—First Flight of Curtiss—Ball of All Nations—Historic Floats—March of the Educational Brigades—Twilight Flight by Curtiss—German-American Entertainment—Automobile Parade—Dedication of Fairground—Curtiss at Forest Park—Get-together Banquet—Review of Centennial Week—Visitors Numbered 150,000—A Statue of Laclede, the Founder.

We have enshrined the men of a century ago. Let us see to it that the multitude crowding to the next St. Louis Centennial, a century hence, shall put us in a niche no lower than that in which we now place the pioneers of 1809. Perhaps the mass of every generation is too prone to think that all wisdom will die with them. It is not easy, possibly it is not even flattering, to think that perhaps present methods of work will appear as crude to the St. Louis generation of 2009 as the methods in use in 1809 now appear to us. That coming generation may smile at our rude and crude ways of doing things. We want to make sure that the smile will be such as we now give to our predecessors of a century ago; a smile of congratulation, of pride, of genuine admiration and respect, even though mixed with amusement at primitiveness and wonder at our achievement. If we are ever to be called primitive, let those who so call us be compelled to say, as we say now, that the primitiveness of men great in the essential elements of manhood is a mighty weapon for the advancement of mankind. If the next century should bring to St. Louis a generation to look upon the railway, the telephone and telegraph, the skyscraper, and all of the other concomitants of our present civilization, and call them antiquated, let us see to it now that that generation will be compelled to add that the men who wrought with such poor tools wrought mightily, and for the ages. To do this we must hold fast to the standards and the altars set up by those gone before us. They wrought through faith as well as through courage. Wherefore it may be fitting to return to that fine fervor with which this reflection begins, and say:

"Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget, lest we forget."

—D. G. Fitzmaurice, in *Globe-Democrat*, October, 1909.

In October, 1909, St. Louis looked backward upon a century of corporate existence. A week was given to the celebration of this centennial. The entire city entered into the spirit of it.

When St. Louis became a town, three only of the "taxable inhabitants" declined to sign the petition. With practical unanimity the corporate beginning was made.

St. Louis has had local antagonisms. Individual leaders, factions in the population, sections of the community have contended sharply. But, from the year of incorporation to the present day, every serious crisis confronting and every momentous proposition appealing have found St. Louisans standing together, so closely, so unified as to make the majority irresistible, the minority insignificant. This characteristic of solidarity has found signal expression in every decade of corporate life. It was effective in the World's Fair of 1904 to a degree that made the nations marvel. It was demonstrated in the observance of Centennial Week.

The Million Population Club, the Missouri Historical Society and the Civic League took the initiative. Mayor Wells suggested to the Municipal Assembly that the centennial be recognized. The council and the house of delegates appointed committees and by resolution requested the mayor "to call a meeting of all of the business, civic and professional organizations of the city to meet the joint committee of the Municipal Assembly to arrange a plan for a dignified and an appropriate celebration of this important event." Through these steps came about the organization of the St. Louis Centennial Association with the following officers and executive committee:

PRESIDENT

Hon. Frederick H. Kreismann,
Mayor.

Vice-President,
Hon. John H. Gundlach,
President City Council.

Vice-President,
Hon. Edgar R. Rombauer,
Speaker House of Delegates.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

George D. Markham, Chairman.	Saunders Norvell, Vice-Chairman.	
Walter B. Stevens, Secretary.	Charles H. Huttig, Treasurer.	
Arthur J. Fitzsimmons,	Owen Miller,	H. N. Davis,
E. V. P. Schneiderhahn,	Frank Gaiennie,	L. D. Dozier,
Harry A. Hamilton,	Samuel D. Capen,	Charles P. Senter,
Otto Buder,	James E. Smith,	Charles A. Stix,
James J. Gallagher,	Charles F. Wenneker,	E. J. Spencer,
Walter B. Douglas,	Henry C. Garneau,	Robert McCulloch,
J. A. J. Shultz,	E. E. Scharff,	A. O. Rule.

The first week in May found the offices of the association established in the Mercantile Club. Not only was this courtesy accorded but during the six months of Centennial activities the rooms of the club were utilized without charge for meetings of committees and of various organizations interested in the celebration.

The Municipal Assembly being prohibited by the charter to encourage the movement with a direct appropriation, the Centennial Association raised the needed funds through voluntary contributions obtained through a finance committee headed by H. N. Davis. The canvass resulted in the collection of \$81,201, to which were added proceeds from several sources, making the total amount realized \$85,704.34.

At the outset of preparations it was decided to devote the first full week of October to the celebration, giving to each day a distinctive character, thus:

Church Day.....	Sunday, October 3.
Welcome Day.....	Monday, October 4.
Veiled Prophet Day.....	Tuesday, October 5.
Municipal Day.....	Wednesday, October 6.
Industrial Day.....	Thursday, October 7.
Educational and Historical Day.....	Friday, October 8.
St. Louis Day.....	Saturday, October 9.

One of the striking and successful features of Centennial Week, an innovation upon former celebrations, was the Court of Honor. It was designed by



MUNICIPAL COURTS
(Completed 1911)

W. D. Crowell. Leaving conventional lines Mr. Crowell carried out a general scheme of construction, taking into consideration the width of the street and the buildings fronting thereon. He made a Court of Honor, which was artistically beautiful and structurally comfortable, at the same time giving abundant space for the movement of the parades. The Court of Honor occupied Twelfth street from Olive street to Washington avenue.

Two grandstands were built at the corners of Olive and Twelfth streets, extending 226 feet to the corners of Locust street. Two other, but smaller, grandstands, seventy-five feet long, were erected at the corners of Twelfth street and Washington avenue. Between the large and small stands were pilasters on each side of Twelfth street, forming the main court. At the end of each stand was a large pilaster, and behind the stands there were small pilasters. All pilasters were surmounted by tapering flagstaves, the smaller ones ten and the larger ones twenty feet high. To each of these a large American flag was unfurled, the size of which was in proportion to the height of the pilaster. Just below the large flags there were smaller American flags, arranged in rosette style. On the front of these were American shields, surmounted by the American eagle. The rosettes on the smaller poles had the St. Louis round shields. The background was of blue, the statue of St. Louis, in bas-relief, in white. The inscription encircling the statue, "St. Louis to the Front, Centennial, 1909," was in white. The four daylight parades and the Veiled Prophet pageant passed through the Court of Honor. All stands were open to the general public free of charge at night. A band played from seven to eleven. George D. Markham, chairman of the executive committee, instructed Owen Miller, chairman of the music committee, to have the band play several dance numbers each night, making it possible for those who wished to do so, to dance in the Court of Honor. The chairman of the committee on the Court of Honor, on illumination and decorations was Charles P. Senter.

For the one-hundredth corporate birthday St. Louis was dressed as never before. From office buildings, banks, stores, hotels, newspaper offices and theaters the decorations fluttered. In addition to the Veiled Prophet's colors of royal purple, red and gold, the national colors, red, white and blue, which were, officially, the Centennial colors, and the red and white colors of the torpedo flotilla, were displayed. Some of the thoroughfares which presented the gayest appearance were Washington avenue from Fourth street to Eighteenth, Broadway from Franklin avenue to Elm street, Sixth street from Franklin avenue to Market street, Olive street west from Fourth, and Locust street between Third and Twelfth.

The Washington avenue district was especially attractive with immense streamers and flags. One flag at Eighth street, suspended from a flagpole, extended from the top of the fifth floor to the first floor. A building on Sixth street was decorated with thirty-one oil paintings of all the mayors of St. Louis.

The Centennial illumination proved to be one of the most attractive night features of the week. On the evening of Welcome Day, it was estimated that 75,000 people viewed the new lights on Broadway. Visitors from the east pronounced Broadway the best lighted street in the United States. The crowds were good natured; there was no rowdiness, no unseemly indulgence in carnival spirit.

From Washington avenue to Elm street the thoroughfare presented the most attractive appearance in its history. The system represented an outlay of \$10,000, the expense being borne by property owners on Broadway.

The Centennial Association expended \$10,000 for music which was supplied on the most liberal scale for the great parades, for four night functions at the Coliseum, for open air concerts in the Court of Honor and for the water pageant and the automobile procession. One of the innovations adopted in respect to music by the chairman, Owen Miller, was the employment of bands of fifty pieces. The purpose was to have one half of the double band playing while the other half rested, and to have the full strength while the processions were passing reviewing stands and the more prominent localities.

The historical committee under the direction of the chairman, Walter B. Douglas, vice-president of the Historical Society, selected twenty historic sites which were marked by tablets, with appropriate inscriptions for the information of citizens and visitors. Among the locations Judge Douglas selected were:

Site of house where Constitutional Convention of 1821 was held, northeast corner of Third and Vine streets.

Home of Judge William C. Carr, southeast corner of Main and Spruce streets, the first brick dwelling-house west of the Mississippi river. Built in 1815.

Colonel Thomas F. Riddick's home, built in 1818. West side of Fourth street near Plum street.

Site of Fort San Carlos. Built by the Spanish in 1794. Southern Hotel.

Site of Robidou house, where the first newspaper, *The Missouri Gazette*, was printed in 1808, northwest corner of Second and Market streets.

Government House, where transfer of Upper Louisiana to the United States was made, March 10, 1804.

Home of Madame Chouteau, where Governor St. Ange died, December 26, 1774.

Dent house, where Grant and Miss Dent were married, August 22, 1848, southeast corner of Fourth and Cerre streets.

Home of Pierre Chouteau, west side of Main street between Vine street and Washington avenue.

Home of Laclède, and later of Auguste Chouteau, west side of Main street between Market and Walnut streets, the first stone structure erected in St. Louis.

John F. Darby's house, Third National Bank building.

Home of Wilson Price Hunt, leader of the Astoria Overland Expedition, west side of Seventh street between Olive and Locust streets.

Home of Gabriel Cerre, the patriot who financed George Rogers Clark, northeast corner of Main and Vine streets.

Home of Jean Baptiste Trudeau, the first schoolmaster, east side of Main street between Chestnut and Market streets.

Home of Doctor Antoine Saugrain, the first St. Louis scientist, west side of Second street between Mulberry and Lombard streets.

Home of Judge Jean B. C. Lucas, northwest corner of Seventh and Market streets.

Home of Manuel Lisa, the fur trader, Second and Spruce streets.

Home of Bartholomew Berthold, northwest corner of Broadway and Pine street, where Confederate flag was raised in January, 1861.

Home of Governor Alexander McNair, first Governor of Missouri, northwest corner of Main and Spruce streets.

Home of Thomas H. Benton, northeast corner of Fourth street and Washington avenue.

The several pageants of Centennial Week were formed with close attention to detail and carried through with precision. These results were achieved by months of study and planning. From early in May to the October day of fruition, Mr. Wenneker's committee worked upon the Industrial parade. When

growing interest on the part of manufacturers and merchants threatened to overwhelm the committee with applications for place, censors were chosen. Every design not considered of the desired standard for floats was rejected. This policy, in the end, produced a trade pageant the like of which had never before been seen in the west.

The educational and historical committees were engaged nearly four months upon the details of their parade. They labored not for numbers or magnitude, but for comprehensive and effective representation. And so it was that the several divisions passing down the Court of Honor did not tire the spectators by monotony, but were viewed with rising enthusiasm as they recalled the military record and life of St. Louis; as they revealed the variety and flower of the educational institutions; as they illustrated the great events in the evolution of the city down to the incorporation.

In June the executive committee gave consideration to the problem of moving the parades. By reason of his proven fitness for the duties, Colonel E. J. Spencer was chosen grand marshal of Centennial Week. Thenceforward, as the educational, historical and automobile committees, having charge of parades, reached conclusions in respect to composition of columns and routes of marching, the arrangement of details, the orders for assembling and for moving, the instructions to marshals and aides were left to Colonel Spencer. For the first time in the history of St. Louis the streets in the routes of parades were roped. Wire cables were stretched along the curbs. Police were detailed to hold spectators upon the sidewalks. This innovation was in the main respected by the throngs. It enabled more people to view the parades with satisfaction than if the streets had been crowded beyond the curb lines.

Presence in the St. Louis harbor of the largest representation from the United States Navy up to that time was a notable part of the national share in the celebration. It was brought about by correspondence, which began in June. With the approval of the executive committee, Chairman Markham addressed the request to the secretary of the navy. He also wrote to the secretary of commerce and labor, Mr. Nagel; to the St. Louis Congressmen, Messrs. Bartholdt, Coudrey and Gill, asking their cooperation. The result was a prompt and favorable response from Secretary Meyer.

The United States Navy was represented at the St. Louis Centennial celebration by four vessels. The flagship of this Centennial fleet was the torpedo-boat destroyer Macdonough, Lieutenant Willis G. Mitchell commanding. The other ships of the fleet were the torpedo boat Thornton, Lieutenant Charles A. Blakeley commanding; the torpedo boat Tingey, Ensign C. Nixon commanding; and the torpedo boat Wilkes, Ensign George C. Pegram commanding.

This Centennial fleet did not leave St. Louis immediately after the Centennial celebration, but remained to become part of President Taft's fleet on the Mississippi river inspection trip which culminated in the Lakes-to-the-Gulf Deep Waterway convention at New Orleans. These vessels made the voyage up the Mississippi on schedule time and returned in accordance with a prearranged program. They demonstrated the possibilities of successful inland navigation at a season when low water was supposed to be almost prohibitive.

The formal arrival of the torpedo flotilla in the St. Louis harbor was the official prelude to the opening of Centennial Week. At a few minutes past 12 m., Saturday, October 2d, the harbor boat Erastus Wells, carrying the Mayor of St. Louis, many city officials and Chairman J. S. Bates with the fifteen members of the Naval Reception Committee steamed down the river to meet and to escort the flotilla from the anchorage opposite the Century Boat Club. The river front along the course was thronged with people. The Eads bridge was occupied by many more. Newspaper accounts estimated the number who witnessed this entry into the St. Louis harbor by the flotilla at 100,000 persons. Every steamboat, tug, locomotive and factory greeted the coming with noisy welcome on the whistles. There was something going on every day of the Centennial Week for the officers and jackies of the torpedo flotilla. The officers were included with the guests of honor at the Veiled Prophet Ball. Non-commissioned officers and jackies were guests of honor at the Ball of All Nations. The officers participated with the Mayors in the reviewing of the several pageants at the Court of Honor. The seamen formed a conspicuous feature in the military division of the pageant on Friday. At the end of Centennial Week the records showed that more than 100,000 visitors had been received on board and had been shown about the torpedo boats. There were many hours during the week when it was utterly impossible to accommodate those desiring to come on board. For considerable periods of time as many as 10,000 people stood waiting to be admitted.

Full and strong the note of religious sentiment was struck for the opening of Centennial Week. The official signal was given at 5:59 Sunday morning by the blasts of the whistle on the city harbor boat. From the Chain of Rocks to the River Des Peres, from the edge of the Mississippi to Skinker road, the bells rang out with whistles accompaniment. As the first grand chorus of greeting died away, the chimes took up the solos in the form of familiar hymns. At the early masses, in the Sunday schools, for the morning sermons, the spirit was the Centennial.

The committee on Church Day was headed by Samuel Cupples, chairman, and W. J. Kinsella, vice-chairman. The decision to begin Centennial Week with religious features received the strong endorsement of all churches. To the Catholic clergy Archbishop Glennon issued an address, saying: "It is especially becoming that our Catholic people should in every way in their power aid in making the event not only a great civic but religious success." Right Reverend Daniel S. Tuttle, Bishop of the Diocese of Missouri, issued a special prayer to be used in all of the Episcopal churches. The Evangelical Alliance by resolution urged "thanksgiving services in all of the churches of the city."

Solemn pontifical high mass in the Old Cathedral was attended by Mayor Frederick H. Kreismann, Vice-Chairman W. J. Kinsella of the Centennial Association and many officials of the city. It was celebrated by Bishop J. J. Hennessey who was reared in the parish. The address by Archbishop Glennon was of historical character. He said:

The fault, if fault it be, of many American cities is their dull sameness. They live and grow just as others do. House is added to house, enterprise to enterprise, street to street, in the same monotonous succession, and all we can say of them is, "how fast the growth and how large the city." But of this city of ours can it be said not alone how fast it grows and

how large it is, but also that its life stands individualized among the cities of America, with a history and a spirit all its own; and for the beginning of all this we are indebted to the Frenchman trader and missionary, the spirit of one, the sacrifice of the other and the union of both in the lives of those who benefited by their ministrations.

That the representatives of the cross of Christ came here as soon, if not sooner, than the representatives of the crown of France is evident from the names of the cities here in the valley, for as you sail along the Father of Waters you feel as if you were reciting the litany of the saints—St. Mary, Ste. Genevieve, St. Louis, St. Paul.

And as a second and no less important element in this city's upbuilding, and in the giving it that flavor and form that marks it among the cities of the West, it must be remembered that not only had you the chivalry and courage of the Frenchman and the devotion and sacrifice of the missionary, but you had what came nearer, perhaps, to the soul of the city and its inner life; you had, namely, the refinement, the gentleness and the charity of the women of France.

While the trader traded and the pioneer wandered, while the missionary went forth from camp to camp and tribe to tribe, there dwelt in homes that here were builded, however humble they might be, the wives and daughters of the pioneers who brought with them all the glory, all the civilization, all the Christianity of old France. So that from the very earliest days this city became a center where social culture, refinement of manners, benevolence, charity and faith found a home. Even at this later day, when several generations have come and gone, that influence is far from being spent. It remains still to sweeten the lives and to bless the homes of the majority of our people.

But this city of ours is no longer a French city. During the century that has elapsed there came to it the people from Kentucky and Virginia, who could compete with the Frenchman in his chivalry, and the people from New England, who could more than compete with the Frenchman in his trade. And after and with these came the Irish, and after and with the Irish came the German, Slav and Italian.

How these various races came, and how they worked since their coming are matters of such recent history that I may be excused if I fail to recite them. Their coming, however, their gradual absorption in the city's life, and their fusion one with another, produced the city which we see today, a city wherein there is opportunity for honest men to live and work, wherein there is opportunity for homes to be builded in peace and virtue, where there is found a citizenship strangely without prejudice inherited or acquired, where their test of citizenship is devotion to the city, as their test of faith is their devotion to the truth.

If our thought be directed to locality today, I do believe that of all the places to be remembered, the place most fitted and opportune to commence this celebration is where we here and now celebrate, for it was in this very spot the first church of St. Louis was built. It was on this place that the solitary church of St. Louis stood a hundred years ago, and from that day unto this it has been the center whence the religion of France, the religion of two-thirds of Christendom has grown, developed and reached outward into all this western land.

It was on the first of August, 1831, that Bishop Rosati blessed and laid the corner-stone of this edifice, the future cathedral of St. Louis, and this was the fourth church builded on this same site since the year 1770. And on the 26th of October, 1834, Rt. Rev. Joseph Rosati, bishop of St. Louis, consecrated with all possible solemnities the new cathedral of St. Louis, which solemnity was honored by the presence of Rt. Rev. Benedict Flaget, bishop of Bardstown; of Rt. Rev. J. R. Purcell, bishop of Cincinnati, and of Rt. Rev. Simon Brute, bishop-elect of Vincennes, Ind., and of many priests, secular and regular.

Today the spiritual domain created, fostered and developed from this center contains five ecclesiastical provinces outside of this one of St. Louis proper, six archbishops, twenty-five bishops, representing so many dioceses, and a vast army of the clergy and faithful too numerous to record, who, in the Valley of the Mississippi, and even to the mountain tops of the west, proclaim the faith of St. Louis, defend the standard of Christ. While here in the city of St. Louis proper, from this one church a hundred years ago there are now in the Catholic faith eighty-two parish churches and sixty-five parish schools, with a long train of educational institutions, both of primary and secondary education to answer to the spiritual and intellectual needs of all the children.

Most noteworthy, not only for the historical information which it contained but for the liberal spirit characteristic of St. Louis religious life which it illustrated, was the centennial sermon of Rev. Dr. Samuel J. Niccolls of the Second Presbyterian church. With the exception of Rev. Dr. M. Rhodes of St. Mark's Evangelical Lutheran church, Dr. Niccolls had held his pastorate longer than any other Protestant minister in St. Louis. He said:

In 1816, Rev. Salmon Giddings, the first settled Protestant minister in St. Louis, and the first pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, wrote: "Little attention has been paid to education, and not more than one in five can read. The state of moral feeling and the tone of piety is low throughout the country."

It was, indeed, high time that the leaven of the gospel, with its quickening and elevating power, should be placed in the gathering meal. It required no prophetic vision to declare what the future of the new city and the outlying territory would have been without it. Previous to the annexation the prevailing type of religion had been that of the Roman Catholic Church: Its zealous and self-denying missionaries had gone with the early voyagers and pioneers and founded churches from the Great Lakes to New Orleans. In scores of settlements in the western wilderness the symbol of our salvation had been lifted up Catholicism was the established religion of the country. No other form of worship was allowed under the Spanish and French rule. The reading and circulation of the Bible was forbidden. Indeed, some Bibles distributed by the American Bible Society were burned by priestly orders on the soil of Missouri. Happily, the days of religious intolerance, which then affected more or less all branches of the church, have gone by.

The Roman Catholic Church, always conservative, has, in spite of its cherished traditions, been moved by the spirit of progress and has become a most important factor in the civilization of the west. In this city it has greatly multiplied its churches, schools, hospitals and asylums. Its leaders have been godly men of broad, statesmenlike vision, who have administered the affairs of their branch of the church with marked discretion and success; and its members are among our foremost citizens in seeking the highest welfare of our city. It occupies a most influential position in the religious and social affairs of the city, and the history of its progress furnishes a most instructive chapter in the story of the development of the great Valley of the Mississippi. But I leave to those more familiar with it the full recital of its progress, although venturing the prediction that before another hundred years have gone by the relations between the different branches of the Christian church will be much more intimate than they now are.

I turn now to what, to say the least, has been equally important in the growth of the city, the entrance and development of Protestant Christianity.

The first emigrants to the newly acquired territory were chiefly of the Protestant faith. It was estimated that as early as 1812 there were 1,000 families who were Presbyterians in the territory; but, as they were widely scattered, there was no organization among them. The first missionary preachers were of the Baptist and Methodist churches. Following them came the Presbyterians, who had four or five preachers and a number of small churches in the territory as early as 1815; but up to this date there was no organized Protestant church in St. Louis.

On April 6, 1816, Rev. Salmon Giddings crossed the river after a journey of over twelve months from New England, and on the next day preached to a small congregation, his first sermon. He found the city without a Protestant minister, and himself an unwelcome herald of the Gospel. Rumors had been circulated unfavorable to him. An article entitled "Caution" had appeared in the *Missouri Gazette* of that day, warning the people against him, and declaring that he was an emissary of the famous Hartford Convention; but, unmoved by the report and with that quiet persistence which characterized his subsequent ministry, he began his work. He was a consecrated man of blameless life, sterling common sense, patient, persevering and of indomitable will. He was ceaseless in his activities, preaching not only in the city, but in the outlying settlements. The first church organized by him was at Belleview settlement, in Washington county; the second at Bonhomme, October 16, 1816.

In St. Louis he started a school, from which he supported himself in his ministry. On November 23, 1817, he organized the First Presbyterian Church, the first Protestant church in



THE EDUCATIONAL DIVISION
Historical Day, Centennial Week, 1909

St. Louis. At its organization it consisted of nine members, and its two male members, Stephen Hempstead and Thomas Osborn, were chosen ruling elders.

On December 18th, of the same year, the Presbytery of Missouri was organized in St. Louis by the authority of the Synod of Tennessee. Its territory was wide enough, for it included all that part of the United States west of the meridian line, drawn across the Cumberland River. There were but four members of the presbytery—Salmon Giddings, Timothy Flint, Thomas Donnell and John Matthews.

At that time there was no resident minister in the state of Illinois, and the total membership of the presbytery did not exceed 200. Yet from this feeble beginning, there grew twenty-nine presbyteries and three great synods, including a membership of more than 180,000 persons.

The first church under the care of Rev. Giddings grew slowly, but steadily. Through his efforts the first house for Protestant worship was erected on the corner of St. Charles and Fourth streets. The lot selected was then in the extreme western limits of the city, and the price paid for it was \$327. In the fall of 1818 a public meeting was called, of which Thomas H. Benton was the secretary, to take measures for the erection of a building. Through strenuous efforts and by collections in the east, the sum of \$6,000 was secured, and a plain wooden building was erected, which served as a place of worship until 1838. A noted pioneer minister, Rev. John Leighton, D. D., who came to Missouri, in 1836, thus describes it:

“My first impression was of surprise that the good people of the church should have located their place of worship away beyond the town and outside of the population. I glanced to the west and the south, and beyond the unpaved street on which I stood. I could see little but an unreclaimed flat, covered with stagnant water, with here and there a clump of brush. Here, thought I, is another proof that Presbyterians are the ‘Lord’s foolish people,’ for the sake of a cheap lot, building their church where few of their neighbors would care to follow them. The house itself was a very unpretending one, inferior to many of the wooden churches we now have in the rural districts, and was surmounted by a belfry not unlike what we see upon factories. That house subsequently underwent changes within and without, which were thought to be elegant improvements befitting the condition of the little town. The pulpit was brought down from its perch midway between the ceiling and floor; and the roof was crowned with what in courtesy was called a steeple. But while the church was a very unpretending building when I first saw it, we must not infer that the worshippers within it were all plain, unpretending folk.

“Just about one year from that time, in the spring of 1837, the following scene might have been witnessed: On a Sabbath morning a lady, dressed in heavy silk, advanced up the street, having behind her a train of extraordinary length. This appendage was supported and borne by two colored boys, one hand of each holding up the train, and the other hand of each carrying this one a fan, and that one a hymn book. When the door of the church was reached the train was dropped, the fan and the book were passed to the hands of the lady, and the pages went their way.”

The growth of the Presbyterian Church in the city can be readily traced by the number of new organizations increasing year by year. In 1832 St. Louis claimed to have a population of 7,000. Allowing for western boasting, it had probably 6,000. In that year a second church, under the ministry of Rev. Dr. Hatfield, was organized, through a colony from the First Church. This organization was subsequently dissolved and its members returned to the mother church.

In the same year, 1832, the Synod of Missouri was organized in the First Church of this city. It was the year of the great plague, the visitation of cholera, which brought death and lamentation to so many homes. The death rate was over twenty each day. The ministers present at the organization of the synod remained in the city, preaching daily the offers and consolation of the Gospel, and as a result there was a widespread revival of religion, which left a permanent effect upon the moral and spiritual life of the city.

In 1838 the present Second Church was organized by a colony from the First Church, and Rev. William S. Potts, D. D., was called to be its first pastor. From this time on the number of churches increased rapidly with the increasing growth of the city. My limited time forbids even a mention of their origin, location and names. It is enough now to say that the present number of all branches of the Presbyterian Church, including missions in the city, is fifty-three, distributed as follows: Presbyterian Church, United States of America, thirty-eight; Presbyterian Church, United States, seven; United Presbyterian Church, four; Reformed Presbyterian Church, three; Cumberland Presbyterian Church, one.

But while the Presbyterian Church represents numerically the largest of the divisions of Protestantism, it is very far from including the chief religious forces that have wrought for the advancement of the city. The Baptist Church began its labors in the territory while it was yet a Spanish province, but its first church in St. Louis was organized on February 18, 1818. The Methodist circuit riders were engaged in their self-denying labors in the new territory as early as 1810, and in 1820 the first Methodist church was organized in St. Louis. The first Episcopal church was organized in 1819. Out of this organization Christ Church has grown. The first United Presbyterian Church in St. Louis was organized in 1840, and there are now four churches of that order in the city.

In St. Louis there is a large and influential part of our citizens speaking the German language and using it in their public worship. The first Protestant church among them was the German Evangelical Church of the Holy Ghost. It was organized in 1834, and became the nucleus of the Evangelical Synod of the West, which has churches throughout the United States.

In 1838 a body of Lutherans who had been bitterly persecuted by the Government of Saxony, sought refuge and liberty in the United States, and came to make their home in this city. They established the first Lutheran church, adhering to the Augsburg confession. Their growth was rapid, and they have now a large number of strong and influential churches in the city. The Concordia College and Theological Seminary, a large printing house, and a number of hospitals and asylums are in connection with this denomination. Lutheran churches belonging to the different synods represented in this city have had a powerful and widespread influence in the nurture of the religious life of the large German population in our midst. Their testimony for evangelical truth has been strong and clear, and their method of religious instruction in training children second to none. Difference in language, more than any doctrinal disagreements, has kept them from close affiliation with the English-speaking churches, and for this reason many among us are unaware alike of their large numbers and their power for good.

The Christians or Disciples of Christ, formerly known as Campbellites, from their renowned leader, Alexander Campbell, began their labors in St. Louis in 1842, holding their services for worshippers in private houses. Very soon a church of twenty-seven members was organized, and from it has sprung a large number of thriving churches of that denomination in our midst.

Although many of the early settlers were from New England, the land of Congregationalism, no churches of that order were organized until the year 1852. The First Congregational Church of this city was an offshoot from the Third Presbyterian Church.

In 1847 Rev. Truman Post came to this city as pastor of the Third Presbyterian Church, with which he remained four years. At the request of several leading citizens, Dr. Post preached on January 11, 1852, a discourse on Congregationalism. The result of this was the organization, on March 14, 1852, of the First Congregational Church, of which Dr. Post became the pastor. This position he held until his resignation in June, 1882. He was a man of illustrious character, whose life and ministry left a profound impression upon the city, and his memory is still fragrant.

Contemporary with his ministry was that of Dr. William G. Eliot, pastor of the Church of the Messiah, who was a recognized leader in the educational and philanthropic work of the city, and whose enduring monument is to be seen in Washington University and Mary Institute.

All the churches named and unnamed have wrought together for the moral and spiritual uplifting of the city. It is not claimed that all have seen the truth with equal clearness and fullness, or from the same angle of vision. There have been vain rivalries among them, divisions that were disastrous and shameful, misconceptions and separating prejudices, but all, according to their light, have stood for liberty of conscience, for freedom from ecclesiastical tyranny and for the authority of the word of God. They have persistently upheld the claims of eternal righteousness, and have called upon men to live in view of their relations to God and an endless future.

According to statistics furnished by the Centennial Committee, of 444 religious organizations in the city, 76 are Catholic. The leading Protestant churches number as follows: Baptist, 23; Christian, 15; Congregational, 21; Lutheran, 29; German Evangelical, 24; Methodist, 46; Presbyterian, 47; Episcopalian, 31. A total of 236 Protestant churches.

A little child led them. Tony Brickner, nine years old, conducted the Industrial School Boy's Band, standing upon a chair. As he concluded each performance by the band, the little fellow turned and bowed, receiving enthusiastic applause from all parts of the great audience which filled the Coliseum the afternoon of Church Day. In the midst of the programme from the platform, Prof. R. O. Bolt, musical director, placed Dorothy Fitzroy, eight years old, upon a table. From the farthest balconies the child looked scarcely as large as a fair-sized doll. In the ranks on ranks of seats that stretched away, almost to the ceiling of the big hall, thousands of eyes were turned toward the child. The pianist struck a few notes. Then a sweet, quavering, childish voice floated upward. To the upper rows of the highest gallery it was almost as faint as a whisper, yet the listeners could catch the words:

Some day the silver cord will break
And I no more, as now, shall sing,
But, O, the joy, when I shall wake
Within the palace of the King!

Thousands took up the chorus of the hymn and rolled it back in a great wave of sound. She went on through with the other verses of the song, and, when she sat down the applause lasted for several minutes.

Represented in the great audience, which filled every part of the Coliseum, were one hundred and eighty Sunday schools of St. Louis. To each one of the 10,000 children entering the hall was presented a small flag. When Mayor Kreismann, former Governor Folk and the other speakers arose, the children waved these flags and accompanied this greeting with shrill cheering.

Rev. Dr. H. H. Gregg, of the Washington and Compton Avenue Presbyterian Church, opened the program with a scripture reading. Rev. Dr. M. Rhodes, of St. Mark's, a member of the International Sunday School Lesson Committee, made the opening prayer, concluding with the Lord's Prayer, which all repeated. J. J. Parks reviewed Sunday school effort, from the first Sunday school in St. Louis, 100 years ago, with one teacher and five pupils, to the present condition of 300 schools, 5,000 teachers and 81,000 pupils. The children and the members of St. Mark's English Evangelical Lutheran Church marched in procession from the church to the Coliseum. They carried banners and sang hymns on the way. Before leaving the church, the marchers partook of a dinner, the first one served in that manner during the nearly half century pastorate of the Rev. Dr. M. Rhodes. The dinner was arranged so that the Sunday school and the congregation might go refreshed from the regular services to the Coliseum. It recalled the Sunday custom of a century ago, when the country congregation brought their dinners and ate at the church between the morning and the afternoon worship. The chairman of the committee having charge of Church Day of Centennial Week, Samuel Cupples, occupied a box on the right of the platform. With Mr. Cupples was Bishop E. R. Hendrix.

From noon until three o'clock the parochial schools were assembling on and about Art Hill in Forest Park. When Archbishop Glennon arrived and raised his hand for silence, there were assembled more than 25,000 children. The great amphitheatre extending from the hill to the lake was fully occupied. All faces were turned toward the statue of Saint Louis. The vast area was

divided into sections to which the parishes had found their way quickly and in order. For three hours before the beginning of the ceremonies, street cars on the routes to the park had been crowded, streets leading into the park had been filled with automobiles, carriages and vans.

The program moved without confusion or delay. Two bands, Father Spigardi's Italian band and Father Dunne's Newsboys' band and the Knights of Columbus Choral Club led the music. When Archbishop Glennon raised his hand and Rev. Joseph F. Lubeley, the leader, raised his baton, which was an American flag, silence came upon the multitude. Then Father Lubeley's hand swept down in a wide arc and the great outdoor service had begun. The students of Kenrick Seminary sang the invocation, "Veni Creator." The "Decade of the Rosary" followed, and then from thousands of throats thundered forth, "Hail, Virgin of Virgins." Arrayed in spotless white uniforms, the Knights of Columbus Choral Club contributed sonorous choruses, lending an impressive and beautiful solemnity and force to the religious songs. The large seminary choir was of great assistance. They stood in rows at the back of the platform and their voices carried far.

The Archbishop arose when the singing of America was finished and made a short address. He congratulated the people of St. Louis, Catholic and Protestant, on the Centennial anniversary of the incorporation of the city, and he confessed to being moved deeply by the children's chorus. In the course of his remarks the Archbishop said:

I remember reading of the field of Runnymede, where a Catholic Bishop and Catholic Knights fought for the liberties of the people, and obtained for their English King the charter of our modern liberty. I remember reading of the field of the Cloth of Gold, where King met King, to honor their country and their God. Children of St. Louis, this is not the field of Runnymede; this is not the field of the Cloth of Gold, but this is a field where I see before me the pearls of the Saint Louis. This is your saint, you are his children, and on this historic spot you will take his cross and bear it onward until another century shall be rounded out. You are to be his crusaders, and will bear his cross upon your breasts. We are the older ones. We are the relics of the century just gone, and we give to your keeping this cross, to be true to your city, true to your saint and true to your God.

The address was short, and at its close Mayor Kreismann was seen to come upon the stand, arm in arm with Samuel Cupples, and followed by other distinguished St. Louisans.

Archbishop Glennon turned to the crowd, who had cheered the Mayor, signed for silence, and in a few words introduced the city's chief executive. Mayor Kreismann, moved by the sight and the significance of the occasion, spoke only a few minutes, and his speech, too, was one of congratulation and thanks for the sight that confronted him.

"Personally conducted" describes the week-long reception tendered to visiting Mayors. Early in the movement to celebrate the Centennial, Robert Burkham, secretary to the Mayor of St. Louis, opened personal correspondence with Mayors. He sought the name and vocation of each Mayor. He desired to know if the Mayor was single or a man of family. He explained that the information was desired to guide the Centennial Association in making the American Mayor the guest of honor in the celebration of this one hundredth corporate birthday of St. Louis. The Mayors began arriving at the City Hall by 10:00 a. m. on Monday, Welcome Day. Each Mayor registered at a desk in the rotunda and each



ASSEMBLAGE OF CATHOLIC PARISHES
Art Hill, Centennial Week, 1909

received a numbered badge. With the badge were telephone and telegraph franks, street railroad coupon books and tickets to every Centennial event. Meanwhile the reception went on in the Mayor's office. Mayors who had registered and found their escorts were taken at once to the receiving line in which stood Mayor Kreismann, Governor Hadley, Adjutant-General Rumbold, President Gundlach of the City Council, Street Commissioner Travilla, Sewer Commissioner Fardwell, Water Commissioner Adkins and other city officials and members of the Governor's staff. Mayor Kreismann used his right hand for a time in greeting the visitors shifted to the left and later back again to the right. Former Governor D. R. Francis, chairman of the reception committee, was not in the receiving line, but mingled with the Mayors and their escorts in the Mayor's office. Former Gov. Folk stood in the corridor outside the Mayor's reception room doing duty as a member of the reception committee. Many other well-known St. Louisans were in the corridor where the Mayors were registering and receiving their tickets. Among these were Harry B. Hawes, Arthur N. Sager, F. W. Lehmann, Circuit Judges Shields, Kinsey and Muench.

At noon Colonel John A. Laird, President of the Board of Police Commissioners, and Colonels Martin Collins, Charles A. Houts, Charles Buffum, George Robinson, C. C. Wolff and Nicholas Lamb, Jr., all of the Governor's staff, preceded the city and state executives to the Twelfth street exit. The visiting Mayors and their escorts followed. All were formed in line stretching across the granite steps, while a score of photographers snapped the group. A great crowd had gathered about the City Hall, and Colonel Laird was forced to call on the police to assist him and the Governor's staff to clear the way for the march to Hotel Jefferson.

The Industrial School Boys' band preceded Mayor Kreismann, Governor Hadley and former Governors Francis and Folk. The visiting Mayors and the committeemen followed in pairs. The sidewalk was used until Market street was reached, when the band swung into the street and the Mayors did likewise. Between lines of people the march proceeded. President Hornsby and other officers of the Civic League awaited the Mayors at the hotel. The large banquet hall was prepared to accommodate 650 guests and there were no vacant chairs when all had been seated. Many members of the reception committee remained outside the dining hall until assured all of the guests were taken care of.

President Joseph L. Hornsby, of the Civic League, sat at the center of the speaker's table, from which point of vantage he could survey the long rows of tables, seating the largest crowd that had gathered at a noonday meal in St. Louis. It was the first time in the history of any city that so many Mayors had dined in one room. Mayor Kreismann sat at President Hornsby's left, while Governor Hadley had the seat of honor at the toastmaster's right. Others assigned seats at the speakers' table were: John H. Gundlach, President of the City Council; former Mayor Rolla Wells; Professor Isador Loeb, of the State University; Mayor T. T. Crittenden, of Kansas City; George D. Markham, chairman of the Centennial executive committee; Lieutenant W. G. Mitchell, U. S. N.; Mayor Joseph Oliver, of Toronto; former Governor J. W. Folk; Mayor A. J. Mathis, of Des Moines; David R. Francis, chairman Mayors' reception committee; Frederick W. Lehmann, chairman Board of Freeholders; Mayor

Martin Behrman, of New Orleans; former Mayor C. P. Walbridge and Henry T. Kent, chairman of the Civic League reception committee.

The formal programme following the luncheon was opened by David R. Francis, who introduced Mr. Hornsby. All present arose in response to the toast to the President of the United States. President Hornsby introduced in turn Mayor A. J. Mathis of Des Moines, Professor Isador Loeb of the University of Missouri, Frederick W. Lehmann, president of the Board of Freeholders, which was engaged in framing a new charter to be submitted to the voters of St. Louis. The subject to which the speakers addressed their remarks was "The Commission Form of Government."

Upon and immediately surrounding the grounds of the St. Louis Aero Club were assembled before the middle of the afternoon 100,000 people. Monday's program was devoted to the contests of spherical balloons. The enormous gas holder on Chouteau and Newstead avenues was the focal point. For blocks around the crowds occupied street corners and house tops from which the balloons might be seen as soon as they left the grounds. The sending off of the advertising balloons entertained the people. Twenty-four of these smaller balloons of 3,000 feet capacity were started at short intervals. The task of filling them began early in the afternoon. These balloons were partly filled with air, and then were connected with the pipes running from the retort. Gas was plentiful. The big holder contained 3,700,000 cubic feet at noon. There was a pressure of one pound to the square inch. This was increased in the afternoon to seven pounds. The two small balloons, The Peoria and The Missouri, each of 40,000 cubic feet capacity, were the first of the racing balloons to leave the grounds. They were the contestants in the long-distance race for spherical balloons of 40,000 cubic feet capacity or less, and raced for the St. Louis Centennial Cup as first prize, the second in the race also to receive a cup.

Eight large balloons, comprising the largest number which had ascended in a single American aeronautic event, were sent away in the St. Louis Centennial long-distance contest for spherical balloons. All were between 78,000 and 80,000 cubic feet capacity. Their pilots expected to be able to remain in the air forty hours or more. A cloudless sky and hardly more than a breath of air provided almost ideal conditions for the ascensions, each balloon being enabled to get away on its flight without delay from weather conditions. The record of this flight of balloons, in many respects beyond precedent in the United States, was as follows:

St. Louis III.—S. Louis ("Tony") von Phul, St. Louis, pilot; Joseph M. O'Reilly, aid, near Lake Milli Lac, Minn., at 9:35 a. m. Wednesday. In air 40 hours, 24 minutes. Distance, 540 miles. Broke Lahm Cup record and won first prize, \$600 or cup.

Indiana—H. H. McGill, of Osborn, Ind., pilot; J. H. Shauer, Indianapolis, aid, near Albany, Minn., at 10 a. m. Wednesday. In air 40 hours, 35 minutes. Broke Lahm Cup record and won second prize, \$400 or cup.

Centennial—Lieut. H. E. Honeywell, St. Louis, pilot; J. W. Tolland, St. Louis, aid, landed near Silas, Ala. Distance, about 485 miles. Broke Lahm Cup record and won third prize, \$300 or cup.

Cleveland—J. H. Wade, Jr., of Cleveland, pilot; A. H. Morgan, Cleveland, aid, near Alexander City, Ala., at 8:30 a. m. Wednesday. In air 39 hours, 45 minutes. Distance, 444 miles. Won fourth prize, \$200 or cup.

University City—John Berry, St. Louis, pilot; W. C. Fox, St. Louis, aid, near Mooresville, Mo., at 3:15 p. m. Tuesday. In air 21 hours, 55 minutes. Distance, 204 miles. Won fifth prize, \$100 or cup.

Pommery—N. H. Arnold, North Adams, Mass., pilot; Leroy M. Taylor, New York, aid, near Knobel, Ark., 5:30 p. m. Tuesday. In air 24 hours, 30 minutes. Attained height of 14,500 feet. Distance, 162 miles. Won \$500 wager from Clifford B. Harmon, of New York.

New York—Clifford B. Harmon, New York, pilot; Augustus Post, New York, aid, near Edina, Mo., at 5:41 p. m. Wednesday. In air 48 hours, 26 minutes. Attained altitude of 24,400 feet, establishing new American height record. Distance, 146 milés.

Disqualified:

Hoosier—Dr. P. M. Crume, Dayton, Ohio, pilot; J. H. Custer, Indianapolis, aid, near Russellville, Mo., at 11:20 a. m. Tuesday. In air 17 hours, 24 minutes. Distance, 123 miles.

Independent:

South St. Louis—Jack Bennett, St. Louis, pilot; M. A. Heimann, St. Louis, aid, near Laredo, Mo., Tuesday. Distance, 206 miles.

Balloons of 40,000 cubic feet:

Peoria—James W. Bemis, St. Louis, pilot; George E. Smith, Peoria, Ill., aid, near Levings, Ill., Wednesday. Distance, 114 miles. Won first prize, Centennial Cup.

Missouri—Harlow B. Spencer, St. Louis, pilot; James P. Deniver, St. Louis, aid, near Hibernia, Mo., Tuesday. Distance, 102 miles. Won cup.

Music by the Symphony Orchestra, addresses of greeting and of response, stereopticon views of St. Louis, past and present, entertained the visiting Mayors and 5,000 other people at the Coliseum Monday evening. The Welcome Mass Meeting was under the direction of the Civic League. To an audience of 5,000, David R. Francis, chairman of the reception committee, introduced President Joseph L. Hornsby of the Civic League. Before presenting Mayor Kreismann to extend the official welcome of the city to the visiting Mayors, Mr. Hornsby said the League was proud that it had been called upon to act as host at this first public meeting of Centennial Week. "We feel," he said, "that the work the League has done for the city is not unappreciated." Official welcomes were extended by Mayor Kreismann for the city and by Governor Hadley for the state. The responses were by Mayor Oliver of Toronto and Mayor Behrman of New Orleans.

Tuesday, Veiled Prophet Day, opened with the Centennial Water Pageant. Crowds began to form on the levee as early as 8 o'clock in the morning. Noel Poepping's American band of fifty pieces played at the landing of the harbor boat. The Industrial School Boys' band, upon reaching the levee, was marched to the upper deck of the Wells and began to play promptly in youthful rivalry with the professionals. Mayor Kreismann was followed by over 300 of the visiting Mayors, who came in groups with their escorts. The Erastus Wells, carrying the city's guests, moved out to mid-stream where the torpedo flotilla was lined in single column, dressed for the event. At the head of the flotilla was the Macdonough, Lieutenant W. G. Mitchell, United States Navy. At the conclusion of the pageant, Lieutenant Mitchell expressed to Sam D. Capen, chairman of the day, an enthusiastic opinion. He said it was the greatest pageant of the kind he had witnessed in this country. As a demonstration of strength and efficiency of rowing and motor clubs in the St. Louis harbor, he commended it most highly. Mayor Kreismann gave expression to the Centennial spirit in the morning aboard the Erastus Wells, as he watched the brilliantly decorated craft swing by. "Oh, this is bully!" he said. "We certainly

have got a fine start on the week. Now let everything hum. I had no idea we had so many pleasure craft in St. Louis. This is great; simply great!" Standing near was Martin Behrman, Mayor of New Orleans. "This is the greatest thing of the kind I ever saw," said Mayor Behrman.

The pageant was seen by 250,000 people massed along the banks of the river. The course was four miles from the Merchants' bridge to the foot of Market street. At the Eads bridge and between Carr and Market streets, the throngs were especially notable. Not fewer than 25,000 viewed the spectacle from the Eads bridge. Upon the levee from Carr to Market streets were 150,000. To the cheering of these spectators was added the screaming of steamboat, railroad and factory whistles on both sides of the river. Excursion steamers were crowded, roofs of buildings far back from the river were covered with people. The flagship Harriett led the parade, followed by fifty shells—two oars, three oars and up to ten oars. The shells moved in a double column. Behind were in order the four divisions of power boats arranged according to length, from twenty-five feet up to seventy-five feet. There were hundreds of these power boats. Enthusiasm of the spectators increased to highest pitch when the Independence II., owned by E. C. Koenig, drove past the torpedo boat destroyer, the Macdonough, at the rate of thirty miles an hour.

In the division of shells were represented the Century Boat Club, the Western Rowing Club, the North End Rowing Club, the Mound City Rowing Club and the Central Rowing Club. In the power boat division were the St. Louis Power Boat Association, the North End Club, the Central Club, the Century Club, the South Side Club, the Carondelet Club, the Mound City Club, the Wellston Hunting Club, the Western Rowing Club. The Alton and St. Charles fleets sent delegations.

"Open day of Centennial Week" on the Merchants' Exchange followed quickly the river pageant. The visiting Mayors, representing thirty states, were escorted from the levee to the Exchange, arriving there at 11:00 a. m. At the Third street entrance they were met by a special reception committee, headed by Chairman Parker H. Litchfield and President Edward E. Scharff. Though the wires kept up incessant clicking recording the deals in other cities, business was suspended. Preceded by Cavallo's band of forty pieces, the visiting party marched to the Exchange floor. The greeting was the cheer, characteristic and historic, from the assembled traders, an expression of appreciation and enthusiasm, which prompted broad smiles on the faces of those thus honored. The great hall was decorated with sheaves of grain and other farm products. The wives and daughters of many of the guests of the city were present. A welcome was extended by President Scharff, after which the guests were entertained by the bulls and bears.

At 1:00 p. m. the visitors and their escorts and members of the Exchange to the number of between 600 and 700 marched to the Planters Hotel for luncheon, where President Scharff presided. The speakers were Mayor F. H. Kreismann, St. Louis; Mayor A. M. Walker, Louisiana, Mo.; Mayor W. S. Jordan, Jacksonville, Fla.; Mayor George L. Hutchins, Portland, Ore.; Mayor Henry B. Denker, St. Charles, Mo.; Mayor E. A. Matthews, Clanton, Ala.; Mayor George L. Smith, Faribault, Minn., and Mayor J. W. Finnegan, Chadron, Neb.



LANDING OF "THE FIRST THIRTY," COMMANDED BY AUGUSTE CHOUTEAU, FEB. 15, 1764
Float in Historical Parade, Centennial Week, 1909

"When the World Rode" was the theme of the Veiled Prophet for 1909. It was the story of transportation on land. Through the century of the incorporated existence of St. Louis was traced the evolution of wheels and motive power. The Veiled Prophet is cosmopolitan. To St. Louisans of the latest generation were shown the modes of conveyance enjoyed by their fathers, their grandfathers and their great-grandfathers. But more than this, the primitive, the civilized and the enlightened ways of transportation in other lands were depicted. The pageant told its narrative pictorially. No elaborate explanation was required. Description was not essential. From the Veiled Prophet riding upon the back of the dragon, according to mythology, down to the last float, illustrating the present-day wonders of aviation, the tale of transportation was told completely in the twenty moving chapters.

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| 1. The Veiled Prophet. | 11. The Mexican Ox Cart. |
| 2. The Theme—Transportation. | 12. Indians on the Trail. |
| 3. Litter Bearers of Egypt. | 13. Crossing the Andes. |
| 4. The Chariot of Persia. | 14. The Plains in 1849. |
| 5. A Caravan of Arabia. | 15. Locomotion in 1831. |
| 6. Sleighing in Russia. | 16. The Era of Rails. |
| 7. The Howdah of India. | 17. Joy Riding in 1909. |
| 8. Ancient Japan's Vehicles. | 18. Subway and City. |
| 9. A Dash by Sledge. | 19. The Balloon in a Storm. |
| 10. The French Coach of State. | 20. A Journey in Ether. |

The largest crowds which the streets of St. Louis had contained down to the 5th of October, 1909, viewed the Centennial pageant of the Veiled Prophet. This was the opinion of the police and of the oldest followers of the Prophet. There was no rowdiness. Respect was shown to women and children. So marked was the good behavior that it was commented upon by visitors.

In the West End the throngs broke precedents. Grand avenue from Laclede to Lucas avenue was filled with humanity from street car tracks to the walls of buildings. Every lawn, porch, doorway and coping was occupied. Wide as is Washington avenue at Jefferson, a mighty effort of the police was necessary to pass the pageant through. But all along the route patrolmen pronounced the crowds the most orderly in their experience. At Union Station that night the departing travelers were estimated by Station Master Clifford at from 50,000 to 65,000. The day, in station crowds, broke all records.

A wonderful assemblage was the Veiled Prophet's Ball of Centennial Week. It surpassed every other social event that St. Louis had known. It amazed those visitors who had seen great balls in foreign capitals, in New York and in other American cities. From 9:00 to 10:00 o'clock, while the Coliseum was gradually filling with the ten thousand guests the St. Louis Symphony Orchestra played. The Prophet made his entrance from under a gaily-colored canopy, over the Locust street entrance, and, escorted by former Mayor Wells, chairman of the Reception Committee, passed in front of the raised dais on which the retiring queen, Miss Dorothy Shapleigh, and the matrons and maids of honor had taken their seats at 9:30 o'clock. Behind the Prophet marched the keeper of the crown jewels and the many characters from the floats of the pageant, each escorted by a member of the Reception Committee. After passing the throne the Prophet led his followers down to the farther end of the reserved

space, and then slowly wound back and forth across the hall, until he reached stairs leading to his throne. Still followed by his retainers and their escorts he ascended to the throne, in front of which his retinue dispersed to the right and left behind the maids and matrons. Advancing toward the retiring queen, who rose to meet him, the Prophet saluted her with a low bow. The queen presented to him a rose from an immense bouquet of American beauties which she held in her hand, and, as the signal whistle announced the entrance of her successor, she retired to a seat with the maids of honor.

Preliminary to the entrance of the new queen, Miss Susan Carleton, a passageway was made through the crowd on the floor from the aisle in the first balcony immediately east of the Washington avenue entrance, by stretching silken ropes. Down this aisle to the reserved space and across to the throne the three attendant maids—Miss Gladys Bryant Smith, Miss Cora South Brown and Miss Gladys Kerens—were escorted. They were received by the Prophet and received the jeweled token of his favor; they curtsied before him, amid the applause of the spectators. Miss Carleton's appearance in the first balcony was the signal for an outburst of applause, which increased as she reached the cleared space of the arena. She was escorted by Mr. Wells; two pages bore her train. As she reached the steps leading to the Prophet he arose to receive her. Curtseying low to his majesty and then to the matrons and maids of honor, she bowed her head to receive the diadem which the Prophet placed upon it. To the applause of the throng the pair bowed their acknowledgments and slowly descended from the throne to open the ball with the "Prophet's lanciers." At the conclusion of this intricate and beautiful dance the ropes were taken down and the floor quickly filled with dancers.

"My compliments to Mayor Kreismann, and say the line is formed and awaits his presence," Grand Marshal Spencer said to Sergeant Dempsey of the Mayor's escort at exactly 9:30 Wednesday morning. Less than twelve hours before that time the Veiled Prophet's pageant had taxed to the utmost the transportation facilities and the police provisions. And now the first of the great daylight parades was ready to move at the minute set by the official program. The police brigade had formed. The long columns of city officials and their forces were in place. The bands were clean and trim and fresh looking, as if they had not played from beginning to end of the five miles' march the night previously. The scene was a demonstration of the perfect organization which had prepared the Centennial Week.

From early morning all street car lines leading to the business district had been bringing the crowds. When the Mayor and his escort dashed up in response to the Grand Marshal's notice and took place, the streets were thronged with people. Two regiments of patrolmen, a squadron of mounted men, 5,000 officials and their forces, the representation of every kind of vehicle in municipal use and a division of the fire department were constituent parts of the great procession. The marching, the uniforms, the banners, the condition of apparatus—all of these told how admirably the committee in charge of Municipal Day had done its work. Banners proclaiming the accomplishments of the several municipal departments were carried at the heads of the divisions. Among the inscriptions were:

“St. Louis has 700 miles of paved streets, and 100 miles of oiled streets.”

“St. Louis has 630 miles of sewers.”

“St. Louis has spent \$16,500,000 for sewers.”

“St. Louis has pure water—only ninety-seven deaths from typhoid fever in 1908.”

“St. Louis has thirty-four parks and squares, and eight public playgrounds.”

“Fire Department has 778 men and officers.”

At the conclusion of the Municipal Parade, Mayor Kreismann and the visiting executives marched from the Court of Honor to the site of the New Municipal Courts building to lay the corner-stone. The site was surrounded by a throng of many thousands. Within an enclosure, officials of the city of St. Louis and the visiting Mayors assembled. The platform erected beside the stone was occupied by Mayor Kreismann, Bishop Tuttle, President John H. Gundlach, of the City Council, and Speaker Edgar R. Rombauer, of the House of Delegates. The St. Louis Industrial School Band, which had led the procession from the Court of Honor to the Municipal Courts building site, played “America.” President John H. Gundlach, of the City Council, introduced Bishop Tuttle, who offered the invocation. Following the prayer, President Gundlach spoke. He especially emphasized the thought that nothing is more expressive of the individuality of a community than the character of its public buildings; that there is no other phase of municipal life which contributes so much to the progress of a city as its public improvements. Mayor Kreismann congratulated the city on the municipal progress of which the occasion was evidence. He paid high tribute to the architect, Isaac S. Taylor, for his conception of this new municipal architecture.

A review of the Police Department, the most perfect in the history of that branch of the municipal service, followed fittingly the corner-stone ceremonies. It was given in the presence of the city officials, the guests of the city and a throng of spectators which overflowed Twelfth street. At the head rode Colonel John A. Laird, President of the Board of Police Commissioners; Theodoric R. Bland, Otto L. Teichmann and George P. Jones, Police Commissioners; Chief of Police Creecy, Lieutenant-Colonel Gillaspy, Major McDonnell, Chief of Detectives Smith, Police Surgeon Robinson, Captain Hickman, Frederick Husmann, Superintendent of Horse, and Lieutenant Schwartz. The patrolmen came next. There were ten companies of ninety-six men each, commanded by ten captains, two lieutenants and eighty sergeants. Following the patrolmen came the color guard, composed of six sergeants bearing United States flags. The patrol wagon division followed. It was in command of Lieutenant Nolte and comprised nine wagons, including the new electric wagon. The mounted squad, with fifty men, one lieutenant and five sergeants, under command of Captain Martin O'Brien, followed, and just in the rear were the eight motorcycle men, thus bringing every branch of the department into line. Exhibition drills were given. The mounted men aroused enthusiasm by riding company front at walk, trot and gallop. The motorcycle men illustrated their work at top speed.

The aeronautic events of Wednesday were with the dirigibles. Beachey made a beautiful ascent in his dirigible, which looked like a great brown beetle as it buzzed hither and thither above the heads of the people. The aeronaut stood on the slender tubing of his frame, and drove his balloon apparently just

as he pleased. The dirigible would move along for a distance at great speed, ascend at angle of 45 degrees, then pitch down at a like angle. All of the time the aeronaut stood on the slender frame work, and with a turn of the wrist changed the course right or left, up or down. He sailed hundreds of feet over the trees, went high above the Statue of Saint Louis and the Art Museum, "turned her in her tracks" at will, and amazed all who saw him. Wednesday morning about ten o'clock, in the presence of a few hundred spectators, Roy Knabenshue made a flight, maneuvering over Aviation Field for several minutes with his dirigible under perfect control.

At night Dr. Frederick A. Cook delivered at the Coliseum what was alleged to be "the first complete account of his discovery of the North Pole."

The pageant with which Industrial Day began represented months of planning by the committee of which Charles F. Wencker was chairman and many weeks of work by 250 artists, decorators and mechanics. Between the equestrian figure of Saint Louis on the Million Population Club float, and the final industrial float, were three miles of model factories and workshops in operation, depicting the various processes of St. Louis manufactures. Twelve hundred horses pulled floats or carried riders, and 650 musicians marched. The hardware interests, the great dry goods concerns, the carpet houses, saddlery and harness industries, cigars and tobacco, stoves, furniture, clothing, coffee and tea, provisions, soap manufacturers, bakeries, flour mills, farm machinery, packing houses, building material, newspapers, patent medicines, carriages and vehicles, laundries, agricultural implements, electrical supplies, plumbing, fuel and ice, as well as various civic organizations, were represented in the long line of floats. The band which headed the first division was composed of 100 pieces, and the bands heading the other divisions had 50 pieces each. Of the musical organizations, the Scottish pipers, in Highland costume, were especially popular. The aides to the grand marshal, C. F. Blanke, wore dark suits, dark hats, black leggins and white gloves. The Million Population Club float led the parade. It was drawn by twenty horses. "To the Front" was represented by a live Saint Louis in armor.

Estimates of the number of people who visited Forest Park Thursday afternoon ranged from 300,000 upward. The crowds began moving in the direction of the park as soon as the Industrial parade downtown was concluded. Three flights were made by Curtiss. Two of them were very early in the morning. The third was in the dusk of evening. At 5:54, some time after sunset, the aviator grasped the lever and started eastward on the park driveway. He had covered barely 300 feet when the machine left the ground and sailed at a height of twenty-five feet. After going about 600 feet Curtiss descended suddenly and received a rather severe jolt. He was in the air perhaps fifteen seconds. Something happened to the engine, shutting off the motive power. The increasing darkness prevented another attempt.

Thursday evening Ensign Logan marched a detachment of forty-eight sailors from the torpedo-boat flotilla into the Coliseum and was met with round after round of applause. He marched them twice around the hall with Chief Machinist Knight leading the column, then turned them into company front at the lower end of the hall and called for three cheers for St. Louis, three more

for the Ball of All Nations and a final trio for Charles F. Wenneker, chairman of the day and night. A brilliant crowd filled the boxes and balconies. The visiting Mayors, members of the Million Population Club, the Centennial Association were well represented in the boxes and first balcony, and on the floor after the national dances were concluded. These dances were given in costume by natives or descendants of natives of the countries represented. They were:

1. Schuhplattler.....St. Louis Bavarian-Verein
2. Mazurka.....Polish National Alliance
3. Lauterbach.....St. Louis Schwabenverein
4. Vafa Vadnal (Weavers' Dance).....Swedish Linea Society
5. Barn Dance.....The Latest Yankee Craze
6. Scottish Dances.....Scottish Societies of St. Louis
7. Beseda.....St. Louis Bohemian Gymnastic Society
8. Czardas.....Hungarian Workingmen's Sick Benefit and Educational Confederation

Not many of those who viewed the Historical and Educational Parade Friday morning knew that the central figure on one of the floats was Auguste Chouteau, the lineal descendant of the Auguste Chouteau who was trusted by Laclède to command "the first thirty" sent in advance for the preparation of the site of the city, February, 1764. Auguste Chouteau of this generation was seventeen years of age. His progenitor, when trusted with the important commission by Laclède, was thirteen years of age. The float upon which Auguste Chouteau rode in the parade represented the landing of "the first thirty" and the occupation of the site at Main and Walnut streets. At the head of the Historical Division rode Pierre Chouteau, the lineal descendant of Pierre Laclède. Upon the float illustrating the incorporation of St. Louis in 1809 the characters impersonated were the first trustees, Auguste Chouteau, Chairman; Edward Hempstead, John Pierre Cabanne, William C. Carr and William Christy, together with David Delany. The group upon the incorporation float was made up of descendants or family connections of the original trustees or members of the group approving the incorporation. William P. Kennett, Jr., represented Edward Hempstead. J. Charles Cabanne posed as his grandfather, John Pierre Cabanne. William C. Carr was represented by his youngest son, Robert S. Carr, now more than 70. William Christy Bryan appeared as William Christy. On this float, also, was Lilburn G. McNair, grandson of Alexander McNair, Missouri's first Governor. Great-grandsons and grand-nephews of Jean Baptiste Ortes, third signer of the incorporation petition, were present in the persons of Julian and Raymond Philibert and James McKim. Others participating as auditors of the momentous proceeding were Wilson P. Guion and W. J. Pourcelly, descendants of St. Louis' earliest citizens.

A figure that attracted attention along the entire line of march was that of the Jesuit missionary, Jacques Marquette, impersonated by a young divinity student of St. Louis University. His costume was true to the period depicted. Credit for the correct detail of the historical floats was due the committee, headed by Judge Walter B. Douglas, which supervised their construction. Others of the committee who aided actively in the preparation of the pageant were Pierre Chouteau, Professor William Carr Dyer, a descendant of William C. Carr; the Reverend John P. Frieden, president of St. Louis University; the Reverend William H. Fanning, of the same institution, and Professor Roland

G. Usher, of Washington University. The members of the Educational Committee having charge of the day and of the parade were: Henry C. Garneau, chairman; James M. Haley, secretary; Rev. John P. Frieden, S. J.; Eugene Harms, Prof. C. M. Woodward, Rev. John F. Baltzer, Walter B. Douglas.

One of the conspicuous features of the Educational and Historical parade was the escort of 164 mounted men from the National Stock Yards. Mayor Silas Cook, of East St. Louis, was among the number. James H. Campbell rode at the head of the horsemen, who were, in uniform, having gray hats, black riding coats, white trousers and yellow gauntlets. General John W. Noble rode at the head of the first division. The military division proper, led by regulars from Jefferson Barracks, and jackies from the torpedo flotilla, in command of Lieutenant Mitchell, was directed by Brigadier General John A. Kress, U. S. A. Governor Hadley and his staff, all mounted, were preceded by the First Regiment Band. After the Governor marched the First Regiment, in regulation blue, with Battery A, equipped for field service, the Missouri Naval Reserves following.

Four venerable veterans of the Mexican war rode by. They were received with patriotic demonstration. Then came representatives of the Grand Army posts, Confederate veterans, Spanish war veterans, Naval veterans and Philippine veterans, escorted by the cadets of Bleebs Academy. This was living evidence that St. Louisans had borne their part in every national appeal to arms during the past three-quarters of a century.

High School brigades, the flower of St. Louis youth, followed the Industrial School band—Central High, McKinley, Yeatman and Soldan—uniformed in white hats, white shirts and dark trousers. Sumner Negro High School, marching proudly—the illustration of changed conditions since St. Louis became a corporation,—closed the public school division.

Students of St. Louis University, Christian Brothers College, Washington University, Concordia Seminary, Walther College and Eden College, 5,000 strong, composed the college division. As they passed the assembled Mayors in the reviewing stand, they gave their college yells.

Mounted officers in the eighteenth century uniforms, headed by Major Henri Chouteau Dyer, descendant of Auguste Chouteau, led the Historical Division. The Knights of Columbus Zouaves escorted the first float which represented the exploration of the Mississippi by Marquette and Joliet. Then came a company of French soldiers and the second float, the founding of St. Louis. A tribe of Red Men followed. The third float depicted the coming of the Spaniards; the fourth, the transfer to the United States; the fifth, the return of Lewis and Clark; sixth, The Missouri Gazette, the first newspaper office; seventh, the incorporation of St. Louis.

Each float was cheered along the route. The crude print-shop of a century ago attracted much attention. From it were distributed many thousands of facsimile copies of the Gazette, October 4, 1809. Joseph Charless and Jacob Hinkle, the characters in historic costume on the float, were represented by C. W. Satterfield and Jesse E. Chapler, respectively, both employes of The Republic, in its composing room. The representation of Charless, made up from an oil painting in the possession of The Republic, was faithful. To the

oddly arranged hair and ruffled shirt and the 1809 costume in general, the details were perfect. Jacob Hinkle, who set the type for the first issue, was impersonated by Jesse E. Chapler. All idea of Hinkle's personal appearance has long since vanished, but Mr. Chapler was garbed in a costume such as Hinkle must have worn in the old log cabin that July day when *The Gazette* was started. The souvenir papers distributed from the float during the parade were composed by Mr. Chapler. The reproduction of the old issue was faithful to the last degree, Mr. Chapler, in his work, inverting letters, breaking them in two, chipping commas and halving certain characters in order that the facsimiles put out might be exact reproductions. The fourth and final division of the parade was made up of postoffice employes, led by Postmaster Akins, in Sheriff Louis Nolte's automobile. Six hundred letter carriers and an almost equal number of postoffice clerks were in line.

In the dusk of Friday evening several thousand people had the satisfaction of seeing a flight by Glenn H. Curtiss. There had been a delay of hours for the wind to subside. The throng had thinned. Curtiss had postponed the flight, hoping that the wind might die away at sundown. Leaving the route which had been used previously for the starting place, Curtiss dashed across the field into long grass. After he had gone about 60 yards, he rose gradually to 25 feet in the air, greeted by the cheers of the waiting thousands. The altitude was not maintained long. The aeroplane plunged downward, and it seemed as if the flight would not be more than 100 yards. Instead of striking the ground, the aeroplane skimmed along a distance of half a mile, then dropped gently to the turf. It was brought back to the starting place by the aero corps of the First Regiment. The flight lasted about forty seconds.

German-American in the best sense was the entertainment given at the Coliseum Friday night. It illustrated the history of music and physical culture in St. Louis. Max Zach and Friedrich Fischer conducted the musical numbers while A. E. Vandervater and Otto Dreisel directed the Turners in their exhibition. The mass chorus of 500 voices was led by Wilhelm Lange. The festival was under the charge of a committee headed by Edward L. Preetorius, representing the German-American Alliance and the St. Louis Symphony Orchestra. It was German in its wealth of music, and American in the enthusiasm which greeted the tableau of Columbia, Germania and St. Louis. It was a made-in-St. Louis program. Excepting the address of Dr. C. J. Hexamer, president of the National German-American Alliance and a single musical selection from Mozart, every number was of St. Louis talent or composition.

The orchestra began with Louis Mayer's impressive "March Triumphant." This was followed by the beautiful "Hiawatha" as arranged by Ernest R. Kroeger. Charles Kunkel at the piano gave Louis Conrath's Concerto in B-flat minor, with the orchestra accompanying, receiving much applause. Notable was Kunkel's "Alpine Storm" on the piano with orchestra accompaniment. No less pleasing to enthusiastic auditors was Guido Vogel's "When the Heart Is Young." The "Belle Minnie" of Otto Anschuetz was received with manifestation of delight. Abraham I. Epstein's "Gioja" was given a hearty reception. The musical numbers were concluded with P. G. Anton, Sr.'s, "Overture Symphonie" and Oswald Thumser's "Bohemia," both of which were warmly ap-

plauded. St. Louis composers impressed the character of their work as never before upon a single night.

After the marvelous exhibition given by the United Turners, the closing number was an allegorical tableau representing Columbia and Germania, in long, flowing robes, at each side of a mailed figure representing St. Louis. As the curtains were drawn back, disclosing the figures brilliantly illuminated, the orchestra swung into the bars of the national anthem, and the audience arose en masse, joining in the chorus with one mighty voice. As the crowds were leaving the auditorium the playing of "Die Wacht am Rhein" was the occasion for another demonstration.

The most imposing display of automobiles seen up to that time in the Mississippi Valley, if not in any part of the United States, was the morning event of Saturday—St. Louis Day. Headed by a band, Mayor Kreismann, Centennial Grand Marshal E. J. Spencer and his aides; Capt. R. E. Lee, parade marshal, and O. L. Halsey, J. J. Behen, A. N. Stanley, H. B. Krenning, J. H. Holmes and James Hagerman, Jr., of the Automobile Parade Executive Committee, the five divisions of the parade, comprising over 1,000 automobiles, passed over the route from Vandeventer avenue to Broadway and back to King's Highway at the rate of ten miles an hour, requiring two hours to complete the parade. The automobiles represented a money investment placed at \$2,000,000. The parade was reviewed at the Court of Honor by the three judges, who awarded prizes—B. F. Gray, Jr.; Col. E. L. Preetorius and Col. Isaac A. Hedges. Mayor Kreismann rode over the entire route of the parade, and reviewed the line from the south steps of the Washington Hotel at King's Highway and Washington boulevard.

Notwithstanding the shower just before noon, there assembled to participate in the dedication of Fairground Park 25,000 people. Preceding the exercises was a procession with 5,000 in line. The parade formed at Twentieth and Salisbury streets, with John H. Gundlach, President of the City Council, as Grand Marshal. The reviewing stand was located on the spot where the Prince of Wales entered the now historic amphitheater in 1860—the amphitheater where every prominent person who visited St. Louis during Fair Week of old was entertained. The dedication of Fairground Park was carried through by an efficient organization known as the North St. Louis Fairground Park Patrons' Association. In the parade was a great company of children from nine turnverein societies, appropriately costumed and from the various North Side public schools. About 200 pupils from Farragut School were dressed to represent historical and typical characters of early St. Louis. Many uniformed G. A. R. men from all the North St. Louis posts and Sons of Veterans marched. The civic organizations were well represented. The program of exercises at the park was as follows:

1. Band Concert.
2. Introduction by Mr. Aug. H. Hoffmann.
3. Song by School Children.
4. Address by Park Commissioner Seanlan.
5. Song by United Singers of St. Louis.
6. Dedicatory Address by Mayor Kreismann.
7. Music.



Parish Church at Bedous, where Pierre Laclède was christened in 1724



Avenue in Bedous leading to the chateau of the Laclèdes



Laclède Coat of Arms



Entrance to the Laclède chateau at Bedous, Dr. Madamet, great-grand nephew of Laclède, the founder of St. Louis, standing in the gateway.



Granaries of the Laclède estate at Bedous



Chateau of the Laclèdes at Bedous, France. Birth-place of the founder of St. Louis, built in the thirteenth century.

8. Song by School Children.
9. Turners, Calisthenics.
10. Address by Hon. John H. Gundlach.
11. Song by United Singers of St. Louis.
12. Address by General John W. Noble.
13. Presentation of Flag by Ladies Auxiliary, "G. A. R.," to Mr. Aug. H. Hoffmann as Chairman of North St. Louis Fairground Patrons' Association.
14. Music, Star Spangled Banner.

On the stand were two notable figures—Col. John McFall who commanded the Twenty-sixth Missouri Infantry, and Maj. Joseph A. Wherry, city register between 1889 and 1893, who was a major in a Missouri regiment in the Civil war. Both were present at the first fair held on the ground, more than half a century ago, and both had attended every fair ever held there until the last one in 1903. Maj. Wherry's grandfather, Mackey Wherry, was the first register of St. Louis, in 1822, and his father, the late Joseph A. Wherry, was the second register, from 1827 to 1843. At the conclusion of the dedication speech a pretty scene was presented. At the entrance of a roped arena some distance away, appeared the heads of six columns of school children. They marched out into the arena, the little girls wearing white waists and dark blue skirts, the boys white shirts and dark blue trousers. There were approximately 500 of them. They went into the customary "take distance" formation of turners, and then, to the music of a band, gave an elaborate series of calisthenic exercises.

Saturday evening, as the sun was sinking, Glenn H. Curtiss gave the most successful and satisfactory flight of Centennial Week. Showers earlier in the day had driven all but 5,000 from Forest Park. After a heavy shower shortly before 5 o'clock, it seemed as if further demonstration would be impossible, but at 5 the wind's velocity dropped to about four miles an hour. The aeroplane was brought out. After a preliminary run of less than 400 feet down the Park road, Curtiss went immediately to a height of 40 feet. This elevation was maintained until he reached the lower end of the course. When he arrived at the turning point in the eastern extremity of the field, the excitement became intense. Before leaving, Curtiss had declared he would merely try a flight to the eastern end of the course, but when that was reached he guided his machine gracefully to the south and started in a sharp curve on the way back. This move was greeted with cheer after cheer from the people on the field and the spectators outside. When he made the turn, Curtiss was about seventy feet in the air, but on the return trip, guiding his craft through the trees, he descended to about forty feet, and as he came nearer the starting point he sailed for several hundred feet only about twenty-five feet from the ground. The conclusion of the flight was even more spectacular than the long sail down the course and back again. As the machine came darting up the slope at a speed of forty miles an hour it fluttered, hesitated, and then sank gracefully to the ground, over which it ran until almost exactly upon the spot which it had quitted a minute and a quarter before.

Over 1,500 representatives of the civic organizations of St. Louis occupied seats at the banquet tables in the Coliseum Saturday night. Hundreds of visitors were in the balconies. The boxes were filled with prominent citizens.

This Get-Together banquet was under the auspices of the Missouri Manufacturers' Association. The details were successfully arranged and carried through by a committee, the members of which were the presidents and secretaries of forty organizations.

At the conclusion of the dinner, Peter M. Hanson introduced J. A. J. Schultz, President of the Manufacturers' Association. Mr. Schultz, after a brief speech upon the achievements and the prospects of St. Louis, when united for a common purpose, introduced the chairman of the evening, Mayor Frederick H. Kreismann. The Mayor received an ovation from the guests, and it was several minutes before he was able to get order. His first words were an expression of thanks, on behalf of himself and the city to the business men of St. Louis who had been active in making the Centennial a success. There was a note of sentiment in his voice when he alluded to two gatherings of children, one at the Coliseum and the other on Art Hill, Church Day. "These children," he said, "gave us evidences of the hope and pride and ambition of those who will control the destinies of St. Louis for the next 100 years."

The spirit of the gathering was expressed in talks upon civic cooperation and in resolutions looking to such harmonious action by the organizations as will "push St. Louis 'To the Front' and keep it there."

More Mayors than were ever before assembled in the United States came to honor Centennial Week. The acceptances numbered about 400, but some who had not given previous thought to the invitation decided favorably at the eleventh hour. Mayors were arriving several days before the week. Mayors continued to come until the week was well nigh spent. All parts of the country, more than thirty States, were represented. The minimum estimate of the visitors drawn to the city by Centennial Week was 150,000. This was based upon returns made by the Terminal Railroad Association, the United Railways, the interurban systems and the bridge traffic. The United Railways reported to the City Register that there were transported on the street cars during Centennial Week 8,373,832 passengers, of whom 5,783,005 paid cash fares.

At the final meeting of the Executive Committee George D. Markham reviewed the week of celebration:

The programme occupying every one of the seven days and seven nights moved with precision and in detail as planned by you. No re-arrangement, no substitution was found necessary, as the week progressed. In accordance with your anticipation, one event succeeded another smoothly and harmoniously. The monster religious demonstrations of Sunday at Art Hill and the Coliseum were carried out upon a scale and with an enthusiasm unprecedented for St. Louis. The welcome demonstration of Monday, including the reception to the visiting Mayors, the luncheon of the Civic League and the mass meeting at the Coliseum were splendidly conducted. The balloon programme of Monday broke many precedents in aeronautics. The water pageant of Tuesday was a surprise to this community. The Veiled Prophet parade and the ball established new records in the long series of Veiled Prophet functions. The reception by the Merchants Exchange and the luncheon following at the Planters House on Tuesday gave our visitors a lasting impression of that great business organization. The municipal pageant, the police review and the laying of the corner-stone on Wednesday were an exposition of the utilities and resources of the St. Louis city government—instructive to our visitors and to our own citizens. The Industrial pageant of Thursday morning exceeded the expectations of all of us in its illustration of our commercial and manufacturing activities. Thursday afternoon witnessed the largest gathering of people seen in Forest Park since St. Louis Day of the World's Fair. Perhaps public expectation had been wrought to a higher

pitch than the present conditions and possibilities of aerial navigation warranted. Those who knew by experience how difficult these conditions are realized that the flights by dirigibles and by an aeroplane illustrated fairly the highest development in this science. Too much in the way of praise can not be said of the beautiful ball of all nations Thursday night in the Coliseum. The Historical, Educational and Military parade of Friday morning was, I believe, the most perfect, the most charming pageant ever seen in the streets of St. Louis. Friday afternoon, although the winds made the efforts almost impossible, there were witnessed further aviation flights in Forest Park in the presence of a throng nearly as large as that of Thursday. The German-American Alliance and St. Louis Symphony Orchestra in the Coliseum Friday night gave our citizens and our visitors evidence of the high plane we have reached as a community in musical matters. Saturday morning witnessed, in the parade of 1,000 decorated entries, the most elaborate demonstration of automobiles seen in the Mississippi Valley, if not in the entire country. In no whit did the parade of school children and veterans and the dedication exercises at Fair Ground Park Saturday afternoon fall below other features of the week in interest. Centennial Week culminated in the "Get-Together Banquet" at the Coliseum Saturday night, giving us evidence of an asset in the way of united civic strength.

An innovation for St. Louis was the Court of Honor. This committee has revealed to the community the possibilities of Twelfth street in connection with festival periods. In the old time, Lucas Market Place was used frequently for mass meetings and processions, but never before had the space been occupied after the manner adopted for Centennial Week. The decoration, the triumphal columns, the tiers of seats, the broad thoroughfare, the concerts made the Court of Honor a popular center of interest days and nights of the week. The several parades gained in interest and were made doubly impressive by the movement through the plaza. Without the reviewing stand, our visiting Mayors would have lost much of the impression these displays made upon them.

In announcing to the committee that all financial obligations had been met and that there remained in the hands of the treasurer approximately \$10,000, Mr. Markham said:

One feature of the programme as originally planned was not carried out. It was hoped in the beginning that we might be able to emphasize the Centennial by the dedication of a statue of the founder of St. Louis—Pierre Laclede—but collections in the early period of the movement did not justify us in carrying out this plan. We now have in hand, if not the full amount necessary for such commemoration of the founding of the city, at least a sum sufficient to justify us in proceeding, confident that whatever additional may be needed will be forthcoming. Your chairman, therefore, recommends that the surplus remaining be devoted to this purpose.

By resolution unanimously adopted a committee composed of George D. Markham, Saunders Norvell, J. H. Gundlach, H. N. Davis and Walter B. Stevens was created "to devote the funds remaining in the hands of the treasurer, Charles H. Huttig, to a statue of Pierre Laclede, the founder of St. Louis."

As a result of a competition in which four sculptors participated, the model submitted by George Julian Zolnay was selected. In the decision the committee was aided by the opinions of Professor Halsey C. Ives, director of the City Art Museum; Theophile Papin, Jr., a descendant of Laclede; Isaac S. Taylor and J. L. Mauran, architects; and Karl Bitter, chief of sculpture of the World's Fair of 1904. With the approval of the municipal authorities a site adjacent to the new Municipal Courts was chosen for the statue.

In 1847 the anniversary of the founding of St. Louis was well observed with a parade, a mass meeting and a banquet. The orator of the day was Wilson Primm. At the close of a long and fascinating recital of the beginning and growth of St. Louis, the orator said:

Before taking leave of my audience, I claim the indulgence of a reference, again, to the founder of our city. His spirit has departed but his memory holds a firm place in our recollections.

By the lone river,
Where the reeds quiver
And the woods make moan

he sleeps the sleep that knows no waking. He died on his return from a business voyage to New Orleans.

On the south bank of the Arkansas river, at its mouth, under the shade of the forest trees, the rude coffin hastily constructed from the oar benches of his barge, and which enclosed his body, was deposited in the grave.

After such a lapse of time, if the elements of his frame have assimilated themselves to the mother earth so that they cannot be transferred to our midst, can we not and should we not endeavor to pay some more enduring tribute to his memory, than the pomp and pageant of this day?

This generation, 147 years after the founding and sixty-four years after the orator put the appealing query to his fellow St. Louisans, acknowledges the obligation and pays the "enduring tribute" to the memory of the founder.



PIERRE LACLEDE, THE FOUNDER OF ST. LOUIS
Centennial Statue, by George Julian Zolnay

THE DEAD OF OLD TIME.

In all they wrought, the souls of these still live;
 Their deed, their thought, each brave word bravely said,
 Live past the grave and master it, to give
 The living help and strength when life is fraught
 With sorest need of courage. All the length
 Of years, of time and change, the hopes, the fears,
 The failures and forgetfulness of lives between
 Our lives and theirs, take nothing from their strength.

Their work still thrives unseen. And still their love,
 Their faith, their hope endears each place they loved
 And wrought in. The highest thought our lives conceal,
 Their lives still mean. If they at length shall rise,
 Or if in these low spheres, they never slept
 Beneath this turf where those who loved them wept,
 Do they not know the changes marvellous
 Since once they seemed asleep? From graves grass-grown,
 Dug deep into the clay, to hold them and to keep
 Them surely for the time when yonder East
 Shall flame with endless morning, do they rise
 And sweep, with lifting wing and unsealed eyes,
 Down all the vistas of these days of ours,
 When life, with glories that they knew not, strives
 With higher powers and vaster strength, to work
 All that they left imperfect? It must be
 That all their soul still flowers and bears its fruit
 In fruit of ours; and all their loss is boot,
 The gain of these our days, and those fair years to be,
 When eyes now blinded, shall uncloset and see,
 All that the grave seals and the present hides.

Their life abides. They are not dead. For still
 Our work is done to give them all their will.
 Near and afar, from sea to sea across the land,
 Their light is shed in light of every star,
 Blent with the stronger flame of day and made
 Intense, until our eyes are blinded, and betrayed
 By glories of our day, we turn lest we should see
 The dazzling radiance of the things to be,
 When by our aftercomers, it is said
 That we and these are of the old-time dead;
 Yet still our work and all their work shall thrive
 To win the years a light that shall not fade
 Nor fail at last the stronger age, whose worth
 From time's old stains and crimes and hopes betrayed,
 Shall wrest the future of the ransomed earth.

—*William Vincent Byars,*
 From "The Axemen-The Artifex." (Mss.)





